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THE HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF LATER ANṢĀRĪ POETRY—I

By W. 'ARAFAT

Of the poems of boasting ascribed to Ḥassān b. Thābit, 16 are found on investigation to be by later Anṣārīs and reflect the inferior status to which the Anṣār in general were reduced after the battle of al-Ḥarra and the sack of Madīna in the year A.H. 63, as well as, occasionally, the tribal rivalries which prevailed during the Umayyad period.

Of these poems some may be only partly of doubtful authenticity. A number indicate that the poet is boasting of a heritage. In some, events are listed just as history. In certain cases explicit indications are found in the lines of the poet's awareness that he is boasting of his 'ancestors' who were the first Muslims. In some the boasting is in very general terms and full of platitudes. Some of the poems are ascribed to others, and some contain unmistakable interpolations.

Because of their late authorship, and because they share many common characteristics, it is difficult to group them satisfactorily for the purpose of detailed examination. As some of them contain, however, explicit indication of late authorship, these will be examined together, whereas similar poems without this 'explicit indication' will be dealt with later.

One poem, no. CLII,¹ stands alone because, unlike the rest of the poems, the boasting in it is concentrated on the poet's own person.

The first group will, therefore, be nos. VI, IX, XVII, CLXI, and two poems in the *Sīra*,² p. 474 and p. 929. Nos. VII, X, LXXIX, and XIX come next, and will be considered in part II of this article (*BSOAS*, XXIX, 2, 1966). Reference will be made to nos. V, CXII, CXIX, and CLIX.

No. VI, of 41 lines, is one of the longest poems attributed to Ḥassān. The poet begins by addressing his beloved one or his wife :

لك الخير، غُضِّي اللومَ عني فإني أحبُّ من الأَخلاقِ ما كانَ أجْمَلًا

'Mayest thou have what is good! abate thy blame of me, for I like finer qualities'.

The next four lines are personal boasting in the first person singular. First he adjures her not to object to his qualities and character (ll. 2-3), and continues to assert that he thinks stinginess a disgrace, and that he dislikes the inconstant and the hypocrites (l. 4); once he takes a dislike to anything, he never turns back to it (l. 5).

Following a hackneyed method of transition, he proceeds to describe his camel in traditional terms and with no attempt at originality (ll. 6-10).

¹ In Hirschfeld's edition of the *Diwān* of Ḥassān b. Thābit (Gibb Memorial Series, XIII), Leyden and London, 1910.

² Ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1859.

Quite arbitrary, however, is the manner in which he begins the next section, which is boasting of himself and his tribe, in the first person plural.

'We are a people who do not choose as chief anyone who is treacherous or who withdraws at the moment when there is responsibility to be borne, (l. 11) or one who withholds wealth or a coward in war (l. 12). We choose as chief a grey-haired, dignified person (l. 13), one who in the assembly shows generosity, achieves glory, and is found stronger than anyone who tries to stand up to him (l. 15).'

Line 17 continues the description of the 'patriarch' they would accept as chief. The line means in effect, that the chief has insight in his wise firmness and in his deeds.

Line 18 is very significant :

وما ذاك إلا أننا جعلت لنا أكابرنا في أول الخير أولاً

'And that is only because our "elders" were pioneers for us at the very beginning of goodness'.

From this line it is clear at a glance that the poet is confessing to an inferior status in regard to those *akābir* as well as to a certain gap of time that separates him from them—a position which would be neither true of Ḥassān nor acceptable to him. The word *akābir* itself might very well be intended to mean the (past) 'generation of Elders'. The word *al-khair* always smacks of a quasi-religious sense of 'goodness' or 'good deeds'. The words *awwal al-khair* and *awwala* could hardly mean anything but 'pioneers' or perhaps 'precedents' in the beginning of the 'era of goodness'.

The next two lines, 19 and 20, contain such platitudinous exaggerations as could not possibly emanate from Ḥassān : 'We are the "summit" of the children of Adam' (l. 19); 'Glory built a mansion over us, firmly founded, which men could not move'.

Line 21 clearly indicates the time when they had come to be known finally and definitely as 'al-Anṣār' and when the name had become not only their proper name instead of the Aus and Khazraj, but also the main basis and chief source of their pride. Indeed in this poem, apart from generalities, the fact that they are the 'Anṣār' is the sole basis of boasting. Thus in l. 21, we read 'And thou wilt never find among men a tribe better or of greater glory than the "Anṣār" '.

Then follows a list of the 'types' of men who abound among the Anṣār (ll. 22-7) : many a generous lord, an auspicious grey-haired man, a hopeful child, a beardless youth of ready service, a matchless speaker, a clever poet who 'sifts' his poetry, a kingly hero who swiftly responds to the call of death, a proud one who has a trail behind him, open-handed and 'much-blamed' for his generosity.

Then follows a return to the first person plural to begin a section of the poem boasting of Madīna itself, though it is not mentioned by name : 'We have a land (*ḥarrah*) of our own, surrounded by its own mountains. In it glory built

its own mansion (l. 28). In it are palm trees and fortresses with streams running between them (l. 29)'.

Lines 30-2 explain the method of drawing more water when one of the streams runs dry. Line 33 tells us that in its various parts horses and well-cared for camels are found.

This section clearly indicates that al-Madīna was no longer the centre of events, nor indeed a place of particular importance. The fact that the poet finds himself compelled to resort to this kind of boasting, based on 'having good land of their own', shows the political bankruptcy of the Anşār. The almost casual way the poet refers to it, not even mentioning Madīna by name, the attempt to draw attention, as it were, to its mere existence, the way he dwelt on the material and worldly qualities of it point only to a time when Madīna had long been reduced to a mere provincial town of hardly any importance.

The poet goes on to some reminiscences of past history: 'We protected it by our swords and lances against the army and the Beduins' (l. 34), which is a significant way of referring to the siege of Madīna in the year A.H. 5 and those who took part in it; 'Whenever they gathered a host we rose up to them' (l. 35); 'In it (Madīna) we supported the best of all mankind as Imām, and revered the revealed Book' (l. 36); 'We supported [him] and gave shelter [to him], and the blows we struck with the sword on his behalf straightened the deviation of those who deviated' (l. 37).

These brief references to the siege of Madīna and to the support the Prophet received are all there is in this poem connected with that vital period in the history of Islam. By the time this poem was written, all that had clearly become past history and memories of a glorious page which the first Anşār had written, but which had now been turned and their descendants were merely aware of its existence. They refer to it as part of their past heritage of glory, then dwell on their own present, what riches they possess, and what empty boasts they can make in general platitudes.

The 'defensive' strain which runs through the whole poem comes out most clearly in l. 38, where the poet seems almost in a supine position under a continuous shower of insults directed against the Anşār in general. 'Thou wilt find none who treats us harshly or abuses us except a base person who has gone astray' (l. 38) or else one who had 'suffered from the edge of our swords' (l. 39).

One can only imagine the attitude of Ḥassān in a similar situation. He would indeed have replied to the least harshness or insult with such effective slander as would more than make up for a physical revenge. But Ḥassān lived in a different age and in different circumstances.

The last two lines, 40-1, are the last fling of boasting based on their hospitality, their ability to give protection to whosoever may seek it, and their generosity.

Thus this poem on the whole represents a much weaker spirit and shows a defensive, almost passive attitude. It has certain pompous phrases, such as 'We are the summit of the sons of Adam', which have a ridiculously empty

ring. It is very revealing, for it shows that the poet feels in the depths of his heart that the only really solid ground for boasting that he had was the rich land of the Madīna which he could plant. All else had melted into thin air. Even the references to the support they gave to the Prophet are hurried.

In general, while the poem as verse, is not as inferior as many others attributed to Ḥassān, it lacks the power of Ḥassān's verse. The lines have not the terseness, the tightness and firm strength of Ḥassān's lines. The weakness comes out sometimes in certain repetitions such as the word *ناكلًا* at the beginning of the second half of each of ll. 11 and 12, and *وإن كان* in ll. 15 and 16. It is also clear in the obscurity of l. 15. A certain amount of padding and artificially-placed rhyme-words can also be found, though in a much lesser degree than in other poems, especially those dealing with subjects other than boasting. The best part of the poem is the traditional introduction including the description of the camel, where the traditional ideas are couched in good verse. There is, however, no point in lifting the doubt from this section on this account. It is safe enough to say that this poem is the work of a member of the Madinese tribes, who might have been originally from either the Aus or the Khazraj, and who lived in the Umayyad period, later, perhaps than the days of Yazīd I.

No. IX must be the work of later Anṣāris than Ḥassān.³ The very first line rings a note which seems to carry one some way back across the expanse of time :

أولئك قومي فإن تسألني كرام إذا الضيف يوماً ألمت

'Those are my people, if thou askest, hospitable if a guest arrives one day'.

One suspects that *qawmi* really means 'the people to whom I belong', 'my ancestors', and that the translation should really be 'those were my ancestors', or 'that was my tribe'. The poet's individuality then merges into the historical personality of the tribe. Lines 2 and 3 praise their hospitality and their generosity.

From l. 4 to l. 31, three lines before the end, the poem deals with the 'history' of those 'people', the Madinese. This part of the poem is clearly divided into two sections; one deals with the 'history' of the time before the immigration of the Prophet, and the other with the Prophet's immigration and the support he received.

At the end of the historical part we find explicit and irrefutable proof of later date, for in l. 32 the poet seems to shout, 'So that is our heritage from [past] generations, ancient glory and outstanding greatness', and in l. 33 'When one generation goes its descendants prove sufficient in themselves and leave [another] generation when they pass away'. 'Thus there are none among

³ Hirschfeld adds the note that this poem is 'ascribed to the poet's son, 'Abd al-Rahmān', but there is no manuscript authority for this note. It probably arose from a comment by Ibn Hishām which concerned a poem on p. 929 of the *Sīra* (to be discussed below) but which Hirschfeld may have interpreted as covering the two poems which follow immediately after it. One of these is the poem now under consideration.

men but that they are indebted to us for abundance of grace, though they may act treacherously' (l. 34).

The first part of the historical section deals methodically with the legendary history of pre-Hijra Madīna, adorned and embellished to suit the purpose and the poetic narration: 'they were "kings" in their land (l. 4), kings over men, never subjected even for a short time (l. 5), they told the story of 'Ād, Thamūd, and "certain remnants of Iram" (l. 6), (these) had built among the palm trees in Yathrib fortresses and acquired cattle (l. 7) which drew water from the walls and which were taught certain calls by the Jews (l. 8), [they were living] a carefree life with as much wine as they desired (l. 9). Then they (the ancestors of the poet) marched upon them (ll. 10-12) surprised them (l. 13), and they were scattered in alarm (l. 14)'.

From the second half of l. 14 onwards, the poet turns to the first person plural, evidently identifying himself with his victorious ancestors. From then until l. 19 they and their horses are described. Lines 19 and 20 describe the final result of that phase of history: 'We returned with their chief men and their women forcibly [led], and with their wealth for distribution (l. 19). We inherited their dwellings after them and were kings in them, never to leave (l. 20)'.

The 'Islamic phase' of this historical narration now begins: 'Then when the Messenger of "the King" came to us with truth and light after darkness (l. 21), we put our trust in him and did not disobey him when he came to us from the land of the "Ḥaram" (l. 22)'.

The lines that follow (23-7) are in the form of an address to the Prophet, put in the mouth of his Madinese hosts: 'We said, "thou hast said the truth, O Messenger of 'the King', come unto us, and among us stay"' (l. 23); 'For we testify that thou art the servant of "the King", sent, as a light, with an upright faith' (l. 25).

Line 25 is an exhortation for the Prophet openly to declare the hitherto secret mission, l. 26 a promise that they and their children would protect him, and an offer of their wealth, l. 27 is more or less a repetition of the exhortation in l. 25.

The result is in ll. 28-31: 'The unbelievers and their followers hurried to him thinking he could be killed but we rose up to them with our swords . . .'. 'That is the heritage that (past) generations left for us . . .' (l. 32).

Other poems will be found where 'history' is narrated, or where the events of the early Islamic era are listed with something like detachment. Only later generations could look at events in this simplified 'textbook' manner. The presence in a poem of this method of presenting events is a clear indication of later authorship, probably late in the Umayyad period. Though not all such poems contain, in addition, explicit evidence of later date, the presence of such evidence in the poem just discussed and a number of others should enforce the argument for late authorship where the sole evidence is this method of parading past history.

This poem shares with the previous one, no. VI, the emphasis laid on the qualities of Madīna as a rich town. It also shares that definite inferiority to Ḥassān's more powerful verse.

Line 25, which is an exhortation to the Prophet put in the mouth of the Anṣār, to spread his mission openly, is contrary to the accepted historical facts. For the Prophet had actually come out openly before his immigration. Such an exhortation, therefore, for him to come out openly with 'what thou hast kept secret' could only arise from a distortion of facts by lapse of time.

The next poem, no. XVII, is a very good example of a reply by a member of a later generation of the Anṣār to attacks from members of other tribes, some of whom had suffered defeat when the Madinese formed the main part of the Prophet's army, and whose descendants were now finding their chance to retaliate.

The first five lines of the poem are a traditional introduction of mixed description of the traces of the camp and the beloved one. The fifth line is interesting only because an identical line except for the rhyme-word is ascribed in the notes to the Ausite poet Qais Ibn al-Khaṭīm.⁴

The polemical part of the poem begins at l. 6. That the poem is a reply to a definite attack by a certain person is clear, not only from the persistent use of the imperative, and the second person but from such dramatic interjections as *وَيَحْكُك* in l. 8, and from the vehement and quick succession, without conjunctions, of verbs in the imperative exhorting the person concerned to inquire, etc. . . .

Addressing the person who is 'trying to attain our glory' the poet orders him, with a curse, to make inquiries (l. 6), for, the poet argues (l. 7), are they the same, an ocean and a pool of water? 'Woe to thee, who equals the heads with the tails' (l. 8); 'Try to reach Canopus in the sky, if you attain it then you will overtake us' (l. 9); 'Are we not the ones who occupy the land of our enemy? Wait a little, inquire about us among the tribes' (l. 10).

Then follow lines that describe the tribe in pompous terms (11-17). Line 18 mentions the help they gave to the Prophet, and is very significant:

نصرنا وآوينا النبيَّ وصدقتْ أوائلنا بالحقِّ أوَّلَ قائلٍ

'We supported the Prophet and gave him shelter, and the first of us believed the first one to proclaim the truth'.

So *أوائل* is unmistakable, it always means the first or past ancestors, whereas *أواخر* means the later generations.

After this clear indication that those who 'believed and supported' were the earlier generations, the poet goes on, still using the first person, to state how they used to support the Prophet whenever he raided a tribe (l. 19). Then follows

⁴ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, I, 512, and the *Diwān* of Qais b. al-Khaṭīm, ed. Nāṣir Eddīn el-Asad, Cairo, 1962, p. 34, where the rhyme-word is *الركائب*. It is understandable that a versifier of a later generation may include such a line, intentionally or otherwise.

a short list of some of the battles. Line 20 evidently refers to the siege of Madīna :

ويومَ قريشَ إذْ أتونا يجمعهم
وطئنا العدوَّ وطأةَ المشاقلِ

‘ And on the day when the Quraish came to us with their host, we trod down the enemy with the tread of one who is walking deliberately ’.

The rhyme-word here is poor style, for usually *tathaqa* implies reluctance. It is perhaps significant that the line is omitted from one of the older manuscripts.

Line 21 recalls Uḥud, and calls it ‘ a day disgracing to them ’ (i.e. to Quraish) which is the opposite of the fact. Later generations of ‘ days that have passed ’ in l. 2, and ‘ the name that has passed ’ in the second half of l. 3 only repeat the same idea.

Very significant, therefore, is the cry in l. 4 immediately following, ‘ Those are my people ’. This is a very clear instance of the detachment that the expression implies as well as of the recognition by the poet that his only firm ground for boasting is the glorious inheritance from ancestors who are already far removed from his own time.

Lines 5–10 are praise for his people, all in the third person plural, except for one instance (l. 8, second half) where it is obvious that the metre dictated the use of the first person plural. The qualities for which they are praised are all general abstractions : ‘ They beat with their good works the good works of all who have gone before ’ (l. 5), ‘ when they are approached in their assembly, they utter no insults, nor are they stingy towards those who ask for their favours ’ (l. 6), ‘ they fulfil what they undertake ’ (l. 7) ; ‘ Their “ neighbour ” is given high place among them, and so long as he stays with “ us ”, is honoured and hospitably treated ’ (l. 8) ; ‘ Their speaker is the first to declare the truth, their judgment is just, their pronouncement decisive ’ (l. 9) ; ‘ In peace and in war they are matchless. In war they infuse fear, in peace security ’ (l. 10).

The last line, 11, seems to jar with the general trend of the poem, for it is a sudden turn towards the first person singular, and an unexpected change of grounds for boasting : ‘ And of us are the trusted one of the Muslims, all his life, and the one whom the angels washed ’. Notes in the British Museum MS and other editions explain that the ‘ trusted one ’ is Sa’d b. Mu’adh of the Aus, and the other is Ḥanzalah b. Abī ‘Āmir, also of the Aus, who fell at Uḥud. The Prophet is said to have told his relatives that the angels bathed him. The story (*Sīra*, 567–8) also states that when inquiries were made from his wife, she said that her husband had no time, in his hurry, for the ‘ major ablution ’, before rushing out to join the Muslims at the battle. The angels, however, performed it for him. Hence the reference in this line.

It is significant that both the men mentioned are Ausites. The line itself may well be a later addition to the poem, probably by an Ausite. It merely hangs on to the end of the poem without being part of it.

This is significant because it reveals a phase of the process by which these poems came to be attributed to Ḥassān. There is little doubt that the author

of the poem himself had no intention of disclaiming responsibility for it. It must have been fathered on Ḥassān at a later period, possible unintentionally. The last line, however, is clearly a deliberate addition. Such interpolations in genuine as well as attributed poems are found in the *Diwāns*.

Similar thoughts to those which begin this poem, couched partly in the same phrases, begin and end poem no. CLXVI. In the opening line the poet declares that God favoured them by making them the helpers of the Prophet, and in the final line he explains that if he boasted of them, it is because their past record deserves to be boasted of. In between he elaborates the boast of their relation to Islam, calls them the best of all creation, and praises them in exaggerated traditional terms.

Line 1 :

اللَّهُ أَكْرَمَنَا بِنَصْرِ نَبِيِّهِ وَبِنَا أَقَامَ دَعَائِمَ الْإِسْلَامِ

‘ God favoured us by making us the supporters of His Prophet, and through us He established the foundations of Islam ’.

‘ Through us He gave power to His Prophet and His Book, and gave us power through fighting and courage ’ (l. 2). ‘ In every battle our swords cut off heads ’ (l. 3). ‘ Gabriel comes to us in our homes ’ (l. 4). ‘ In them he recites to us “ the light ”—a fortune indeed like no other ! ’ (l. 5). ‘ Thus we would be the first to know what is lawful and unlawful ’ (l. 6). ‘ We are the best of all creation, and the controllers of everything ’ (l. 7) ‘ who do things through our power, and undo what others do ’ (l. 8). Lines 10 and 11 exhort the hearer to ask various people about them. The poet then returns to direct boasting : ‘ We protect whomever we choose to protect, and extend our favours generously ’ (l. 12). ‘ We repel the aggressive army, and break any hero’s pride ’ (l. 13). ‘ In every battle, we fought until we levelled the ground and filled it with lines of our horse ’ (ll. 14–15).

In the final line, 16, the poet makes it clear that he is boasting of a remote heritage :

فَلَيْتَنِي فَخَرْتُ بِهِمْ لَمِثْلُ قَدِيمِهِمْ فَخَرَ اللَّيْبُ بِهِ عَلَى الْأَقْوَامِ

‘ Thus if I boast of them, a past such as theirs is one of which an intelligent person boasts ’.

This and the looseness apparent in the structure of certain lines as well as the pompous and exaggerated terms of boasting make it certain that this is a poem by a member of the later generations of the Anṣār, during the Umayyad period. This is yet another poem which shows the development in their attitude to the coming of Islam and the part they played in establishing it. At first they claimed the credit and expected to reap the fruit. Now they claim it as a divine favour that they and no one else were allowed to give the Prophet support, and this privilege had come to be the watchword, and, apart from the traditional and common sentiments, almost the sole ground for their boasts. Everything else had been lost.

Finally it is to be noted that the *Lisān* ⁵ provides one extra line, before the final line, which is not found in the manuscripts ⁶ :

ونجا أراهطُ أبعطوا ولو أنهم ثبتوا لما رجعوا إذا بسلام

‘ And certain people escaped, having run away, and had they stayed they would not have returned safely ’.

This is clearly a reference to battles against the Qurashites, and most probably the poet had Badr in mind and the flight of al-Ḥārith b. Hishām, who left his brother on the battlefield. This impression the line gives of a particular incident being in the mind of the poet and the fact that the line does not exist in other sources seem strongly to suggest that it is an interpolation by an even later Anṣāri.

Of this group two poems remain, neither of which is found in the *Dīwāns* ; one is ascribed by Ibn Hishām ⁷ to Ḥassān’s son, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān.

The first of these two poems ⁸ contains more than implicit evidence of later date in the first two lines, and the rest of the poem tells in a narrative form, of the reception the Madinese accorded the Prophet on his immigration, the help they gave him, and the victory at Badr. The boasting in the poem goes only so far. The poem opens :

قومي اللذين هم آووا نبيهمُ وصدقوه وأهل الأرض كفارُ
إلا خصائصُ أقوامٍ هم سلفُ للصالحين مع الأنصار أنصارُ

‘ My “ people ” are they who gave shelter to their Prophet, and believed in him when the rest of the world were unbelievers—except for choice men of certain peoples, who were predecessors of righteous men, and who were helpers with the Helpers ’.

With this clear indication that the poet is consciously dealing with past history, one gets yet another example of the exact meaning of the word *qawmī* ‘ the people from whom I am descended, my ancestors ’.

The poem then goes on to tell of the attitude of the Anṣār to the Prophet on his arrival. They rejoiced at this fortune bestowed upon them by God, when the Prophet came to them (l. 3). They welcomed him (l. 4) and received him in their own land where he need have no fear (l. 5) and shared their wealth (l. 6).

Turning to the first person plural the poem now mentions and elaborates on the battle of Badr. ‘ We marched to Badr and so did they, though had they known the truth [about its result] they would not have marched ’ (l. 7). They were deceived into it (by Satan ? or by Abū Jahl ? it is not clear) and then left in the lurch (l. 8). They were promised protection and help by the same but were in fact brought to disgrace (l. 9). ‘ We then met and they ran away in all directions leaving their chief men ’ (l. 10).

⁵ s.v. *بعط*.

⁶ Barqūqī reproduces the line in his edition of the *Dīwān* p. 391, in the place indicated.

⁷ *Sīra*, 929.

⁸ *Sīra*, 474.

Thus it is all history, and part of the heritage. However, in addition to this and to the explicit evidence of the first two lines one would note that such sentiments as are found in ll. 3-4 cannot be Ḥassān's.

Lastly, one notices the general inferiority of this poem to Ḥassān's style, an inferiority which it shares with the rest of this group. On the whole the words are more commonplace, the lines are far less tight-packed and less terse. The poem contains also a number of instances where padding is clear, sometimes in the form of a parenthesis.

It is clear that this poem also is most probably the work of a descendant of the Anṣār, some generations after the time of Ḥassān and the events dealt with in the poem.

Finally in this group there is another poem which is found in the *Sīra* only.* Ibn Ishāq attributes the poem to Ḥassān, but Ibn Hishām states that it is attributed to his son, 'Abd al-Raḥmān.

This poem of 19 lines is a very good example, though an extreme one, of the tendency, no doubt of later date, to enumerate the deeds of the Anṣār or of the poet's ancestors—and the battles they fought. Apart from twice mentioning that they paid homage to the Prophet and remained loyal to him (l. 3 and l. 12) the poet lists no less than 11 battles and raids.

However, the explicit proof of a much later authorship than the time of Ḥassān occurs in l. 18, one line before the end :

أولئك القوم أنصارُ النبيِّ وهُمُ قومي أصيرُ إليهم حينَ أتصلُ

'Those people were the helpers of the Prophet, and they are my people ; to them I finally come when I relate my descent'.

Clearly, there is a wide gap of time between the poet and the people of whom he is boasting.

It has been pointed out that this group of poems has one important common factor, and that is the existence in each poem of explicit evidence of late authorship, in the form of lines or phrases which unmistakably show that the events of early Islam and the services the Madinese rendered to the Prophet are spoken of as past history and a heritage of a bygone age. This is in addition to other characteristics which point in the same direction. It will be useful, therefore, before proceeding to discuss poems that seem to be similarly of late date, but which do not contain this explicit evidence, to sum up the main traits of the group already discussed.

- (1) Boasting is in general terms and is full of platitudes and abstractions.
- (2) It is inclined to be pompous and sounds empty. One gets the impression that an effort is being made to build up an impressive position merely by means of big words, and to rely on the glories of the past.
- (3) Most of the poems have a 'defensive' character and are indicative of a state of weakness. Effort is made to gain force by argument and some rhetoric.

* *Sīra*, 929.

(4) The boasting rests mainly on three bases: (i) the generalities already referred to; (ii) the past of the Madinese treated as history or presented as a heritage; (iii) the fertility and richness of their native town.

(5) The services of the Anṣār to the Prophet and Islam are treated as history—battles are often presented merely in a list, events are sometimes a little out of focus and some inaccuracies are found in historical data.

(6) These services of the Anṣār are presented more as a divine privilege bestowed upon them than as a positive and valuable contribution which is to their credit and which must be rewarded—as was the view of the Helpers themselves.

(7) Whenever the boasting is of the services of the Anṣār to Islam, the impression is nearly always gained that the poet cannot be identified with those who actually performed these services. He merely 'belongs' or is related to them. The word *qawmi* is particularly significant. Even when the first person plural is used one feels strongly that the identification is not complete, and the relation between poet and incidents is not personal.

(8) Sometimes the Prophet's connexion with the Anṣār is elaborated and is given a dramatic or a narrative form with pieces of dialogue put in the mouths of the Anṣār.

(9) The word 'Anṣār' comes to prominence instead of Khazraj or Aus, so also do certain terms such as *المليك*.

(10) The verse is on the whole inferior. The structure is not very firm. There is much padding, repetition, parenthesis, obscurity, and many constructions of doubtful validity.

MU'TAŞİM AND THE TURKS¹

By OSMAN S. A. ISMAIL

In the course of their expansion into Central Asia the Muslims came into contact with Turks, either settled and Iranized or else nomadic and marauding in their mode of life. As early as the time of the Caliph Uthmān, when the conquest of Khurāsān was barely complete, there were, according to the historical sources, a number of incursions by Turkish nomads into that province in the neighbourhood of Marw and even as far as Nishāpūr.² Under the Umayyads, however, the Muslims came into direct contact with both the Western and the Northern Turkish states. In the period 86–96/705–15, under Qutaiba b. Muslim, the famous Umayyad governor, the Muslims won their first important victory over the Western Turks. Under Naṣr b. Sayyār, in the year 121/738–9, the Muslims broke the power of the Western Turks by defeating the dominant group amongst them, that of the Tūrgeşh Khāqāns. The empire of the Northern Turks was destined to come to an end shortly afterwards in the year 744.³

Having prevailed over the settled, and hence according to Barthold, the civilized regions in Transoxania and having broken the major threat to their rule there, the Umayyads then followed a defensive policy, as all those had done who preceded them in those regions.⁴ In view of the rugged and mountainous nature of the land and of the turbulent and nomadic characteristics of the Turks it was difficult and unrewarding to attempt a full conquest. The main problem was indeed one of defence against the constant inroads of the nomads into the settled parts. In facing that problem the Umayyads, and the 'Abbāsids for some time after them, followed the practice of their predecessors, the Romans, the Greeks, the Byzantines, and the Sasanids, in dealing with similar situations, namely the building of defensive walls in strategic areas to stop the advance of the attackers.⁵ The erection of these walls against the threat of the Turks was so common a practice that one Arabic writer explained the word Turk as being derived from the Arabic verb *taraka* 'to leave behind'. According to him they were so called, because they were left behind the wall of Alexander.⁶ It was perhaps due to such notions as well as to the difficulties

¹ For bibliography, giving fuller details of works cited in footnotes, see p. 24.

² Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 56; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, v, 583; cf. Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*.

³ Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs*, 31; Wittek, 'Türkentum', 495; *BI*, first ed., s.v. 'Turks'.

⁴ Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs*, 31–2; Wittek, 'Türkentum', 509. It is to be remembered that the final victory over the Western Turks took place only some 20 years before the 'Abbāsīd Revolution.

⁵ Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 2–3; Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 56; Qudāma, *Khārāj*, 262; Ibn al-Faqīh, *Buldān*, 304; Ibn Isfandiyār, 27; Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs*, 32; Wittek, 'Türkentum', 509.

⁶ Ibn al-Faqīh, *Buldān*, 399. Earlier, p. 6, he gives a different explanation for the name: they were called Turks because of their egg-shaped faces. This shape was the result of the constant cold to which they were exposed. Cf. C. E. Wilson, 'The wall of Alexander', and *Lisān*, sub *trk*; see also Qur'ān XVIII, 90–7.

which faced the early Muslims with the Turks that the tradition of 'Leave the Turks alone as long as they leave you alone' became current.⁷ Trade relations between Muslim and Turk, however, continued and, through these relations as well as through other contacts of Turks with Muslims, Islamic influences found their way to the Turks. This penetration was especially important in relation to the Northern Turks with whom the Muslims did not have the same contacts that they had with the Western Turks.⁸

Through these contacts came also, amongst other things, knowledge about the Turks, their kingdoms and empires, their languages and tribes, their settled as well as their trading centres. Yet despite the evidence that some of the early Arabic writers were aware of these things,⁹ most, if not all of them, used the word Turk to signify all Turks and thus the word became synonymous with the nomads of the Central Asian steppes. In this respect the Arabs were indeed not very much different from the Turks themselves, who used the word Turk not in the ethnic so much as in a political and/or a linguistic sense.¹⁰ Their empires, which extended from Mongolia and the northern frontiers of China to the Black Sea, were essentially nomadic ones. But, needless to say, not all the Turks were nomads, nor were all of them contained within the boundaries of these empires. During the course of their incursions into the neighbouring lands like Soghd, Ushrūsana, Ṭabaristān, and Jurjān as well as Khurāsān, some Turks were left behind, who in time became part of the indigenous populations. In certain cases their own Turkish language prevailed over the local ones; owing to their use of the Turkish language even non-Turks came to be considered as Turks.¹¹

For the 'Abbāsids Khurāsān and the provinces around it had always a special significance. The important role played by these regions in the history of the dynasty need not be mentioned here. At first, the 'Abbāsids followed the defensive role of the Umayyads *vis-à-vis* their neighbours east and north-east of Khurāsān. The change-over to an offensive policy came, significantly, under Ma'mūn and then during the period when he was in Marw. Khurāsān, in recognition of its importance, had already been elevated to the status of a royal province before the reign of Ma'mūn.¹² Under him it became for a while a ruling province.¹³ During his stay there as a prince and as a Caliph Ma'mūn came to grips with the defensive and even the offensive possibilities of the

⁷ Qudāma, *Kharrāj*, 262; Ibn al-Faqīh, *Buldān*, 316; cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Stu.*, 270. Jāhiz, *Manāqib*, 34, attributes to the Caliph 'Umar I a tradition which describes the Turks as an enemy difficult and unrewarding to pursue.

⁸ Mas'ūdi, *Murūj*, I, 298-300, and II, 14-15; Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs*, 32, 35; *EI*, first ed., s.v. 'Turks'.

⁹ Mas'ūdi, *Murūj*, I, 286-90, and II, 38-64; Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs*, 25.

¹⁰ Barthold, op. cit., 25; Wittek, 'Türkentum', 495; *EI*, first ed., s.v. 'Turks'.

¹¹ Frye and Sayılı, 'Turks', 194-5; Wittek, 'Türkentum', 496; Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs*, 29-31; cf. B. Lewis, *The Arabs in history*, introduction.

¹² Barthold, *Turkestan*, 197-8.

¹³ Ṭabarī, years A.H. 198-204.

situation. For with the dangers in these regions were linked chances of territorial, religious, and material expansion. There in fact lay the land of promise. Unlike the other frontiers of the 'Abbasid world, where political, religious, and geographical barriers rendered penetration and expansion difficult, if not impossible, there were no such barriers here. Ma'mūn, whose relations with 'Irāq before and for some time after the death of Amīn, made it crucial for him to safeguard his position in Khurāsān and look east and north-east for expansion as well as for the securing of Khurāsān itself, inaugurated a new era in Muslim-Turkish relations. The change seems to have been noticed and appreciated by the early Muslim writers—e.g. Balādhurī begins his statements on Ma'mūn's activities with the Arabic word *fa-lammā* 'and when', which indicates a new turn in the narrative. He reports that Ma'mūn, after his accession and during the years that he remained in Khurāsān, sent soldiers to Soghd and Ushrūsana and to the rebels in Farghāna. At the same time he sent letters inviting people to accept Islam and to come within the fold of the Caliphate.¹⁴ This dual approach won him Rāfi' b. al-Layth and his Turkish supporters as well as Māzyār of Ṭabaristān. More important than this, perhaps, was the fact that under Ma'mūn, Nūh b. Asad the Sāmānid and his three brothers became governors of Samarqand, Farghāna, and Shāsh.¹⁵ With the collaboration of these Sāmānid brothers and from those regions, and especially from Samarqand under Nūh, came the bulk of Mu'taṣim's new troops.

Although these new troops were commonly referred to as Turks, not all of them were in fact of Turkish origin. Amongst them there were the Maghāriba group recruited from Egypt, or perhaps from further west. According to Mas'ūdī these troops were of Arab origin, from the factions of Yemen and Qays.¹⁶ In regard to those elements which came from the eastern districts from beyond Khurāsān and Mā-warā' al-Nahr, Transoxania, there are sufficient references to their lands of origin to show that the name Turk was used indiscriminately.¹⁷ The omission of the name in some of the sources is indeed worthy of attention. Balādhurī relates that the majority of Mu'taṣim's troops were of the people of Transoxania, from Soghd, Farghāna, Ushrūsana, Shāsh, and elsewhere. For him the Turks lay beyond these regions, since he goes on to report that the kings of these regions came to Mu'taṣim's court, that Islam was dominant among their populations, and that these populations had begun to invade the Turks situated beyond them.¹⁸ In this respect he does not differ from other writers who, as their allusions make clear, viewed the inhabitants of the above-mentioned regions and the Turks as distinct and separate peoples. Ibn al-Aṭhīr,

¹⁴ *Futūh*, v, 603-4; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 212.

¹⁵ Barthold, *Turkestan*, 109-11.

¹⁶ Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, vii, 118; *idem*, *Tanbih*, 356.

¹⁷ Balādhurī, *Futūh*, v, 606; Ya'qūbi, *Buldān*, 29-33; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, vii, 118; Jāhiz, *Manāqib*, 5-8; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *Kāmil*, vi, 319; Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, iii, 357. Only the two latter sources give the names Farghāna and Maghāriba as collective names for the two categories of troops.

¹⁸ Balādhurī, *Futūh*, v, 606.

writing under the Seljuqs, and Ibn Khaldūn, writing under the Mamlūks, do not mention the name Turk at all, but refer to the Maghāribā¹⁹ from Egypt and the Farāghina from Samarqand, Ushrūsana, and Farghāna. Ya'qūbī and Ṭabarī, reflecting the Baghdādī attitude, use the name Turk for all troops but give, here and there, indications relating to their diverse origins; Ya'qūbī, however, makes little mention of the Maghāribā group. Mas'ūdī, falling between the two groups of writers in time and place, mentions the Maghāribā; although using the name Turk to cover all those troops who came from the eastern provinces, he points out that amongst them were in fact non-Turks from Khurāsān, Farghāna, and Ushrūsana. For Jāhīz all who came from the east were Khurāsānis.²⁰

Indeed, in view of the indiscriminate application of the words Turk and Khurāsānī—used always in a regional sense—the 'Abbāsīd armies had beyond doubt Turkish elements within their ranks long before the time of Mu'taşīm. From the time of Manşūr one encounters references to individuals described as Turks, in 'Irāq and elsewhere.²¹ It is to be noted that in almost all these cases such individuals had acquired a measure of importance through their relationship with a caliph, a ruler, or a notable. Certainly there were others who could have been described in the same way, had the occasion arisen. But again one is not certain of the precise meaning given to the word Turk. That these men were distinguished from the other Khurāsānis must have been due to their fitting the accepted meaning of the word Turk in that period—the nomad of the Central Asian steppes, who was not described as Khurāsānī, since the latter had been Islamized and probably Arabicized for a long time before coming to 'Irāq. For the Baghdādīs the problem was not that they were Turks, but that they were savages ('*ulūj*) and foreigners ('*ajam*).²²

Certainty about the racial origin of Mu'taşīm's new troops is perhaps not so important in itself, although for those who seek to explain 'Abbāsīd history as a glorious period of Persian influence followed by a dark age of Turkish domination the case is otherwise. What is important is that Mu'taşīm collected a good number, if not the majority, of these troops under Ma'mūn, in whose reign the necessity for the introduction of new elements into the army arose. It is very probable that Ma'mūn had other Turks in his armies in addition to the troops mentioned in connexion with Mu'taşīm. When he was in Marw, during the years when the bulk of the Khurāsānī soldiers were

¹⁹ Ṭabarī, 1250, 1312 (tr. Marin, 71, 118) mentions the Maghāribā.

²⁰ Jāhīz is here reporting the views of al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān, to which he, however, subscribes and in favour of which he argues. For both al-Faṭḥ and Jāhīz the only distinction between Turks and Khurāsānis was that the latter were settled and the former were nomads. The arguments of Jāhīz for identifying the Turks with the Khurāsānis bear witness to his recognition of the importance of the role of the Khurāsānis in the rise of the 'Abbāsīds and in the empire of his own time.

²¹ Tha'ālibī, *Latā'if*, 15; Jahshiyārī, *Wuzarā'*, 134; Ibn al-Faḥīh, *Buldān*, 282; Ibn Badrūn, *Sharḥ*, 292. Tha'ālibī and Ibn Badrūn state that it was Manşūr who first introduced Turks into the service of the 'Abbāsīd state.

²² Ṭabarī, 1181 (tr. Marin, 17); Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 29.

fighting first against Amīn and then for the suppression of the many revolts in 'Irāq, Yemen, and Syria, the gaps created by the absence of those soldiers must have been filled by new elements. These elements could not have been different from the ones that Mu'taṣim collected from the east, the more so as it was Nūḥ b. Asad, one of the governors of Ma'mūn, through whom the collection was done. Jāḥiẓ mentions a group of Turkish soldiers who were waiting with other troops for Ma'mūn. While the other soldiers, except for three or four, relaxed on the ground after having been exposed to the midday heat, the Turks, save for three or four, kept their vigil on horseback. Jāḥiẓ then praises Mu'taṣim for his wisdom in collecting such good troops, meaning the Turks.²³ His references do not make it clear whether the Turks mentioned in connexion with Ma'mūn were in fact other than the troops of Mu'taṣim who was then also under Ma'mūn. The important thing is that these Turks were in the service of Ma'mūn. At that time they were a minority in number compared with the veterans, who dominated them in rank also. The mention of the new troops in connexion with Mu'taṣim, even in the time of Ma'mūn is perhaps to be explained on the ground that he had no other troops or perhaps because of what happened later in the reign of Mu'taṣim, when the new troops became dominant both in numbers and also in ranks.²⁴

Moreover, the group that Mu'taṣim controlled during the time of Ma'mūn, was not a contingent of soldiers under his command but was described rather as his slaves. The words used in this respect were 'abīd, *ghilmān*, and *mamālik*.²⁵ The absence of the word *mawālī* is worthy of note. The nature of the relation that linked Mu'taṣim and his slave troops was not similar to that of *walā'* nor, for that matter, to that of *walā' al-iṣṭinā'*, *abnā' al-dawla*, or 'Arab *al-dawla*.²⁶ The first term related the individual or the group to the family, then the tribe, and finally to the Arabs in general, while the two latter related the person to the state or the dynasty, but Mu'taṣim's slaves owed him a personal allegiance. This was perhaps the beginning of the slave army system the ultimate development of which was to be reached under the Mamlūks of Egypt. But again it is to be remembered that this process began in Ma'mūn's reign. A prince and a provincial governor then, Mu'taṣim was first and foremost a commander. Taking into account the circumstances which prevailed in that period, and leaving aside the legal aspect, the relation between Mu'taṣim and his troops was indeed not very different from that which existed between other commanders and their troops.

Furthermore, although the new troops were commonly described as slaves, not all of them were in fact so—a qualification which applies, perhaps, to the

²³ Jāḥiẓ, *Manāqib*, 37.

²⁴ Jāḥiẓ was a contemporary of Mu'taṣim, but most of the other writers were not.

²⁵ Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 29-30; Ṭabarī, 1180-1 (tr. Marin, 15-16); Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, 356; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam* III, 16; Ibn al-Faḥīh, *Buldān*, 319; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, 296; Suyūṭī, *Ta'rikh*, 133; Wittek, 'Türkentum', 510. Cf. *EI*, second ed., s.v. 'abīd; *EI*, first ed., s.v. *mamālik* and *ghilmān*.

²⁶ *EI*, second ed., s.v. *abnā'* and 'Arab *al-dawla*; *EI*, first ed., s.v. *mawālī*.

majority of them, especially in Sāmarrā. Hence the descriptions 'abīd, *ghilmān*, and *mamālik* were as inexact, in relation to them, as the appellation Turk. Ibn al-Athīr and Ibn Khaldūn do not use these words, nor do they use the words *jama'a* 'collected' or *ishtarā* 'bought', where other authors do; they relate that Mu'taşīm *ishtana'a* 'won over and used for his purposes' peoples from Egypt and from Samarqand, Farghāna, and Ushrūsana. Jāhīz uses the words *ishtana'a* and *jama'a* 'collected', but not the other terms. Ṭabarī calls them *ghilmān* 'slaves'. Ya'qūbī gives the impression that they were all bought and that accordingly they were all slaves. Mas'ūdī uses all of the above descriptions, but Balādhuri uses none of them, not even *ishtana'a*.²⁷

In addition to the diverse statements about the character of these troops we have also some references to their numbers. These numbers vary a great deal. But it is clear, however, that even when Mu'taşīm was a prince, or later at the time when he moved to Sāmarrā and also towards the close of his reign the number of his so-called 'Turkish' troops was too large to have been bought or owned by an individual, be he a prince or a caliph, without the support of the state. At their lowest number, during the time when Mu'taşīm was a prince, these 'Turkish' troops were quite numerous. Ya'qūbī relates that they were 3,000 and more; al-Kindī puts their number at 4,000.²⁸ Mu'taşīm, though of royal birth, could not have bought and maintained, as a private individual, such numbers at that time. These troops as a part of the army enrolled in the registers of the state, the *Dīwāns*, drew their salaries from the central treasury. It is thus to be assumed that at the time of Ma'mūn also they had all been enrolled in the registers of the state and that the state was responsible for their pay. Mu'taşīm himself was but in the service of the Caliphate. His own group of slaves, perhaps with a good number of Turks amongst them, was to be the core of the new troops, the name of which was linked with his own; but the majority of these troops owed allegiance to the state, serving it as free men.

In addition to the soldiers bought or collected by Mu'taşīm from the eastern provinces there were a few others whom he bought in 'Irāq itself. It is noteworthy that the leading figures among the new troops came from this latter source. Amongst these men of note were Ashinās, Itākh, Bugha the Elder, Waṣīf, and Sīmā of Damascus, all of whom rose to places of importance in the reign of Mu'taşīm and later.²⁹ These men were already slaves of certain individuals, in 'Irāq and elsewhere. As such they must have learnt the language and known some of the customs of the people. Because of this fact not only were they to serve as a link between Mu'taşīm and the other slave troops, but

²⁷ See p. 14, n. 17; cf. Bar-Hebræus, *Chronography*, I, 140. Jāhīz, Ibn al-Athīr, and Ibn Khaldūn might have had good reasons for not calling them slaves. The evidence shows, however, that, together with Mas'ūdī and Balādhuri, these authors are more reliable than the other writers.

²⁸ Ya'qūbī, *Buddān*, 30, al-Kindī, *Wulāh*, 188; here al-Kindī refers to the number of those who were with Mu'taşīm in Egypt in the year 214/829-30. These numbers in all cases do not include the troops from the west, but refer specially to the so-called 'Turkish' slaves.

²⁹ Ya'qūbī, *Buddān*, 29-30, cf. Ṭabarī (tr. Marin), index.

in doing so they were also to channel the latter's loyalty through their own loyalty to Mu'taṣim. This development was very opportune both for Mu'taṣim and for the troops themselves. As a governor and a commander Mu'taṣim had rivals, whose ambitions nearly cost him the succession to the Caliphate, perhaps his life as well.³⁰ His reliance on and increased use of these new elements, then and after his accession, was thus a result of his needs and circumstances. For the new troops it was very rewarding to be connected with a prince and later a Caliph, who patronized them and took their cause in the face of deeply entrenched hostilities. It was this relationship of need and trust which paved their way to power and influence under Mu'taṣim. Coming at a time when not only the veteran soldiers, but also the 'Irāqīs in general were mistrusted and discredited by the ruling Caliphs, the new troops found the shortest way to the state and the seat of power without difficulty or delay. The events which brought Mu'taṣim, during his own reign, into a head-on collision with the veterans and which discredited such new commanders as Afshīn were decisive in that process. The occurrences which threatened the security of Mu'taṣim and the lives of his favourite Turkish generals hastened in fact the advance of the new elements to positions of power and influence.

Some of the new troops who were bought as slaves could have been subjected to capture and sale, while still non-Muslim. Captives of war provided such a source of recruitment. A captive could not have served in the armies of the Caliphate, if he was not Muslim. But while there are references to the centres where such slaves were bought, there is nothing to indicate the manner of their purchase and presentation to Mu'taṣim. The only evidence of this kind is that Mu'taṣim used to send to Nūḥ b. Asad at Samarqand a certain Ja'far al-Khushshakī to buy Turks there and that Ja'far used to return with a number of Turks every year. It was thus, according to Ya'qūbī, that Mu'taṣim gathered together his 3,000 Turks during the reign of Ma'mūn.³¹ Doubts have been raised above as to the truth of this number. Were these Turks already Muslims when they were bought for Mu'taṣim or did their conversion follow their purchase? There is no direct evidence on this problem. They were all described, however, as non-Arabic-speaking, 'ajam. Even Ashinās, who was bought in Baghdād, belonged to this group according to Ṭabarī.³²

The name Turk was given to all of these troops, despite the inclusion amongst them of some elements of Iranian origin, from Farghāna, Ushrūsana, and Shāsh—places which were in fact the centres where this slave material was collected together.³³ It is more than probable that most of them were converted to Islam before their coming to 'Irāq. Even before the rise of the 'Abbāsids Islam was making headway in the provinces bordering on Khurāsān.

Through contacts with traders and individual wandering Ṣūfīs converts

³⁰ Ṭabarī, 1164 (tr. Marin, 1); Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, III, 197; Ibn Qutaiba, *Ma'ārif*, 199.

³¹ Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 24.

³² Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 24; Ṭabarī, 1067, 1181 (tr. Marin, 16); Ibn Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, VI, 437.

³³ Barthold, *Turkestan*, 212.

were made. That Islam was the religion of the state which had inherited the Sasanid Empire, to whose civilization the nomads had always aspired, was also an important factor in winning over adherents.³⁴ The active policy of Ma'mūn—which Mu'taşım also followed—in spreading Islam and pushing forward the boundaries of the state and its sphere of influence was but a speeding up of an already existing process. The available evidence suggests, however, that this forward policy bore quick and important results. The mention in the time of Ma'mūn and Mu'taşım of a number of rulers from these regions, who visited the court of Mu'taşım, bears witness to this fact. The type of Islam which these Turks adopted was the one which came later to be called Sunnī Islam, in their case an Islam much influenced by the spirit of *jihād*, which suited their nature and which was the mark of Islam in those frontier provinces.³⁵ Perhaps what appealed to the Turks most was the fact that, over and above the simplicity of its basic tenets, Islam opened to them in particular, careers which befitted their natural aptitudes: service in the army, which, in addition to regular pay, provided chances for booty. The simplicity and, at the same time, the firmness of their new belief can perhaps be seen in the declaration of Bugha the Elder, who, wondering what the Inquisition of Ahmad b. Ḥanbal was about, stated that he knew no more of Islam than the declaration of the Articles of Faith, the *Shahāda*, and the fact that the Caliph was a relation of the Prophet.³⁶

On his accession Mu'taşım increased his efforts to recruit new troops. In doing so he was driven not only by his fears and misgivings in regard to the veterans, who had not accepted without demur his elevation to the Caliphate, but also by the prospect of the campaigns which he would have to face. And it was not merely for their suitability on political grounds but also for their being militarily the best material for his purposes that Mu'taşım undertook such recruitment. Professor Dūri has suggested that it was perhaps because Mu'taşım's mother was a Turk that he introduced them into his service.³⁷ His suggestion, that Mu'taşım's mother was a Turk, is, however, of doubtful validity, and probably untrue. More relevant perhaps was Mu'taşım's own conviction that the Turks were the best of soldiers.³⁸ In his treatise on the Turk, where arguments supporting the qualities of other ethnic elements in the army—the *abnā'*, the *Khurāsānis*, and the *mawālī*—are produced, as well as in other places, Jāhiz describes the Turks in terms which make it clear that they were the most suitable troops to meet the problems of the reign.³⁹

³⁴ Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs*, 35-6, 47-8, 56-9; Wittek, 'Türkentum', 513; cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddīma*, 147.

³⁵ cf. Nizām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat-nāma*, 68, 165; also C. Cahen, 'The Turkish invasion', and Wittek, 'Devşirme and ḡari'a', *BSOAS*, xvii, 2, 1955, 271-8. Nizām al-Mulk refers to the existence of Ḥanafī influences amongst the Turks.

³⁶ Abū Nu'aim, *Ḥilya*, 198.

³⁷ Dūri, *Aḡr*, 228.

³⁸ Ṭaifūr, *Ta'riḡh Baḡhdād* (ed. Muḡammad Zāhid b. al-Ḥusayn al-Kawḡharī), Cairo, 1949, 80.

³⁹ See Jāhiz, *Manāḡib*; *idem*, *Ḥaiawān*, ii, 353-4, and 161.

Primarily horsemen, they were possessed of remarkable powers of endurance and resourcefulness, especially in difficult frontier conditions. Nor—as the campaign against Byzantium revealed—were they lacking in discipline and the ability to learn new techniques in regard to organized campaigns and siege warfare. Moreover, to judge from the little that is known about his own training in his youth and also from his ‘image’ as a cavalier, Mu‘taṣim himself fitted well with the character of his new troops. The important problem is to know how many such troops he had at the moment when he became Caliph. The idea that the Caliphal troops under Mu‘taṣim were overwhelmingly composed of Turkish slaves is indeed not new. The relatively reasonable number of 3,000, which, according to Ya‘qūbī, he was able to acquire during the long reign of Ma‘mūn, is said in some sources, to have numbered 20,000, and in other sources, 70,000.⁴⁰ And these estimates relate only to the Turkish slave troops. The lack of a proper appreciation of numbers had already been a subject of complaint by Ibn Khaldūn.⁴¹ Closer to the truth was perhaps Mas‘ūdī’s estimate of 4,000.⁴² Moreover, the Turks were neither the only nor even the dominant element in Mu‘taṣim’s army.⁴³ Had they been so, Mu‘taṣim would have had no fear of their being killed off by the veteran troops. The accounts of the campaigns of Mu‘taṣim’s reign, with the descriptions of the various troops and their commanders, show that the Caliphal Corps (*Jund al-Ḥaḍra*)⁴⁴ formed but a small section of the army. Even in Sāmarrā, a city which was built mainly in order to garrison them, they were not the dominant group at that time. Despite all his preference for and reliance upon these troops Mu‘taṣim did not discriminate against the other elements in their favour. The fact that the Caliphal Corps was spared the brunt of the campaign against the Zuṭṭ was a question of technical suitability. Such also was the case with the campaign against Bābak, which was led by Afshīn, a favourite commander of Mu‘taṣim. A part of the forces under Afshīn was in fact drawn from the new troops, the *Jund al-Ḥaḍra*. It was only after the discrediting of the old commanders, ‘Ujaif, ‘Abbās, Afshīn, and others, that Ashinās, the favourite of Mu‘taṣim from the new troops, rose to a place of importance. Before that time it was Mu‘taṣim himself who might have been counted as the commander of his royal troops and as the equal, in that respect, of the veteran commanders. The deposition of Ja‘far b. Dīnār al-Khayyāṭ, also from the new troops, who

⁴⁰ Ya‘qūbī, *Buldān*, 29; Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam*, III, 16; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, 296. Bar-Hebraeus, *Chronography*, I, 140, relates that on his death Mu‘taṣim freed 8,000 slaves and left 30,000 slaves for the stables.

⁴¹ Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddīma*, 10.

⁴² Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 118.

⁴³ See Jāhīz, *Manāqīb*.

⁴⁴ Jāhīz, *Manāqīb*, 5, speaks of *Jund al-Khilāfa*, the Caliphal troops, which includes the *Jund al-Ḥaḍra*, the Caliphal Corps; cf. Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, IV, 474. It was the latter who were distinguished from the rest by their gold-decorated girdles; Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 118, Suyūṭī, *Ta‘rīkh*, 113. They were not, however, of Turkish origin only. Afshīn of Ushrūsana and his officers, probably all of them Iranian in origin, were amongst the bodyguards of Mu‘taṣim. Cf. Ṭabarī, 1306 (tr. Marin, 113).

had been elevated to the position of governor of the Yemen, is yet another example of how Mu'taṣim treated his favourite commanders. Commenting on the subsequent difficulties that befell the 'Abbāsid Caliphs in Sāmarrā, Ibn Badrūn points out that these difficulties came into being only after the reign of Wāthiq (227-32/842-7). Owing to the personality of Wāthiq and to the respect which he commanded, argues Ibn Badrūn, the Turkish slaves would not have dared to go against him.⁴⁵ This state of affairs was never more true than with Mu'taṣim himself, in whose reign the Turkish troops were the most loyal servants of the Caliphate. It is to be remembered that, although some of them like Itākh, Ja'far b. Dīnār al-Khayyāt, and Ashinās rose to the rank of provisional governor,⁴⁶ their pre-eminence derived from their military capacities and not from entrenched political positions such as the Tāhirids in Khurāsān, or, later the Tūlūnids and the Ikhshīdids in Egypt enjoyed. Throughout the reign of Mu'taṣim and of his son and successor Wāthiq, the Turks served the dynasty well, quelling anti-'Abbāsid revolts and guarding the territorial integrity of the realm. Mu'taṣim in his later years was reported to have expressed regret that he had favoured Afshīn, Itākh, and Waṣīf, who were, according to him, nothing compared to the four men who had been fostered by his brother Ma'mūn.⁴⁷ The important thing here is that his regret was made known only in relation to a different, but parallel situation. Mu'taṣim expressed no overall regret that he had favoured the cause of the Turkish troops.

Other factors operative at this time must also be taken into account. Ma'mūn had striven hard to maintain the prestige and power of the Caliphate, only to end in a condition of dependence on the military forces that he was able to muster. To the growing weakness of the Caliphs was seen to be added the adverse effects of their isolation, with their troops, in Sāmarrā.

That the age of the generals had begun during the reign of Ma'mūn is to be seen in his choice of Mu'taṣim as successor and also in the remarks of the chroniclers to the effect that the troops of Ma'mūn had not been matched earlier, either in numbers or in weapons—remarks later to be made about Mu'taṣim and his force.⁴⁸ It was, however, under Mu'taṣim that the 'Era of Isolation' began.⁴⁹ His 'image' and that of his Turks came to be associated with the disturbances which, in fact, lay behind the building of Sāmarrā and, in addition, with all the similar happenings that took place afterwards, and often with the cause of the decline of the Caliphate itself. Passages in the

⁴⁵ Tabarī, 1303 (tr. Marin, 110).

⁴⁶ Ibn Badrūn, *Sharḥ*, 292-3.

⁴⁷ Tabarī, 1327-8 (tr. Marin, 130-1). Mu'taṣim is reported to have expressed this opinion to Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Muṣ'ab b. al-Ḥusayn, who, together with his brother Muḥammad, his uncle Tāhir b. al-Ḥusayn, and the latter's son 'Abd Allāh, are designated as the four men favoured by Ma'mūn. Ishāq was governor of Baghdād at that time and 'Abd Allāh the governor of Khurāsān.

⁴⁸ Taifūr, *Ta'rikh Baghdād*, vi, 12; Tabarī, 1236 (tr. Marin, 60-1).

⁴⁹ By this is meant the period 221-79/836-92, in which the 'Abbāsid Caliphs ruled from Sāmarrā. Cf. *EI*, second ed., s.v. 'Abbāsids'; also G. Le Strange, *Baghdād*, 13; Tabarī (tr. Marin), p. 15, n. 105.

earlier sources which mention the Turkish troops reflect in no small measure the attitude of the Baghdādīs, as revealed in the Baghdādī sources. But even the Baghdādī chronicles make no more than a limited mention of the Turks, and even then rather adverse in character, under the influence of the disturbances which some of the Turkish troops caused from time to time in Baghdād. Jāhīz offered a splendid defence of the Turks and Ṭabarī makes occasional mention of individuals in connexion with particular events but with the move of the Turks to Sāmarrā mention of them in the sources comes to an end as far as the reign of Mu'taṣim is concerned.

The Turks of Mu'taṣim are not reflected in the earlier sources as representatives of an emerging dominant race—a fact which can be used as a further argument in support of the view that they were only a group not even dominant numerically in Mu'taṣim's time. The 'Turkish invasion' *par excellence* was yet to come.⁵⁰ At the time of Mu'taṣim and for quite a period after him the breakdown of the frontiers between the lands of the Caliphate and the steppe-lands of the Turks had worked in favour of the Caliphate. Under the Ṭāhirids and Sāmānids Islam had been the conquering power.

Later writers, like Ibn Khaldūn and Ibn al-Athīr, who wrote after the penetration of the Turks as far as Syria and Egypt, do not suggest an identification between Mu'taṣim's troops and the Turks as such.⁵¹ These two writers called the troops of Mu'taṣim the Farāghina, as opposed to the Maghāribā, and both groups were included under the designation of 'new troops'. Ibn Khaldūn, faithful to his theories of kinship, of the decadence of civilizations, and of the cycles of rejuvenation based on the encroachment of the nomads over the settled population, did indeed characterize in such terms the advance of the Turks under the Seljūqs, but, even so, his remarks are limited to the rise of the Seljūqs, a subject which he introduced by tracing the nomadic origins of the Turks.⁵² It is perhaps worth mentioning that the important thing for him was that the Turks had become Muslims. The real problem that beset the Caliphate in his view was the decline of the sense of Arab kinship and the conflict over the Caliphate between the Umayyads and the 'Abbāsids and later between the latter and the 'Alids.⁵³ The sources, in one respect alone, seem to have some awareness of a relation between the Turks of Mu'taṣim and the Turks in general—an awareness not that the former were the heralds of the Turkish wave, but an awareness of them as fearless, dangerous, and uncivilized nomads. Even Nizām al-Mulk, whose overlords were Turks, speaks of the Turks in such general terms, although it is quite clear that for him, as well as for his contemporaries, any derogatory remarks were meant to refer to the Turkomans and not to the Seljūq ruling circles.⁵⁴ The identification of Mu'taṣim's Turks

⁵⁰ C. Cahen, 'The Turkish invasion'.

⁵¹ cf. C. Cahen, 'The Turkish invasion', 136.

⁵² 'Ibar, III, 443, 450; cf. *Muqaddīma*, index.

⁵³ 'Ibar, III, 170.

⁵⁴ Nizām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat-nāma*, index, s.v. 'Turks'; *EI*, first ed., s.v. 'Turkoman'.

with all the Turks and of the latter with all that beset the Caliphate and the Arab world in particular is a modern phenomenon resulting from ideas of nationalism and from recent unfavourable trends in Arab-Turkish relations. Indeed such a projection could not have developed earlier, while the Turks were still seen either as a caste of slaves or as the saviours of the Caliphate and of Sunnī Islam from the menace of the Shī'is and of the Dailamites, not to mention the Crusades and the Byzantine reconquests of the tenth and eleventh centuries.

One may wonder whether there was any choice left for Mu'taşim, in that age of regionalism, of weak central administration, and of dependence on military support, but to surround himself with the best and most loyal of troops. To ask whether or not such a course fitted into his other policies is to run the danger of projecting back into his reign what happened after it and also to ignore the facts of his upbringing and personal circumstances. His administration was left in the hands of the very men who had worked with Ma'mūn and who had been recommended by the latter.⁵⁵ The reasons for Mu'taşim's recruitment of troops from the east have been noted above, but it should also be stressed that he was in 'Irāq where, even had he so desired, the local population, mostly settled and urbanized, was unable to provide enough elements to fill the ranks of the army. This factor is relevant to Egypt also. It was in these two provinces that the rule of the 'Abbāsids was based in a pre-eminent degree on the use of foreign troops. As to Mu'taşim's troops, already 'foreign' when introduced into 'Irāq, their alien character was greatly enhanced by their isolation in Sāmarrā and by the policy of separate settlements and of non-integration.

The 'Era of Isolation', begun with Mu'taşim's move to Sāmarrā with his troops, saw the reduction of the 'Abbāsīd Caliph to the status, *de facto*, of a regional ruler or even less. What local support, or semblance of local support, there was for the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate among the Baghdādīs in the time of Ma'mūn—and that for practical reasons—disappeared when the Baghdādīs made it incumbent upon Mu'taşim to leave their city. Compared to the Ṭāhirids or even to the Ikhshīdids later, the Caliph was in a weak situation. The Ṭāhirids had strong local support, he had little. The Ikhshīdids were provincial governors, he was not one. He was the Caliph, the overlord of all. Isolated and deprived of local support, the Caliph came gradually to be the prisoner of his own troops.

The caliphs of a later time were little involved in the problems of the frontier regions, which claimed the attention of the Ṭāhirid armies and likewise of the forces of the Ṭūlūnids and the Ikhshīdids. For Mu'taşim the situation was different. His troops defeated Bābak and Māzyār and also marched into the Byzantine territories. Despite the varied problems that he had to face and although he found it advisable to confirm the position of the Ṭāhirids in Khurāsān, he was still master of the situation.

⁵⁵ See D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat 'Abbāsīde*, I, 245–80.

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IBN SĪNĀ'S 'ESSAY ON THE SECRET OF DESTINY'

By GEORGE F. HOUBANI

On several occasions in his writings Ibn Sīnā discusses the problem of destiny (*al-qadar*), by which he means primarily the problem of reconciling the divine determination of human acts and characters with the rewards and punishments of the after-life, in such a way as to safeguard God's justice to man. This aspect of the problem of theodicy had arisen long before his time out of statements of the Qur'ān and Traditions, and had been settled in their own fashions by Mu'tazilite and predestinarian theologians. Ibn Sīnā as a philosopher could hardly avoid offering a solution, if only to satisfy the doubts of his Muslim public; but he goes beyond a perfunctory answer, and seems to show a genuine interest in finding an intellectually convincing solution consistent with his own philosophy. As would be expected, he interprets the data of the problem in his own terms and comes up with a distinctly Neoplatonic answer, while taking care to express this in a way that might have a chance of acceptance in his religious milieu, Muslim Iran of the early eleventh century A.D.

The word 'destiny' in the title and text of this article is used as a deliberately ambiguous translation of Arabic *al-qadar*. Omitting complexities, we may for our purpose distinguish two main significations of the word in the religious context of earlier Islam. The older usage is 'predestination,' of human acts and characters by a freely willed decision of God for each person. This is the apparent meaning of the word in the Qur'ān and Traditions, and it was understood thus by Muslim theologians. But *al-qadar* also came to be used by Muslim philosophers in their own sense: 'determination' of man's life as a part of a cosmic system in which God causes His effects by the necessity of His nature and their natures. As in other cases, the philosophers found it convenient to employ an accepted Islamic term in a new way rather than draw attention to their own innovation of thought by inventing a new term. I shall therefore distinguish 'predestination' and 'determination' where it is required for analysis, but in many places it will be more suitable to use 'destiny', to reproduce as nearly as possible the full associations of Ibn Sīnā's language.

Apart from the passages occurring in longer works on other subjects, which will be referred to below, Ibn Sīnā wrote two monographs on destiny which have survived. One is *Risālat al-qadar* 'Essay on destiny'.¹ This is written in a florid, rhetorical Arabic, with a vocabulary which would place it beyond the reach of readers unlearned in Arabic literature. It is one of a group of mystical works which Ibn Sīnā presented as the wisdom of the mythical Ḥayy b. Yaqzān. I shall refer to it, but it is not the subject of this article. The other monograph, of unknown date, is *Risāla fī sirr al-qadar* 'Essay on the secret

¹ Ed. and paraphrased by A. F. Mehren, *Traité mystiques . . . d'Avicenne*, IV, Leiden, 1899.

of destiny'.³ This opusculum too is difficult, but for different reasons. One is extrinsic: the faulty state of the Hyderabad edition, which has been the most accessible version so far. Two further reasons are intrinsic to the essay as its author wrote it: the order of the argument is not altogether logical, and the exposition is very concise. The work therefore stands in need of elucidation, and I shall try to provide this in the present article. Ibn Sinā's general thought on the problem of destiny will be described to the extent that is needed for this purpose. Finally I shall discuss the problem of Ibn Sinā's style of philosophical writing in the essay.

Editions and manuscripts

Of the two printed editions, that of Cairo (1910) has not been available to me. That of Hyderabad (1934) is based on two manuscripts in Indian libraries, referred to below. The resultant edition is not very satisfactory, as I believe will be evident by a comparison of it with the text offered here. As there are many manuscripts of the work, some unobtainable by photography, I am not attempting a fully critical edition. But in view of the unlikelihood that such an edition will be produced in a foreseeable future, it seems worth while to publish a provisional text, based on a few good manuscripts, which will at least settle the main problems of meaning in the essay.

The relevant bibliographies³ list 14 manuscripts of the essay as existing in London, Istanbul, Tehran, and more eastern cities; and there are very likely others.⁴ Out of these I have used three manuscripts in photocopy, and controlled a fourth indirectly, as will be explained. I am grateful to the respective libraries for photographic services and permission to use their manuscripts in making this edition.

B(1): British Museum, 978.16 = Or. Add. 16659, fols. 369v–370r. *Naskhī*, clear, with many superior readings.

B(2): British Museum, Or. 12804, fols. 8v–9v. A recent acquisition of the Museum Library, to which my attention has been drawn by Dr. Martin Lings. *Nasta'liq*. On the whole the best of the manuscripts used, though none is outstanding. Many of its readings agree with B(1). The spelling 'Aflāṭun' for 'Aflāṭūn' in line 33 seems to indicate an older tradition, not preserved in the other manuscripts used. I have made B(2) the basis of this edition; hence it is not listed for accepted readings (first position in the notes), except where it shares an accepted reading with another manuscript.

³ Ed. 'Abdullāh b. Aḥmad al-'Alawī in *Majmū' rasā'il al-shaykh al-ra'īs . . .*, Hyderabad, 1353/1934, fourth treatise. Also in *Majmū'at al-rasā'il*, Cairo, 1328/1910, 243–9. Translated from the Hyderabad edition by A. J. Arberry in *Avicenna on theology*, London, 1951, 38–41, 'Predestination'.

³ See C. Brockelmann, *GAL*, I, 456, Suppl., No. 49; G. Anawati, *Mu'allafāt Ibn Sinā*, Cairo, 1950, 240–1, No. 181; Yahya Mahdavi, *Fihrist nuskhahā-ye muṣannafāt-i Ibn-i Sinā*, Tehran, 1954, 9–10; *Majmū' rasā'il . . .*, Hyderabad, editor's note after the text.

⁴ One more at the British Museum: see below, B(2). One other supposed copy, listed as Istanbul, University 9658.3, fols. 9–15, could not be traced by Anawati or myself in the collection.

I: Istanbul, University 1458, fols. 109v–110r. *Nasta'īq*, clear enough. Often loose in word order; additions and omissions. In spite of this free manner, the scribe or his source shows intelligent interest in the meaning, and makes a few sensible conjectures.

A: Although the Hyderabad editor based his edition—Hyd.—on a manuscript at Rampur State Library (Ḥikma 82), he collated it with one in Hyderabad: Aṣafiyya, III, 728 = 'Arabī, Majāmi', No. 41, Treatise No. 6, pp. 328–31. The Director of the Osmaniya Press, Dr. M. Nizamuddin, has very graciously copied and sent me all the variations of this Aṣafiyya manuscript from the printed Hyd., so that in effect A has been at my disposal. It often agrees with I.

No attempt is made to record here all the variant readings of B(1), I, and A, where B(2) is accepted. Hence the impression given by the notes that B(1) is superior to B(2) is misleading.

TEXT

⁶رسالة في سرّ القدر للشيخ الرئيس أبي عليّ بن سينا رحمه الله.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

سأل بعض الناس الشيخ الرئيس أبا⁶ عليّ بن⁷ سينا⁸ رحمه الله تعالى⁸ عن معنى قول الصوفية «من عرف⁹ سرّ القدر فقد أُلْحِدَ». فقال في جوابه إن هذه المسألة فيها أوفى غموض، وهي من المسائل التي لا تُدَوَّن إلا مرموزة ولا تُعَلَّم إلا مكنونة 5 لِمَا فِي إِظْهَارِهَا مِنْ إِفْسَادِ الْعَامَّةِ. وَالْأَصْلُ فِيهِ مَا رُوِيَ عَنِ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ

⁶ Title as in I, except بن for his ابن. Om. B(1), B(2). سر القدر من عرف سر الصوفية. رسالة في معنى قول الصوفية من عرف سر القدر. Om. B(1), B(2). A. فقد أُلْحِدَ للشيخ الرئيس الخ

⁷ B(1), A. أبي B(2). Names om. I.

⁸ B(1), A. أبي add. B(2). Om. I.

⁹ B(1). Om. B(2), A, I.

⁹ All MSS; Hyd. اعرف, Broekelmann, *GAL*, I, 456, Suppl., No. 49, a mistaken reading of B(1). اعرف or عرف understood by Arberry, *Avicenna on theology*, 38, 'to make known'; possible because *shaddas* are often omitted in MSS, and attractive because revealing a secret is more easily condemned than merely knowing it, and because Ibn Sīnā's reply refers to teaching. But absence of the *shadda* in the four MSS creates a presumption for عرف, and this is confirmed by parallel accounts. Abū Ja'far b. Bābawayh (d. A.D. 922), reporting Ja'far al-Ṣādiq: 'He who attempts to seek knowledge of it goes contrary to Allah's command', etc.—*Risālat al-i'tiqādāt*, VII, 16, Najaf, 1924, 102, as tr. by A. Jeffery, *Islam: Muḥammad and his religion*, New York, 1958, 154. A *hadīth* about Salmān al-Fārisī—reference not traced: أحد: إنه له من العلم لو عرف أحد. The three Traditions of 'Alī quoted below forbid knowledge; and the one of Muḥammad forbids teaching. If knowledge is forbidden teaching is also forbidden *a fortiori*, which allows room for all the Traditions, but this is not true in the reverse case.

وسلم أنه قال: «القدر سرّ الله ولا تُظهروا سرّ الله»، وما رُوِيَ أن رجلاً سأل أمير المؤمنين عليّاً رضي الله عنه،¹⁰ فقال «القدر بحر عميق فلا تلجّه»، ثمّ سأله¹⁰ فقال «إنّه طريق وعر¹¹ فلا تسلكه»، ثمّ¹² سأله ف¹² قال «إنّه صعود عسر فلا تتكلّفه».

10 قال الشيخ: واعلم أن سرّ القدر مبنيّ على مقدّمات، منها نظام العالم ومنها حديث الثواب والعقاب¹⁸ ومنها إثبات المعاد للنفوس.

فالمقدّمة الأولى هي أن تعلم أن العالم بجملته وبأجزائه العلوية منها والأرضية¹⁴ ليس فيه ما يخرج عن¹⁵ أن يكون الله سبب وجوده وحدوثه وعن أن يكون الله عالماً به ومدبراً له ومريداً لكونه، بل كلّه بتدييره وتقديره وعلمه وإرادته. هذا على الجملة والظاهر وإن كنا نريد بهذه الأوصاف ما يصحّ في وصفه دون ما يعرفه المتكلمون، ويمكن إيراد الأدلّة والبراهين على ذلك. فلو لا أن هذا العالم مركّب ممّا¹⁶ يُحدث¹⁷ فيه الخيرات والشُرور ويُحصّل من أهله الصلاح والفساد جميعاً لَمّا تمّ للعالم نظام، إذ لو كان العالم لا يجري فيه إلا الصلاح المحض لم يكن هذا العالم بل كان عالماً آخر، ولكان يجب أن يكون العالم²⁰ مركّباً بخلاف هذا التركيب، وكذلك لو كان لا يجري فيه إلا الفساد الصرف لم يكن هذا العالم بل كان عالماً آخر. فأما ما كان مركّباً على هذا الوجه والنظام فإنّه يجري فيه الصلاح والفساد جميعاً.

والمقدّمة الثانية هي أن القدماء عندهم أن الثواب حصول لذّة للنفس بقدر ما حصل لها من الكمال وأنّ العقاب حصول ألمّ للنفس بقدر ما يحصل لها¹⁸ من النقص، فكان بقاء النفس في النقص هو البعد عن الله تعالى، وهو اللعنة والعقوبة والسخط والغضب، فيحصل لها ألمّ بذلك النقص، وكماها هو المراد بالرضى عنها والزلقى والقرب والولاية. فهذا معنى الثواب والعقاب عندهم لا غير. والمقدّمة الثالثة هي أنّ المعاد إنّما هو عود النفوس البشرية إلى عالمها،

¹⁰ A, I. Om. B(1), B(2).

¹¹ A, I. (?) فيه عمر B(1), B(2).

¹² A, I. Om. B(1), B(2).

¹³ A, I. العقاب B(1). العذاب B(2); same meaning, but العقاب is regular, see below.

¹⁴ منها A, I; both om. السفلية.

¹⁵ B(1), A, I. (?) عنده B(2).

¹⁶ I. See A.-M. Goichon, *Lexique de la langue philosophique d'Ibn Sina*, Paris, 1938, No. 429, examples 4 and 5. Cf. Ibn Rushd, *Tahāfut al-tahāfut*, ed. M. Bouyges, Beirut, 1930, indexes. A عن ما B(1), B(2).

¹⁷ B(1), B(2): better sense; good and evil are objects, produced. A, I: good and evil as subjects, producing elements of the world.

¹⁸ A, I. Om. B(1), B(2).

ولهذا قال الله تعالى «يا أيُّها¹⁹ النفس المطمئنة ارجعي إلى ربك راضية مرضية». وهذه جُمُلك يحتاج²⁰ إلى إقامة البراهين عليها. 30

فإذا تقررت هذه المقدمات قلنا أن الذي يقع في هذا العالم من الشرور في الظاهر²¹ فعلى أصل الحكيم²² ليس بمقصود²³ من العالم وإنما الخيرات هي المقصودة والشرور إعدام²⁴، وعند أفلاطون²⁵ أن الجميع مقصود ومراد، وأن ما ورد به الأمر والنهي في العالم من أفعال المكلفين فإنما هو ترغيب لمن كان في المعلوم أنه يحصل فيه الأمور²⁶، والنهي تنفير لمن²⁷ في المعلوم أنه ينتهي عن المنهي²⁸، فكان الأمر سبباً لوقوع الفعل منه والنهي سبباً لانزجار من يرتدع²⁹ عن القبيح لذلك، ولو لا الأمر لا يرغب ذلك³⁰ في الفعل³⁰ ولو لا النهي لكان لا ينزجر هذا. فكان³¹ يتوهم أن مائة جزء من الفساد كان يمكن وقوعها لو لا النهي وإذا وجد³² النهي وقع خمسون جزءاً من الفساد ولو لم يكن نهياً وقع مائة جزء، وكذلك حكم الأمر، لو لم يكن أمر لكان لا يقع شيء من الصلاح فإذا ورد³³ الأمر حصل خمسون جزءاً من الصلاح. 40

فأما المدح والذم فإنما ذلك لأمرين، أحدهما حدث³⁴ فاعل الخير³⁴ على معاودة مثله الذي هو مراد منه وقوعه، والثاني³⁵ زجر من حصل منه الفعل عن

¹⁹ B(1), A, I. أيها B(2).

²⁰ B(1), B(2), I. يحتاج A.

²¹ B(1), A, I. الظ B(2).

²² B(1), B(2), A, I. الحكيم Hyd.

²³ B(1), A. مقصود I. مقصود B(2).

²⁴ B(2), A, I. غرام B(1): 'unavoidable'; meaningful in itself, but misses the Neoplatonic doctrine of evil.

²⁵ For spelling, cf. Fārābī, *Falsafat Aristūṭālīs*, ed. M. Mahdi, Beirut, 1961, p. 59, lines 5 and 7; Ibn Rushd, *Faṣl al-maqāl*, ed. G. F. Hourani, Leiden, 1959, n. 171. أفلاطون B(1), A, I.

²⁶ B(1), B(2): possible as a loose expression, 'commandments' for 'what is commanded'. المأمور به A. المأمور I; best sense and grammar.

²⁷ B(1), B(2). كان add. A, I.

²⁸ B(1), A, I. المعلوم B(2).

²⁹ B(1), A, I. ترتدع B(2).

³⁰ B(1), B(2). Om. I. الفاعل A. الفعل Hyd.

³¹ Emend. كان B(1), B(2), A. كما I, with sound understanding. 'He imagined' would refer this and all the preceding passage to Plato, whereas the views are more like Ibn Sīnā's.

³² B(2), I. دخل B(1). زجر A.

³³ B(1), A. أورد B(2), possible as passive of أورد. Om. I.

³⁴ Emend. وأوحينا إليهم فعل الخيرات، 73, Qur'an xxi. فاعل على الخير B(1), B(2), A, I. Cf.

³⁵ I. والذم B(1), B(2), A.

معاودة مثله ولمن (لم) ⁸⁶ يحصل منه ذلك أن يُحجَم عن فعل ما لم يُرد منه وقوعه
45 ممّا في وسعه أن يفعله.

ولا يجوز أن يكون الثواب والعقاب على ما ظنّه ⁸⁷ المتكلمون من أخذ ⁸⁸ الزاني
مثلاً بوضع ⁸⁹ الأغلال والأنكال ⁸⁹ عليه ⁴⁰ وإحراقه بالنار مرّةً بعد أخرى
وإرسال الحيّات والعقارب عليه، فإنّ ذلك فعلٌ من يُريد التّشفي من عدوّه
بضرر أو ألم يلحقه بتعديده عليه، وذلك مُحال ⁴¹ في صفة الله تعالى ⁽⁴²⁾ إذ
50 هذا ⁽⁴²⁾ فعلٌ ⁴⁸ من يُريد أن يرتدع ⁽⁴⁴⁾ عين التمثّل ⁽⁴⁴⁾ به عن مثل فعله أو
ينزجر ⁴⁶ عن معاودة مثله. ولا يُتوهّم أنّ بعد القيامة يكون تكليف وأمر ونهي
على أحد حتّى ينزجر أو يرتدع لأجل ما شاهده ⁴⁶ من الثواب والعقاب عمّا
زُجروا عنه و(ي) ⁴⁷ رغبوا فيها أمروا به ⁴⁸، فيبطل ⁴⁹ أن يكون الثواب والعقاب
على ما توهّموه.

55 وأمّا الحدود المشروعة في مرتكبي المعاصي، ⁽⁶⁰⁾ فإنّه يجري ⁽⁶⁰⁾ مجرى النهي في
أنّه ردّع لمن ينهى عن المعصية ممّا لو لاه لتوهّم وقوعه منه، وقد يكون ⁶¹
منفعة للمحدود ⁶² في منعه عن فساد آخر، ولأنّ الناس ينبغي أن يكونوا مُقيدين
باحد قيدين إمّا بقيد الشرع وإمّا بقيد العقل لئتمّ نظام العالم. ألا ترى أنّ

⁸⁶ Supplied for sense. Om. B(1), B(2), A, I. A negative sentence complements the preceding one; an affirmative one merely repeats it, substituting a vague present tense يحصل for the clear past tense of the preceding sentence. لم could easily have been omitted after فن.

⁸⁷ Past tense like توهّموه below, end of paragraph. يظنه B(1), A, I.

⁸⁸ B(1), A. Not clear in I.

⁸⁹ B(1), A, I. الأغالل والأنكال.

⁴⁰ I. Om. B(1), B(2), A.

⁴¹ B(1), A, I. مح B(2).

⁴² I. B(1), B(2), A.

⁴³ B(1), B(2), I. قصد A.

⁴⁴ B(2), probably عن التمثّل A. عن التمثّل B(1). المتكلم I, omitting عن or عين.

⁴⁵ add. B(2). هو (?)

⁴⁶ B(1), A, I. شده B(2).

⁴⁷ Emend., to follow حتّى like يرتدع أو ينزجر. رغبوا B(1), B(2). Om. A, I, with other words. The change from singular to plural can stand more easily as a careless but natural transition.

⁴⁸ B(1). Om. B(2), A, I.

⁴⁹ B(1). بطل B(2). Om. A, I.

⁶⁰ All MSS. emend. فأنها تحري. Hyd., to accord with الحدود. But the text continues masculine, with أنه، لولاه، etc., so evidently Ibn Sinā made an illogical change of gender, perhaps thinking of الحد.

⁶¹ B(2), I. تكون B(1), A.

⁶² الحدود B(1). المحدود A, I.

المحلل من القيدَين جميعاً لا يُطاق حمل ما يرتكبه من الفساد ويختلّ نظام أحوال
60 العالم بتولية المنحلّ من القيدَين؟ والله أعلم وأحكم.

TRANSLATION ⁵³*Ibn Sīnā, 'Essay on the secret of destiny'*

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

Someone asked the eminent *shaykh* Abū 'Alī b. Sīnā (may God the Exalted have mercy on him) the meaning of the Ṣūfī saying, 'He who knows the secret of destiny is an atheist'. In reply he stated that this matter contains the utmost obscurity, and is one of those matters which may be set down only in enigmatic form and taught only in a hidden manner, on account of the corrupting effects its open declaration would have on the general public. The basic principle concerning it is found in a Tradition of the Prophet (God bless and safeguard him): 'Destiny is the secret of God; do not declare the secret of God'. In another Tradition, when a man questioned the Prince of the Believers, 'Alī (may God be pleased with him), he replied, 'Destiny is a deep sea; do not sail out on it'. Being asked again he replied, 'It is a stony path; do not walk on it'. Being asked once more he said, 'It is a hard ascent; do not undertake it'.⁵⁴

The *shaykh* said: Know that the secret of destiny is based upon certain premisses, such as [1] the world order, [2] the report ⁵⁵ that there is Reward and Punishment, and [3] the affirmation of the resurrection of souls.

[1] The first premiss is that you should know that in the world as a whole and in its parts, both upper and earthly, there is nothing which forms an exception to the facts that God is the cause of its being and origination and that God has knowledge of it, controls it, and wills its existence; it is all subject to His control, determination, knowledge, and will. This is a general and superficial account, although in these assertions we intend to describe it truly, not as the theologians understand it; ⁵⁶ and it is possible to produce proofs and demonstrations of that. Thus, if it were not that this world is composed of elements which give rise to good and evil things in it and produce both righteousness and

⁵³ The essay has been previously translated by Professor Arberry (see p. 26, n. 2). I should not have thought of repeating the work of the prince of translators, were it not for the faulty Hyderabad edition at his disposal. A preliminary translation by myself, from the same edition, was published prematurely in *Muslim World*, LXX, 2, 1963, 138-40.

I have inserted numbers and letters in square brackets, to show what seem to be the divisions of the argument and facilitate the analysis which follows.

⁵⁴ These Traditions do not explain the meaning of the original saying, they merely reaffirm the prohibition.

⁵⁵ 'Report' (*hadīth*) seems to hint that after-life Reward and Punishment in the usual sense are only traditional doctrines, not known by science. This view is confirmed below, and elsewhere, e.g. *Shifā': Ilāhiyyāt*, ed. I. Madkur, M. Y. Musa, S. Dunya, and S. Zayed, Cairo, 1960, IX, 7, pp. 414 ff.

⁵⁶ 'Truly', i.e. according to the Neoplatonic system of causal determination, not the voluntaristic conceptions of Muslim *kalām*, Mu'tazilite and other. Thus Ibn Sīnā's 'destiny' should not be called 'predestination'.

wickedness in its inhabitants, there would have been no completion of an order for the world. For if the world had contained nothing but pure righteousness, it would not have been this world but another one, and it would necessarily have had a composition different from the present composition ; and likewise if it had contained nothing but sheer wickedness, it would not have been this world but another one. But whatever is composed in the present fashion and order contains both righteousness and wickedness.

[2] The second premiss is that according to the ancients Reward is the occurrence of pleasure in the soul corresponding to the extent of its perfection, while Punishment is the occurrence of pain in the soul corresponding to the extent of its deficiency. So the soul's abiding in deficiency is its 'alienation from God the Exalted',⁵⁷ and this is 'the curse', 'the Penalty', [God's] 'wrath' and 'anger', and pain comes to it from that deficiency ; while its perfection is what is meant by [God's] 'satisfaction' with it, its 'closeness' and 'nearness' and 'attachment'. This, then, and nothing else is the meaning of 'Reward' and 'Punishment' according to them.

[3] The third premiss is that the resurrection is just the return of human souls to their own world : this is why God the Exalted has said, 'O tranquil soul, return to your Lord satisfied and satisfactory'.

These are summary statements, which need to be supported by their proper demonstrations.

[a] Now, if these premisses are established, we say that the apparent evils which befall this world are, on the principles of the Sage,⁵⁸ not purposed for the world—the good things alone are what is purposed, the evil ones are a privation, while according to Plato both are purposed as well as willed ; [b] and that the commanding and forbidding of acts to responsible beings, by revelation in the world, are just a stimulant to him of whom it was foreknown [by God] that there would occur in him [performance of] the commandments, or (in the case of a prohibition) a deterrent to him of whom it was foreknown that he would refrain from what is forbidden. Thus the commandment is a cause of the act's proceeding from him of whom it is foreknown that it will proceed, and the prohibition is a cause of intimidation to him who refrains from something bad because of it. Without the commandment the former would not have come to desire the act ; without the prohibition the latter would not have been scared. It is as if one were to imagine that it would have been possible for 100 per cent of wickedness to befall in the absence of any prohibition, and that with the presence of the prohibitions 50 per cent of wickedness has befallen, whereas without prohibitions 100 per cent would have befallen. Commandments must be judged in the same way : had there been no commandments nothing of righteousness would have befallen, but with the advent of the commandments 50 per cent of righteousness has occurred.

⁵⁷ All the words put here within quotation marks are Islamic religious expressions which Ibn Sinā is interpreting in his own way.

⁵⁸ *al-hakim*, the epithet of Aristotle.

[c] As for praise and blame, these have just two objects. One is to incite a doer of good to repeat the like act which is willed to proceed from him ; the second is to scare the one from whom the act has occurred from repeating the like of it, and [ensure] that the one from whom that act has <not> occurred will abstain from doing what is not willed to proceed from him, though it is in his capacity to do it.

[d] It is not admissible that Reward and Punishment should be such as the theologians suppose : chastisement of the fornicator, for example, by putting him in chains and shackles, burning him in the fire over and over again, and setting snakes and scorpions upon him. For this is the behaviour of one who wills to slake his wrath against his enemy, through injury or pain which he inflicts on him out of hostility against him ; and that is impossible in the character of God the Exalted, for it is the act of one who wills that the very being who models himself on him should refrain from acts like his or be restrained from repeating such acts. And it is not to be imagined that after the resurrection there are obligations, commandments, and prohibitions for anyone, so that by witnessing Reward and Punishment they should be scared or refrain from what is proscribed to them and desire what is commanded to them. So it is false that Reward and Punishment are as they have imagined them.

[e] As for the [system of] penalties ordained by the divine Law for those who commit transgressions, it has the same effect as the prohibitions in serving as a restraint upon him who abstains from transgression, whereas without it it is imaginable that the act might proceed from him. There may also be a gain to the one who is subject to penalty, in preventing him from further wickedness, because men must be bound by one of two bonds, either the bond of the divine Law or the bond of reason, that the order of the world may be completed. Do you not see that if anyone were let loose from both bonds the load of wickedness he would commit would be unbearable, and the order of the world's affairs would be upset by the dominance of him who is released from both bonds ? But God is more knowing and wiser.

Problems of interpretation

The text and translation presented above are, I believe, clear enough in the meaning of the individual sentences. But the meaning in general is still not clear. What is the problem of the essay ? What are the steps in the argument, and the conclusion ? To answer these questions, we have to deal with the two intrinsic kinds of obscurity mentioned at the beginning of this article, the illogicality and excessive brevity of the essay ; and we may begin by specifying these apparent defects.

[1]-[3] are the three 'premisses' (*muqaddamāt*), which are initially stated together and then explained briefly in the same order. Now the peculiarity of this order is that it is logically inappropriate, because [2] implies [3] as its condition ; [3] should therefore have been stated before [2]. The 'Reward' and 'Punishment' spoken of in [2] are certainly states of the soul after death ;

this is proved both by the terms used, *thawāb* and *'iqāb*, which are not applied to ordinary rewards and punishments, and by what is said about them in [d] and in other works of Ibn Sīnā. Thus [3], the existence of an after-life, is basic to [2]. Further, what is said in [2] about this Reward and Punishment is determined by the character of the after-life described in [3]: it is 'a return of human souls to their own world' (without bodies), therefore Reward and Punishment can only be of souls alone. Thus the natural order of premisses in this context would be: [3] there is an after-life of the soul; [2] in that life souls receive a certain kind of reward and punishment.⁵⁹

When we turn to the sections listed [a]–[e], further problems of order emerge. What is the relation of these sections to [1]–[3]? The only clue given is at the beginning of [a], 'Now if these premisses are established, we say . . .'. This is insufficient. We are not shown which of the lettered sections follow from which of the three premisses, or whether there is some other relation between them. Actually the lettered sections make the best sense when taken as further explanations of the premisses, or answers to objections against them, and this is how I shall take them in reconstructing the argument. But even if this is granted, the order of the five lettered sections does not correspond in a simple way to the order of the premisses. Four of them, [a], [b], [c], and [e], are connected in their subjects with [1], in a way which will be shown, but their series is interrupted by [d], which is connected with [2]. The order of my exposition will therefore be as follows:

[1], [a], [b], [c], [e]

[3]

[2], [d]

The brevity of the essay as a quantity is self-evident. But it is necessary to point out some features of this brevity which add to the work's obscurity. 'The secret of destiny', if known, would certainly solve some problem, by bringing to light an understanding of destiny which is now hidden from most human minds. This much can be gathered from the introductory paragraph. But we are not told what the problem is. We are taken straight into three 'premisses', on which the secret is said to be 'based'. Then perhaps we may find out what the problem is when we come to the conclusion, to which the premisses will lead. But there is no conclusion either! So both the problem and its solution have to be inferred from the premisses and from what we know of Ibn Sīnā's concerns and ways of thinking in other writings. Besides, the whole argument is very

⁵⁹ This correction would not be justified if the author were here concerned with *proving* an after-life from Reward and Punishment as previously known facts, used as evidence. He might then conceivably have reasoned in the order of implication: '[2] we know there are Reward and Punishment of the soul after death; [3] such Reward and Punishment imply a life of the soul after death'. But in this essay Ibn Sīnā is taking the existence of an after-life of the soul as an accepted premiss; the appropriate order of exposition is therefore from the general assertion of a state [3], the after-life, to a specification of that state [2], certain experiences in that life. I have called Ibn Sīnā's order 'logically inappropriate', rather than simply 'illogical', just for this reason, that in another context '[2] implies [3]' would have been logical.

concise at every stage, and also needs to be filled out from the thought-world of the philosopher. He himself is conscious of this, as can be seen in two places where he says he is only giving a general summary of the premisses without their proofs.

By now it will be natural to wonder why the essay has these peculiarities, and Ibn Sīnā's introduction may have suggested a reason. But it will be less prejudicial to the understanding of the essay's main content if we leave that question in suspense, and first examine the content in itself, seeking out what is intelligible in it without having come to any conclusions about the cause or causes of its recondite presentation. The main argument will therefore be set out next in the reconstructed order mentioned above, and the missing elements will be supplied, by inference from what is stated here and in other works. The reconstruction is, of course, a hypothesis, but it will be presented categorically; its probability can then be judged from its internal coherence and its consistency with Ibn Sīnā's thought as a whole. After that we can consider his introduction and the question mentioned above.

Elucidation

The first task must be to find out what the problem is which the essay is trying to solve. This can best be done by considering the premisses on which the secret is said to be based. What is meant by ' basing a secret on premisses ' ? I think the three premisses are three propositions which, if they are all accepted as true, lead to a serious question. If we set the propositions in their medieval Islamic context, the question to which they lead comes easily to mind :

If [1] all events in the world are caused by the power (*qadar*) of God,
and [3] there is an after-life,
and [2] in the after-life men are rewarded and punished,

Then how can God be good ? And in particular how can He be just to man ?

This is the classical problem of evil, with its special form the problem of divine justice. The latter had been brought to the fore by the Mu'tazilite theologians as early as the end of the eighth century, as a result of studying the difficulties raised by the Qur'ān ; and it was still being discussed in Ibn Sīnā's time by the Persian Mu'tazilite 'Abd al-Jabbār (c. 937-1025), chief justice of Rayy, whose great work *al-Mughnī* was very probably known to him.⁶⁰ The problem is stated concisely by Ibn Sīnā in his *Ishārāt* : ' If there is destiny why is there Punishment ? ' ⁶¹ It is also the primary topic of *Risālat al-qadar*, in which Ibn Sīnā's travelling companion was unable to reconcile destiny with Reward and Punishment, and so came to doubt destiny.⁶² Ibn Sīnā's solution is not that of a

⁶⁰ See *al-Mughnī fī abwāb al-tawhīd wa 'l-'adl*, part 6.1, ' Justice and injustice ', ed. A. F. al-Ahwani and I. Madkur, Cairo, 1962.

⁶¹ *fa'in kāna 'l-qadaru falīma 'l-'iqāb?*, *Kitāb al-ishārāt wa 'l-tanbīhāt*, ed. S. Dunya, Cairo, 1960, 742. French tr. A.-M. Goichon, *Liore des directives et remarques*, Paris, 1951, 463.

⁶² Ed. Mehren, Ar. pp. 1-2. For another form of the problem of divine justice—the uneven distribution of worldly fortunes—see *Risālat al-arzāq*, ed. H. Ritter, *Majallat al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-'Arabī* (Damascus), xxv, 2, 1950, 203-9.

Mu'tazilite theologian but of a Muslim Neoplatonic philosopher. It is reached by interpreting the premisses in his own terms and answering objections that might be raised.

[1] Ibn Sīnā asserts emphatically the complete determination of the world by God. We must understand this *qadar* in the Neoplatonic sense of the necessary emanation of everything else from the Supreme Being. Thus it is clear that in seeking a solution to the problem of divine justice he is not going to abandon or weaken this doctrine of destiny, even though he understands it very differently from theological 'predestination'. Then he mentions that this world which proceeds from God necessarily contains evil as well as good. The reason for this is indicated only briefly here: that without evil 'there would have been no completion of an order for the world', and 'it would not have been this world but another one'. This explanation is inadequate, because it prompts the question, Why did it have to be this world just as it is, and not another one? Ibn Sīnā appears here to beg the whole question of the existence of evil in a world made by an omnipotent God.

But we find his answer expounded more fully in the 'Metaphysics' of *al-Shifā'*, along the following lines: A perfect, all-powerful Creator necessarily fulfils the maximum good in every possible variety of ways.

'So if someone objects, "It was possible for the First Governor to have brought into being pure good, free from evil", we answer: That was not possible in this sort of existence. If it was a possibility of absolute existence, on the ground that there is a kind of absolute existence free [from evil], it was not this present kind; it was something which had already emanated from the First Governor and existed in the intellectual, psychic, and celestial spheres, and there remained as a possibility the present sort'—i.e. our world, compounded of form and matter.⁶³

The causes of evil are found only in the sublunary sphere, a minute part of the total universe, which contains matter. And even here there is far more good than evil, which strikes only a minority of individuals, leaving the majority untouched by real evil and allowing the preservation of the species.⁶⁴ Consequently God is producing more good and less evil by creating this sphere than by refraining from its creation.⁶⁵

'The outpouring of good does not require that a predominant good be abandoned because of a rare evil; for its abandonment would be worse than that evil, because the privation of that [good] which is capable of existing in the character of matter is a double privation and thus worse than a single one.'⁶⁶

⁶³ *Ilāhiyyāt*, ix, 6, p. 418. Cf. Ghazālī, *Tahāfut al-falāsifa*, ed. M. Bouyges, Beirut, 1927, 260: according to the philosophers the purpose of the celestial souls is to draw near to God by occupying successively every possible position in the universe and thus actualizing every potentiality in turn.

⁶⁴ *Ilāhiyyāt*, ix, 6, p. 417.

⁶⁵ *op. cit.*, pp. 418, 421.

⁶⁶ *op. cit.*, p. 418. The double privation is of the good that is normally found in material things and the good that might conceivably have existed in place of the evil. The single privation is of the latter only.

So this is how the creation of our mixed sphere ' completes the order ' of the world as a whole.⁶⁷ To have refrained from producing it would have been ' a greater fault in the total order of good '.⁶⁸ Why evil is unavoidable in a sphere which has matter will be explained shortly in connexion with [a].

[a] is a very brief discussion of a further point about the relation of a perfectly good God to evil, so the passage goes naturally with [1]. It has been stated as true in [1] that everything in the world is willed (*murād bihi*) by God ; and it has been suggested, though much too briefly, how this fact can be reconciled with the existence of a certain amount of evil which God cannot avoid. But this position suggests a further problem. Does God really purpose (*qaṣada*) these things which He cannot help creating ? To will something is to perform the mental act which carries over into an external change in the world ; it is to create or to do. To purpose is at least to intend a certain result, consciously aware of what will be effected by the act of will, and possibly also to desire it. Now God as conceived by a Hellenistic philosopher necessarily wills everything that exists, good and evil. But it is an open question whether He purposes everything. Does He in any sense purpose the evil which He creates ?

Ibn Sīnā contents himself with stating the different answers which he attributes to Aristotle and Plato : of the former, that the evil is not purposed, of the latter, that it is. He does not give his own preference. This reticence seems strange, since the question raised here poses a more acute dilemma than what has gone before. For, if Aristotle is understood as saying that God in no sense purposes evil, God seems unable to control fully what He wills by His conscious mind ; while according to the view ascribed to Plato His will is controlled by His purpose, but this purpose now appears as partly sinister, with evil entering the very heart of God. But before we try to decide why Ibn Sīnā gives no opinion of his own here, it will be useful to turn again to what he teaches about evil in other works.

In his discussions on providence (*al-'ināya*) in the ' Metaphysics ' and elsewhere Ibn Sīnā explains that in the material conditions of this world many things can only give their advantages at the risk of evil incidentally arising from them. The stock example is fire. Its burning power is precisely ' the aim that is purposed from fire ', but the movements of things in the world inevitably bring it occasionally into conflict with other things like flesh which are damaged by it.⁶⁹ Another example is taken from human society : a certain amount of

⁶⁷ *Sirr al-qadar*, [1] ; *Ilāhiyyāt*, IX, 6, p. 421.

⁶⁸ *Ilāhiyyāt*, IX, 6, p. 418. Cf. *Dānesh-nāme-ye Alā'ī*, French tr. M. Agha and H. Massé, *Le livre de science*, I, Paris, 1955, 215. Cf. St. John of Damascus, *De fide orthodoxa*, IV, 21 : God created people who He knows will sin ; but if He had refused to create them, evil would have won a victory in preventing the creation of some people with potentialities of good.

⁶⁹ *Ilāhiyyāt*, IX, 6, pp. 420-1. Cf. Plato, *Timaeus*, 73 ff., for the original example : bone in the body is useful by its hardness, but this involves inflexibility which makes it liable to be broken. For a short critical comment on this type of argument, see my article ' Averroes on good and evil ', *Studia Islamica*, XVI, 1962, 22-3.

inequality in skills among men is necessary so that they will have mutual needs, which are the basis of the social order.⁷⁰ Thus in each case the good effects are of the essence of the thing, while the evil is incidental.

‘ And because this is known in the First Providence, it is as if “ purposed incidentally ” (*ka ’l-maqṣūdi bi ’l-’arādi*), so that evil enters into destiny incidentally, as if it were so to speak “ pleasing to it incidentally ”.’⁷¹

Thus evil may be said to be ‘ intended ’ by God, in the sense of intention defined by Henry Sidgwick as ‘ including not only such results of volition as the agent *desired* to realise, but also any that, without desiring, he foresaw as certain or probable ’.⁷² But it is not desired by Him, i.e. ‘ purposed essentially ’. Presumably Ibn Sīnā wanted to make out that God is conscious of the evil He produces without being blameworthy for it.

We can now see how the statements attributed to both Aristotle and Plato could be harmonized with Ibn Sīnā’s position, by defining ‘ purpose ’ in narrower and wider senses respectively. Aristotle’s statement is right in the sense that evil is not desired by God, ‘ purposed essentially ’ or for its own sake, while Plato’s statement is right in the sense that evil is intended by God, ‘ purposed incidentally ’ to what He desires—and unavoidably if the greater good is to be fulfilled. Ibn Sīnā might have shown in the present text how both the ancient philosophers were right in different senses, but perhaps he thought the matter too complex to explain satisfactorily in a short essay. Whatever his reasons for silence, a contemporary reader already familiar with his ideas would probably have been able to recall the distinction between the two senses of *qaṣada*, and consequently to work out quite easily Ibn Sīnā’s relation to Aristotle and Plato on this question.

[*b*] is continuous with [*a*] in syntax, since both are co-ordinate object-sentences following the main verb ‘ we say ’. Both sections deal with problems arising from the divine omnipotence asserted in premiss [1], but they are two distinct problems. [*a*] has discussed briefly a moral objection to divine omnipotence, that it seems to make evil purposed by God. [*b*] discusses a more ‘ scientific ’ objection, that if God is omnipotent His commands and prohibitions to men cannot be explained by any purpose. It is hard to see why Ibn Sīnā has run these two sections together in this manner without a break. Perhaps one objection to divine omnipotence suggested another one by a rather free association of ideas, and the distinction between God’s purpose and His will recalled another well-known distinction, between His will and His command.⁷³

[*b*] is concerned with the objection that if human acts were determined (or predestined) the commands and prohibitions issued to men in revelation would be useless, for God would not exhort and try to persuade people whose acts were

⁷⁰ *Arzūq*, 206.

⁷¹ *Ishārāt*, II, 736 ; tr. Goichon, 460.

⁷² *Methods of ethics*, seventh ed., London, 1907, p. 60, n. 1 ; cf. p. 202.

⁷³ For this footnote, see p. 39.

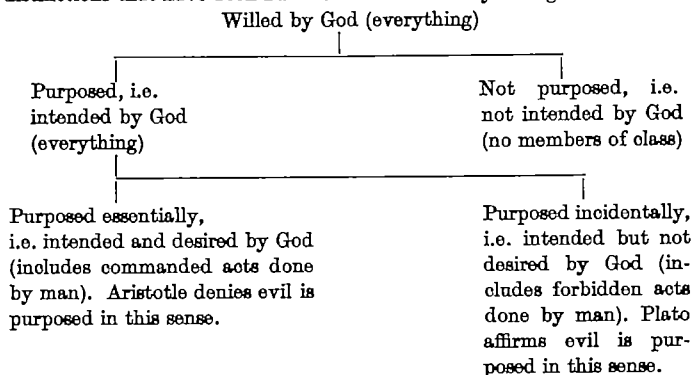
already fixed in advance. This was a Mu'tazilite objection ⁷⁴—indicating once more that the theologians whom Ibn Sīnā was confronting in Iran of the early eleventh century were of Mu'tazilite and associated Shī'ite tendencies, not predestinarian Ash'arites who had scarcely been heard of in that country and time.⁷⁵ Ibn Sīnā's answer is that the commands and prohibitions of God are themselves parts of the grand causal system which governs the universe, for they act as stimulants and deterrents to men's minds. The effect of the commands accompanied by promises of rewards, and of the prohibitions accompanied by threats of sanctions, is that human wills perform the commands and respect the prohibitions in far more instances than they would have done without these stimuli. In a modern-sounding example Ibn Sīnā illustrates his doctrine by imagined percentages of increased efficacy. He supposes that without the help of revelation men would be completely wicked, but with its help half of them can be rescued.

[c] makes the same point about praise and blame as [b] has about commands and prohibitions. They are stimuli to future action, and so have a place in a determined world. We must understand the praise and blame referred to as those of scripture for certain acts, if we are to see this section as relevant to the main question. The point is once more to find a purpose in an aspect of God's revelation which might appear useless in view of His determination of human lives.

[e] makes the same point with regard to the earthly punishments ordained by scripture (*al-ḥudūd*). They are indispensable as sanctions, to restrain those people who would not be restrained by their own rational appreciation of the social order. Ibn Sīnā's attitude to the sanctions of the next life is quite different, as will be seen.

[3] There is a resurrection, though it applies only to human souls. Ibn Sīnā makes it evident in the 'Metaphysics' ⁷⁶ that he does not believe in the

⁷³ The distinctions that have been made can be clarified by a diagram :



⁷⁴ See A. N. Nader, *Le système philosophique des Mu'tazila*, Beirut, 1956, 263-4, and references, p. 264, n. 1.

⁷⁵ A critical analysis of later Ash'arite claims is made by G. Makdisi, 'Ash'arī and the Ash'arites in Islamic religious history', *Studia Islamica*, xvii, 1962, 37-80, and xviii, 1963, 19-40.

⁷⁶ *Ilāhiyyāt*, ix, 7, p. 423.

resurrection of bodies. It is something reported in revelation, but not known by reason or cared for by the wise.

[2] The second premiss was originally stated as 'the report that there is Reward and Punishment'. This doctrine creates the most acute difficulty about the justice of God, when it is combined with either predestination or determinism, for it means that God punishes men for acts which He has willed them to do. The Mu'tazila had solved the problem in the terms in which they had faced it, by denying predestination, and would no doubt have denied determinism as well. Ibn Sinā, while not accepting traditional predestination, insists on determinism which is central to his philosophy. His solution is different: to deny Reward and Punishment, in the usual sense of requital for deserts imposed by another person. His initial description of this dogma of Islam as a 'report' (*ḥadīth*) now appears significant. Here he reinterprets that dogma figuratively, claiming that what are described as the 'Rewards' and 'Punishments' of the other life are in fact the inevitable effects of the soul's own behaviour in the present life. Its pleasures there are like the results of healthy living, its sufferings like the pains of a diseased body.

It should be noticed that Ibn Sinā attributes this doctrine to the ancient philosophers, and it is at any rate of Platonic inspiration.⁷⁷ Yet we know that it is his view, for in the 'Metaphysics' he states it with some elaboration as his own.⁷⁸ Why he does not endorse it here will become clear later when the method of the essay has been examined.

Whereas [2] shows briefly the reality of the soul's fate in the next life, [d] completes the argument by giving the negative side of this, denying that there is any reward or punishment in the proper sense after death. It is pointed out that there is no place at that stage for stimulation and deterrence, since man is no longer under obligations or on probation. The only conceivable motives for chastising him would be anger and revenge, and these are impossible in God and contradict the ideals of mercy which He himself prescribes to man.⁷⁹

The whole argument may now be resumed.

[Main problem: If God wills man's evil acts, yet punishes him for them, is He not unjust?]

[1] Good and evil are willed by God, as part of the causal order.

[a] Aristotle says evil is not purposed by Him, Plato says it is.

[b, c, e] The commands, blame, etc., in revelation, and the prescribed earthly punishments all have causal functions.

[3] There is an after-life of the soul.

⁷⁷ See *Phaedo*, 80-2; *Phaedrus*, 246-56; *Respublica*, x, 613-20. But Plato puts his accounts of the after-life in the form of myths, and includes in them a Judgment and a choice as well as an element of necessity.

⁷⁸ *Ilāhiyyāt*, ix, 7, pp. 423 ff.

⁷⁹ cf. *Risālat al-qadar*, Ar. pp. 17-20: God does not need to stick to His word in executing uselessly the exaggerated Promises and Rewards announced in revelation. To imagine Him as a vain despot is the result of weak anthropomorphic analogies.

[2] Its 'Rewards' and 'Punishments' are effects of the soul's conduct and habits on earth,

[d] not rewards and punishments handed out by God.

[Solution : God is not unjust, for He does not punish man after death. In the present life He helps man to improve his soul and so increase its happiness in the after-life.]

Thus Ibn Sīnā has worked out 'the secret of destiny' by upholding the divine determination very firmly and reinterpreting Rewards and Punishments. The solution as presented above follows a logical order and arrives at conclusions which accord with his philosophy. It is beyond the scope of this article to discuss whether it is a convincing solution.

The style of the essay

After this reconstruction and interpretation of the essay, it is time to inquire why Ibn Sīnā expressed himself in a way which needs so much unravelling. Two lines of explanation suggest themselves : that he wrote carelessly, or that the obscurity was deliberate. These explanations are mutually exclusive for any one utterance (word, phrase, or sentence), because carelessness and deliberation are indirectly contradictory of each other : carelessness implies lack of thought, deliberation implies thought. But there is nothing to prevent careless obscurity and deliberate obscurity from being present in different parts of the whole essay. Let us see, then, what are the arguments favouring each alternative in general, and whether any points of detail can be found as evidence for either of them in particular parts.

In favour of the hypothesis of carelessness, it can be pointed out that Ibn Sīnā claimed to be capable of writing very rapidly,⁸⁰ and sometimes wrote much in unpropitious conditions—while accompanying his sovereign on army campaigns, or sitting through a night and drinking wine.⁸¹ The brevity of expression might be largely spontaneous, if Ibn Sīnā was writing for a circle of disciples and friends familiar with his ideas and able to supply for themselves what was implicit. Against these considerations it must be said that Ibn Sīnā is not usually a careless writer, and the present essay is quite precise in its detailed language, except for three insignificant examples of loose grammar (recorded in the notes to the Arabic text). And what are we to think of the illogical order of the argument, and the omission to state the problem and the conclusion ? It is hard to believe these are uncontrolled oversights in the work of so great a logician, and we should certainly heed the principle put forward by Leo Strauss for such cases :

'If a master of the art of writing commits such blunders as would shame

⁸⁰ At the end of the *Risāla fī māhiyyat al-ṣalāt* 'Treatise on the nature of prayer', two of the manuscripts have a final paragraph in which it is claimed that the work was written 'in less than half an hour, amid many distractions' : Mehren, *Traité mystiques*, III, ii, p. 42. As the treatise covers 15 pages in the edition, this is barely possible, in the absence of shorthand dictation. The paragraph is bracketed by Mehren.

⁸¹ Abū 'Ubayd al-Jūzjānī's biography of Ibn Sīnā, in editor's introduction to *Manṭiq al-mashriqiyyīn*, Cairo, 1328/1910, pp. *hā*, *yā* ; tr. Arberry, *Avicenna on theology*, 19, 22.

an intelligent high school boy, it is reasonable to assume that they are intentional, especially if the author discusses, however incidentally, the possibility of intentional blunders in writing'.⁸²

Ibn Sīnā does not, so far as I know, discuss just this possibility, but there are other indications that point no less surely to a definite method. So let us consider the other explanation, deliberate secrecy.

Ibn Sīnā's place in the medieval esoteric tradition is well established and can easily be documented. His introduction to *Manṭiq al-mashriqiyyīn* makes an explicit distinction between the author's earlier, Aristotelian books, which were intended for ordinary students of philosophy, and the present 'oriental' work which contains 'the principles of true science'.

'We did not compose this book to reveal it to anyone but ourselves, i.e. those who are in our situation. As for the generality of those who pursue this interest, we have already given them plenty, more than they need, in the *Shifā'*.'⁸³

Among the esoteric works is the last part of the *Ishārāt*, which he calls the cream of wisdom, to be withheld from those who would waste it, those not gifted with inspired intelligence, etc.⁸⁴ At the end of his study 'On the nature of prayer' he writes, 'I forbid this treatise to be shown to anyone whom passion has led astray and branded his heart'.⁸⁵

But, beside the more 'exoteric' works of philosophy and the more 'esoteric' mystical ones, there is a third group which appear at first sight more popular, presenting subjects in a short and simple manner, but which in fact contain deeper meanings only perceptible to thoughtful readers. This type of work would be useful when it was required or desirable for any reason to write something, on serious subjects like religion and philosophy, that would circulate among a wider public than students of those subjects. The model was the Qur'an. In the chapter on prophecy of the 'Metaphysics', Ibn Sīnā mentions the mental confusion created in ordinary people by attempts to teach them advanced theology, and says it is the duty of a prophet 'to acquaint them with the Majesty and Might of God the Exalted by means of symbols (*rumūz*) and images (*amthila*)' of familiar things; and 'it is not good for a man to appear openly to possess knowledge of a truth which he is concealing from the public'. 'But there is no harm if his speech contains symbols and allusions (*ishārāt*), to draw persons naturally qualified for theoretical studies to undertake philosophical inquiry.'⁸⁶ In 'On the nature of prayer' he says near the end that he would have gone into more detail,

'but it was difficult for us to enter upon matters in which it is not good for everyone to receive instruction. For such people we have therefore laid

⁸² *Persecution and the art of writing*, Glencoe, Ill., 1952, 30.

⁸³ Ibn Sīnā's introduction to *Manṭiq al-mashriqiyyīn*, 4. Cf. Ibn Ṭufayl, *Ḥayy b. Yaqzān*, ed. L. Gauthier, Beirut, 1936, Ar. p. 4: 'the secrets of the oriental philosophy mentioned by the eminent *shaykh* Abū 'Alī b. Sīnā'.

⁸⁴ *Ishārāt*, ed. Dunya, 903-4; tr. Goichon, 525.

⁸⁵ *Māhiyyat al-ṣalāt*, ed. Mehren, III, ii, p. 42.

⁸⁶ *Ilāhiyyāt*, x, 2, p. 443.

down a clear and straightforward plan, while the emancipated man (*al-ḥurr*) will be satisfied with allusions'.⁸⁷

In the *Ishārāt* he refers to the myth of Salāmān and Absāl, and says that each one of them is an image (*mathal*) of the reader, or of his degree of knowledge if he is one of the initiated. Then he adds, 'Solve the enigma (*hilli 'l-ramza*) if you are able'.⁸⁸ This is significant for our problem because it shows *ramz* clearly in the meaning of an 'enigma' or 'puzzle' to be solved, and not merely a 'sign' or 'symbol'.

With this background we can consider the introduction to the essay. Ibn Sinā is asked to explain, not the secret of destiny but only the meaning of the Ṣūfī saying condemning knowledge of the secret. It is indeed difficult for us to see how the possession of knowledge could make a man an atheist (*mulhid*), unless we suppose that the truth about destiny implies that there is no god—which is certainly not Ibn Sinā's view in any of his writings. It is tempting to read '*arrafa* 'makes known' for '*arafa* 'knows', to give an easier meaning, that *teaching* the secret is condemned. This is textually possible, but there are factors weighing against it (see line 3, n. 9). In any case the problem comes up again in the three sayings of 'Alī, which unmistakably discourage *seeking* knowledge. So we must do the best we can with the reading 'knows', and try to understand the saying in the light of Ibn Sinā's reply.

He says that 'this matter', i.e. the secret of destiny, is an obscure question, knowledge of which would corrupt the general public—by confusing their minds, as we can safely understand from elsewhere.⁸⁹ Thus the reason for not teaching them is a fault in their knowing if taught, a confusion in their thinking about religion which could be described as 'atheism'. It is implied in the reply of Ibn Sinā and the Tradition of Muḥammad quoted that the secret is known to someone, of the rank of a prophet or philosopher. The three sayings of 'Alī suggest that he too knows it, which would readily be understood since 'Alī in medieval Islam was thought of as a master of esoteric wisdom. We can conclude, then, that the Ṣūfī saying is not meant to discourage everyone from knowing the secret of destiny, but only the vast majority. This interpretation is in line with Ibn Sinā's general position, illustrated above with quotations from other works.

The opening paragraph thus gives an answer to the question asked at the

⁸⁷ *Māhiyyat al-ṣalāt*, ed. Mehren, III, ii, p. 42. Immediately after this he forbids the essay to be circulated, as noted above: which seems in conflict with the method just stated, or at least unnecessary. It is hardly if at all possible to make a clear-cut division of all of Ibn Sinā's works into the three types mentioned, and to find a consistent policy throughout his writings. The question of his esoteric methods is complex and needs further study. On the symbolic method of the 'Ḥayy' cycle of mystical fables see H. Corbin, *Avicenne et le récit visionnaire*, 2 vols., Tehran and Paris, 1954. For a comprehensive introduction to esoteric writing in Islam see N. R. Keddie, 'Symbol and sincerity in Islam', *Studia Islamica*, XIX, 1963, 27–63.

⁸⁸ *Ishārāt*, ed. Dunya, 790–3. Goichon, 485, translates: 'Ensuite, découvre le sens de l'allégorie si tu en es capable'. Tūsī, commentary *ad loc.* (in Dunya), understands *al-ramza* as *siyāqat al-qissa* 'the thread of the story'.

⁸⁹ *Ilāhiyyāt*, x, 2, p. 443, referred to above.

beginning of the essay, and with that the essay might have ended since its formal subject has been dealt with. But it then takes a surprising turn : Ibn Sīnā goes on to discuss the secret of destiny itself, which he was not asked about and which he has just said would be harmful if declared openly (*izhārihā*). The apparent strangeness of his procedure is brought out in the title of the work, whether it is original or not : *Risāla fī sirr al-qadar*. Does one publish an essay on a secret ? The conclusion to which we are led almost inevitably is that Ibn Sīnā wants to write about destiny in the only way he thinks permissible : ‘ in enigmatic form (*marmūza*) ’ and ‘ in a hidden manner (*maknūna*) ’. This puts the essay in the third group, mentioned above, of ‘ popular ’ works which also contain a deeper meaning, not apparent to every reader. Several questions may be raised about this conclusion, which will now be answered briefly in order.

What were Ibn Sīnā’s specific reasons for secrecy on the subject of destiny, beyond the vague assertion that plain teaching on it would harm the public ? We can find in his own doctrine elements that would be unsettling to less sophisticated Muslims of his time. The whole problem of evil which is raised might not occur to many of them if left to themselves. And those to whom it did occur might be more easily satisfied with a simple answer, in terms of the will of a personal God, than with an answer depending on Neoplatonic premisses about a necessary world order and the metaphysical relation of evil to matter. More especially, the denial of after-life Reward and Punishment in the proper sense might be seriously disturbing to morality and to belief in scripture. Ibn Sīnā’s sensitivity on this matter appears from his precautions in discussing it : in [2] he puts his own view in the mouth of the ancient Greek philosophers, while in [d] he attributes the conventional view to ‘ the theologians (*al-mutakallimūn*) ’, not to the Qur’ān. By contrast, in a work like the ‘ Metaphysics ’, which would be read by philosophy students only, he did not need to take such precautions but could state his theory more plainly.

But in view of these dangers, what reasons did Ibn Sīnā have to publish anything at all on the subject in a short, popular form, at the risk of injuring public religion ? It is not an adequate answer to say that the purpose lay in the expounding of a hidden meaning to the élite ; for they had access to the author’s views formulated as clearly as the subject would allow in various places in his straight ‘ exoteric ’ and ‘ esoteric ’ books. The question is not easy, and any answer must be tentative, in the absence of knowledge about the occasion of the essay ; but two lines of approach can be suggested.

First we must notice a circumstantial reason : that ‘ someone asked ’ Ibn Sīnā about destiny. If this questioner was a prince or a minister, it may have been difficult for him to avoid a reply altogether. Still, he could have said less, and we have to look for a more interior and positive reason. From what we know of Ibn Sīnā as a sincere scholar it is fair to believe that he wished to make use of every opportunity to hand on a portion of truth to someone ; the question is, to whom, in a work such as the essay ? I think the key to an answer is given in a passage already quoted about the method of a prophet :

' But there is no harm if his speech contains symbols and allusions, to draw persons naturally qualified for theoretical studies to undertake philosophical inquiry '.⁹⁰

What this points to is that enigmatic writing is not meant for the accomplished adept but for the novice, to arouse his curiosity and stimulate his intellect to work on the problems involved. The point has been so well put by Leo Strauss, with reference to all this class of writing, that I take leave to quote from him again :

' Those to whom such books are truly addressed are, however, neither the unphilosophic majority nor the perfect philosopher as such, but the young men who might become philosophers : the potential philosophers are to be led step by step from the popular views which are indispensable for all practical and political purposes to the truth which is merely and purely theoretical, guided by certain obtrusively enigmatic features in the presentation of the popular teaching—obscurity of the plan, contradictions, pseudonyms, inexact repetitions of earlier statements, strange expressions, etc. Such features do not disturb the slumber of those who cannot see the wood for the trees, but act as awakening stumbling blocks for those who can '.⁹¹

The reverse side of this reason is that Ibn Sīnā must have felt confident enough that what he was writing down here was so garbled that it would not ' disturb the slumber ' of these ungifted for such studies. All they would get would be impressions of a profound philosopher discoursing on a God who governs the whole order of the universe and is not vengeful, on the divine purposes in the commands and prohibitions of revelation, on pleasures and pains in a life of the soul beyond the grave . . . The more questionable opinions that they read were those of pagan philosophers of long before Islam, whose theories could be reported as matters of historical interest, unlikely to undermine the faith of any genuine Muslim.

We may find Ibn Sīnā naïve in his confidence that such writings would not be understood by ordinary Muslims sufficiently to unsettle their faith or provoke a public reaction against philosophy. But it is well to remember that in fact no great reaction came until half a century after his death, and that when it came it was directed not against such essays but against the more professional works, which Ghazālī took pains to understand before criticizing them from the standpoint of a Sunnī 'ālim. And in general the Greek philosophical tradition was continued in the Islamic world for hundreds of years, without attracting too much adverse attention ; the trial and temporary disgrace of Ibn Rushd in twelfth-century Muslim Andalusia was an exception. The discrete caution of the philosophers in publicizing their theories was no doubt one reason for their long survival.

Next we should ask about the methods of concealment used by Ibn Sīnā. We seem to have found three : changing the order, silence and brevity, ascribing

⁹⁰ *Ilāhiyyāt*, x, 2, p. 443.

⁹¹ *Persecution and the art of writing*, 36.

views to others. Are there any precedents or parallels in other writers of the medieval Islamic and Arabic world, to help to convince us that Ibn Sinā might have used these devices intentionally, and that readers educated in the same learned tradition would have been on the look-out for them ?

With regard to jumbling the order of the argument, several clues, more or less indirect, can be mentioned.

(a) Fārābī, Ibn Sinā's predecessor whose thought had the greatest influence on him, had spoken with approval of Plato's method of teaching philosophy to an inner circle :

'So he chose symbols (*rumūz*) and enigmas (*alghūz*), aiming thereby to compose his sciences and wisdom in a manner that could only be fathomed by those who are meritorious', etc.⁹²

Ramz has the initial meaning of 'sign, hint, allusion', and is probably so used here, but *laghz* is more exclusively 'enigma, riddle, puzzle'. The approved Platonic method therefore definitely includes this type of concealment.

(b) Speaking of Aristotle's method, Fārābī quotes a supposed letter from Aristotle to Plato in which he gives a defence of his practice of committing his learning to writing, in the following terms :

'If I have written down these sciences and the wisdom contained in them, I have arranged them (*rattabtuhā*) in such an order that only those qualified for them can attain them'.⁹³

(c) We have seen previously a sentence of Ibn Sinā in another treatise where he speaks of 'solving a *ramz*', i.e. clearly 'an enigma'; so *marmūza* in the present essay can mean 'enigmatic', not just 'in signs' or 'symbols'.

(d) In the large Arabic literature on the occult sciences known as *jafr*, one of the methods was the transposition of letters in a word to form another word.⁹⁴

(e) Ibn Sinā himself was partial to acrostics, for he played with another common method of *jafr*, the use of a well-known magic square of nine Arabic letters with numerical values, corresponding to the hierarchy of beings in the universe.⁹⁵

(f) In his summary of the Arabic astrological compendium *Ghāyat al-ḥakīm*, Martin Plessner calls attention to the interrupted order of treatment, in which 'subjects which belong together are separated'; and he suggests that this method may be intentional, to make the magical sections less prominent or for other reasons. He also points out that a similar presentation is found in the

⁹² *al-Jam' bayna ra'yay al-ḥakīmayn Aflāṣūn al-ilāhī wa Aristūṭālīs*, ed. A. N. Nader, Beirut, 1960, 84. Cf. *Talkhīṣ Nawāmiṣ Aflāṣūn*, ed. F. Gabrieli, in *Plato Arabus, III. Compendium Legum*, London, 1962, 4.

⁹³ *Jam'*, 85.

⁹⁴ T. Fahd, art. 'Djafir', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second ed.

⁹⁵ See S. H. Nasr, *An introduction to Islamic cosmological doctrines*, Cambridge, Mass., 1964, 209-12, referring to Ibn Sinā's *al-Risāla al-Nayrūziyya fī ma'ānī al-ḥurūf al-ḥijā'iyya*, in *Tis' rasā'il*, Cairo, 1908.

'Encyclopedia' of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā', which is a principal source of *Ghāyat al-hakīm*.⁹⁶

(g) Maimonides in frankly explaining⁹⁷ the methods used in his esoteric⁹⁷ work 'The guide of the perplexed' includes the following statement:

'Hence you should not ask of me here anything beyond *the chapter headings*. And even those are not set down in order or arranged in coherent fashion in this Treatise, but rather scattered and entangled with other subjects that are to be clarified'.⁹⁸

(h) The sūras of the Qur'ān are notable for the discontinuity of their thought-sequences. However a modern orientalist such as Richard Bell may explain this in terms of early editing,⁹⁹ in medieval Islam it was taken as certain that the order within each sūra of the Qur'ān was intended in every detail for some divine purpose. Such a model might well encourage a similar feature in a human book of wisdom that was meant to be enigmatic.

These diverse examples should be enough to convince us that a jumbling of order was entirely within the range of devices for concealment which would occur to the minds of Ibn Sīnā and his learned readers. It would, of course, occur to some who were unsympathetic, but it could be hoped that they would not take the trouble to re-arrange, or would be unable to do so for lack of familiarity with the underlying system of thought. Disciples, on the other hand, would have little difficulty in making the re-arrangement, especially since the disorder is not very extensive.

A difficulty might be raised here about the lack of paragraphs in Arabic texts. I have inserted paragraphs with numbers and letters, but what indication would readers of Ibn Sīnā's original manuscript have of where the sections of the argument began and ended? This is easily answered: Arabic writers commonly indicated paragraphs by overlines above the opening words, and Ibn Sīnā may have done so. It is not surprising that these have not survived in the copies that have reached our century.¹⁰⁰

In support of brevity and silence (which we can take together as one method) there is a good precedent in Fārābī's approving statement about the method of Aristotle: that though in general he writes in a plain and straightforward

⁹⁶ 'Picatrix', *das Ziel des Weisen von Pseudo-Magrippi*, tr. H. Ritter and M. Plessner, London, 1962, p. lix. The 'Encyclopedia' was earlier than Ibn Sīnā and known to him.

⁹⁷ The self-contradiction is in Maimonides. But his explanation will not take the outsider very far. See L. Strauss, *Persecution and the art of writing*, ch. iii.

⁹⁸ *Dalālat al-hā'irīn*, ed. S. Munk, Jerusalem, 1929, 3; as tr. by S. Pines, *The guide of the perplexed*, Chicago, 1963, 6.

⁹⁹ *Introduction to the Qur'ān*, Edinburgh, 1953, ch. v, and his translation, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1937-9, *passim*.

¹⁰⁰ B(1) has overlines above certain quotations and the beginning words of [c] and [e]—obvious divisions since they start with *ammā* 'as for'. B(2) has them for 'The *shaykh* said', and the second and third premisses—three major divisions. In neither case can we attach any relevant significance to these crude and incomplete attempts at paragraphing. There is always a hope that one or more of the unexamined manuscripts will have preserved something more original.

manner, there is much that is recondite, obscure, and complicated—e.g. omission of essential premisses of a philosophical argument, omission of one member of a pair, to be understood from the other, etc.¹⁰¹ With reference to Maimonides; Strauss says :

‘ Another device consists in silence, i.e. the omission of something which only the learned, or the learned who are able to understand of themselves, would miss ’.¹⁰²

It seems unnecessary to substantiate this method any further, since it is central to any enigmatic writing.

Lastly, the method of attributing one's beliefs to ancient writers of prestige is a common feature of medieval literature, which appears in many forms. The most pertinent precedent for Ibn Sīnā is again Fārābī, who composed entire books on the philosophies of Plato and Aristotle, whose positions he evidently endorses.

Any conclusions about the secret meaning of a piece of writing and any reconstruction of its composition must from the nature of the case be accepted with caution, more especially since the challenge of discovering and deciphering a secret is attractive to scholars. But in the light of all that has been shown, I believe we can confidently state at least this much about the ‘ Essay on the secret of destiny ’ : that the probability of some conscious reserve in the manner of writing it on the part of Ibn Sīnā is very much greater than the probability that the difficulties of the essay are entirely due to his negligence. We have to be less confident in claiming to have discovered correctly the precise nature of his reserve and the inner meaning which he intended his more perceptive readers to see ; for we are, after all, not among that group, nor have we had the benefit of oral instruction or of living as contemporaries in his intellectual milieu. What can fairly be claimed, however, is that the interpretation of his meaning given above makes sense and is consistent with the rest of his thought. If this is so, it can stand until a better hypothesis is worked out.

¹⁰¹ *Jam'*, 84-5.

¹⁰² *Persecution and the art of writing*, 75.

THE WORKS OF SHAMS AL-DĪN AL-DAILAMĪ

By A. J. ARBERRY

Brockelmann mentions once a certain Shams al-Dīn Abū Thābit Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Dailamī as author of a treatise entitled *Mir'āt al-arwāḥ wa-ṣūrat al-awjāḥ*, 'Erläuterung einer Figur, welche die Einteilung der Welt nach den Vorstellungen der Ṣūfīs von der höchsten Region 'Ġlam al-ḥaira wal 'ilm al-maḡhāl bis zur tiefsten maḡall aṣ ṣaiṭān taḥt al arḍ darstellt'.¹ The unique copy of this curious work is preserved in Gotha; and W. Pertsch when cataloguing it, having seen the entry in Ḥājjī Khalifa in which it is stated that this al-Dailamī composed *al-Jam' bain al-tauḥīd wa 'l-ta'zīm* during the year 899 (1493),² very reasonably gave that date as his *floruit*. In this Brockelmann duly followed Pertsch.

In the new (Istanbul, 1941-3) edition of Ḥājjī Khalifa the entry in question is rather differently worded: ³ ألفه قبل سنة ٦٩٩ تسع وتسعين وستائة. This provides a more reliable *terminus ante quem* for al-Dailamī, two centuries earlier than hitherto supposed. Nor is this all; in the entry for the *Muḥimmāt al-wāṣiṭin*, here confirmed as of al-Dailamī,⁴ we are now given the additional information المتوفى بعد سنة ٥٨٩, a *terminus post quem* more than a century earlier still. In my *Handlist* of the Chester Beatty Arabic manuscripts I have been able to confirm this dating,⁵ which places al-Dailamī in a much more interesting period in the history of Ṣūfism.

Chester Beatty MS 4142 contains two separate works of al-Dailamī, together with quotations from a third book of his. Both texts were transcribed by the same copyist in the same year. The colophon of the first of the two, the *Muḥimmāt al-wāṣiṭin*, reads (fol. 23b):

تمت الرسالة وهذا الفصل آخرها وهو كتاب مهمات الواصلين بعون الله وحسن توفيقه على يد أفقر عباد الله وأحوجهم الى رحمة ربه الرحيم الودود عمر بن داود دلال الكتب في يوم الثلاثاء ثانی شهر رمضان المعظم من شهور سنة ثلاث وستين وثمان مائة والحمد لله وحده الخ.

The colophon of the second text, the *Sharḥ Kitāb al-Anfās*, is longer and much more informative (fol. 88a):

هذه حكاية خط المصنف كتب وجمع محمد بن عبد الملك الديلمي حامداً لربه ومصلياً على نبيه في شعبان سنة ثمان وثمانين وخمسمائة رحمه الله ووقع الفراغ من هذا الشرح المبارك على يد أفقر عباد (الله) وأحوجهم الى رحمة ربه الرحيم الودود عمر بن

¹ *GAL*, II, 207.

² *Kashf al-zunūn* (ed. Flügel), II, 622, no. 4183. The entry for the *Mir'āt al-arwāḥ* names no author.

³ Col. 351.

⁴ Col. 1916; cf. Flügel, VI, 280, no. 13479.

⁵ See Vol. V, p. 47.

داود بن أحمد الصخراوي أصلاً القبيباتي الدمشقي فرعاً ومولداً غفر الله له ولوالديه ولمن دعا لهم بالمغفرة والرحمة في يوم السبت ثامن شعبان من شهر سنة ثلاث وستين وثمان مائة والحمد لله رب العالمين الخ.

Evidently it was from a copy containing a transcript of al-Dailamī's own colophon, as quoted in the foregoing copyist's colophon, that Ḥājjī Khalifa as now edited derived the information that al-Dailamī died after 588/1192. The Chester Beatty manuscript was completed by one 'Umar b. Dāwud b. Aḥmad al-Ṣakhrāwī al-Qubaibātī al-Dimashqī on Saturday, 8 Sha'bān 863/10 June 1459. Al-Sakhāwī⁶ mentions a certain 'Umar b. Dāwud b. Aḥmad al-Sha'mī as having been in his class at Mecca,⁷ and it is possible that he and the copyist of Chester Beatty 4142 were the same man.⁸

This paper is a brief exploratory study of the two books contained in this precious manuscript; but first we may list the titles of works now known to have been written by Shams al-Dīn al-Dailamī.

From Ḥājjī Khalifa :

- (1) *Uṣūl madhāhib al-'ulamā' billāh*. Flügel, I, 340, no. 865.
- (2) *al-Tajrīd fi radd Maqāṣid al-falāsifa*.⁹ Flügel, II, 204, no. 2454.
- (3) *al-Jam' bain al-tauhīd wa 'l-ta'zīm*. Flügel, II, 622, no. 4183.
- (4) *Jawāhir al-asrār*. Flügel, II, 640, no. 4263.¹⁰
- (5) *Nuṣrat al-milla*. Flügel, VI, 349, no. 13819.

From Pertsch-Brockelmann :

- (6) *Mir'āt al-arwāḥ wa-ṣūrat al-awjāh*.

From Chester Beatty 4142 :

- (7) *Muhimmāt al-wāṣilīn*. Contained in fols. 1-23.
- (8) *Sharḥ Kitāb al-Anfās*. Contained in fols. 29-88.
- (9) *al-Najāt*. Mentioned on fol. 2a.
- (10) *Islāh al-akhlāq*. Mentioned on fol. 2b.
- (11) *'Uyūn al-ma'ārif*. Mentioned on fols. 3b, 27a.
- (12) *Taṣdīq al-ma'ārif*. Mentioned on fols. 3b, 10a.
- (13) *Makāyid al-shaiṭān*. Mentioned on fol. 7b.
- (14) *'Ajā'ib al-ma'ārif*. Mentioned on fol. 19a.
- (15) *al-Ma'ārif*. Mentioned on fol. 20a.
- (16) *Mihakk al-nufūs*. Mentioned on fol. 23a.
- (17) *al-'Aql wa 'l-'āqil*. Mentioned on fol. 23a, b.

On fol. 8b there is a solitary reference to شيخنا سديد الدين أبو الفخر, presumably al-Dailamī's teacher, whom it has not been possible so far to identify.

⁶ *al-Daw' al-lāmi'*, VI, p. 85.

⁷ For details of this visit in 885-7/1480-2 see my *Sakhawiana*, pp. 3-13.

⁸ The *nisba* al-Ṣakhrāwī is perhaps a variant of al-Ṣakhrābādī, see al-Sam'ānī, *al-Ansāb*, fol. 350a. For al-Qubaibātī see *al-Daw' al-lāmi'*, XII, p. 220; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, VII, p. 30 (various places, including a large quarter of Damascus).

⁹ Extracts in Chester Beatty 4142, fols. 24-7, 88.

¹⁰ Cited *ibid.*, fol. 23b, as *al-Tajrīd min Maqāṣid al-falāsifa*.

It is noteworthy that al-Dailamī does not once refer to such well esteemed and widely read textbooks of Ṣūfism as the *Ta'arruf* of al-Kalābādhi, the *Qūt al-qulūb* of al-Makkī, the *Ṭabaqāt al-Ṣūfiyya* of al-Sulamī, the *Hilyat al-awliyyā'* of Abū Nu'aim, the *Risāla* of al-Qushairī, or the *Kashf al-mahjūb* of Hujwiri; neither does he quote from the numerous works of such recognized masters as al-Muḥāsibī or al-Tirmidhī. On the other hand, as will be seen below, he appears to have been familiar with the poetry of Sanā'ī, and was well aware of the brothers al-Ghazālī. The conclusion seems inescapable that al-Dailamī was something of a lone wolf; and this would account for the oblivion into which his voluminous writings have fallen.

A

Muḥimmāt al-wāṣitīn

Beginning (fol. 1b):

الحمد لله رب العالمين وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله واصحابه وسلم تسليماً كثيراً. أما بعد فإن هذا الكتاب مهمات الواصلين من الصوفية البالغين منهم الى درجة يصح ثمة طلب الله تعالى ولا يصح بدون معرفة هذه الأصول المهمة وحفظها ورعايتها على الوجه الذي نبين من بعد إن شاء الله وحده.

This work, as Ḥājji Khalifa states,¹¹ is divided into a series of untitled and unnumbered *fusūl*, each dealing with a qualification, or an aspect of theological doctrine or mystical practice, thought to be indispensable to the advanced Ṣūfī aspiring after complete attainment to God. The preliminary conditions of the mystical life are (1) the possession of 'aql, (2) the profession of Islam, (3) the observance of the commands and prohibitions of the faith, (4) progress through the *maqāmāt*, (5) the avoidance of the errors of *tashbīh*, *ta'ṭīl*, *ḥukūl*, *tajāsim*, and *ibāha*.

Next follows (fol. 3b) a section dealing with the true doctrine of the vision of God (*ru'yat Allāh*); al-Dailamī holds (with most of the Ṣūfis) that believers may see God in this world with the eyes of the heart.

أما رؤية الله تعالى يقظة في دار الدنيا قبل الموت بعين السرّ ونور الإيمان فذلك فضل الله يؤتيه ما يشاء من عباده ولكن بعين القلب لا بعين الرأس. والعامّة كلّهم ينكرون ذلك غير هؤلاء الصوفية فإنهم يقرّون به لضرورة أنهم يرونه، وقليل من مرّيدهم يصدّقونهم تقليداً لهم. وأبلغ الناس في الإنكار على ذلك هؤلاء الذين يقرّون به في دار الآخرة بعين الحدقة وهم الحنابلة والاشعرية والكرامية وأمثالهم من اصحاب الحديث وهذا جهل كبير منهم مناقض لأصول دينهم.

The form in which God is seen is that of a spiritual light (*nūr rūḥānī*) which is itself a veil (*ḥijāb*), and is variable. The Ṣūfī must also believe (fol. 6a) that it is possible to converse with God (*mukālama*, *munājāt*). He must realize (fol. 7a) that the satans and jinns, presided over by Iblīs, are the enemies of the mystic,

¹¹ مختصر على فصول في أصول الطريقة: Istanbul edition, col. 1916.

and that the phenomenon commonly known as madness may have a satanic as well as an angelic origin; the cure of such madness lies in the hands not of physicians but of Ṣūfī *shaiḥhs*. If such phenomena as *firāsāt* and *karāmāt* occur along with the commission of major sins, this is a proof of their demoniac nature.

A comment on the 'Light Verse' (Qur'ān xxiv, 35) is the occasion for al-Dailamī to quote Hebrew (fol. 10a):¹³

قال الله تعالى الله نور السموات والارض مثل نوره كمشكاة فيها مصباح الى آخر الآيّة. فالله تعالى أخبر أنّ المسمّى بكلمة الله نور، ثم شبه نوره بنور المشكاة، وإنّ المراد من المشكاة نفس الانسان ذاته اذا كان موصوفاً بأوصاف مذكورة في الآيّة. ومعنى الآيّة يعرف في كتاب تصديق المعارف. وقال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم إنّ الله تعالى خلق آدم على صورته، ورؤى على صورة الله، ورؤى على صورة الرحمن. وذكر في التوراة التي في أيدي اليهود الآن قال: ويقرّر الوهيم إثم هو أذوم بصلمينو كذ مؤثينو بصيلم الوهيم بورو أذوم. هذا عين التشبيه.

This leads on to a general condemnation of *tajsim*, and the Christian doctrine of *ikhilāt* and *hulūl* which is stated to be of philosophical origin.

وقال النصارى في عيسى عليه الصلاة والسلام اختلط اللاهوت بالناسوت، وأما الحلول إنما يكون للأعراض فإنها لا توجد إلا أن تحلّ في الجسم. وهذا محكى عن بعض الصوفية وبعض النصارى، قالوا في عيسى عليه الصلاة والسلام قد حلّ اللاهوت في الناسوت. وهؤلاء أخذوا ذلك المذهب من الفلاسفة دمرهم الله حيث يقولون إنّ حقيقة الانسان العقل الفعّال وهو الخالق الأعظم وهو العلة الحادية عشر على ما بيننا كيفية مذهبهم في كتاب نصره الملة.

The notion of *ibāha* is roundly condemned (fol. 11b), as well as the love of *firāsāt* and *karāmāt* for their own sake (fol. 12b). The mystic should combine *taḥīd* with *ta'zim*, if he is to avoid the pitfall of *ta'fīl* and so become a *mulhīd* (fol. 13b). This is particularly apposite to the aspirant after spiritual ascension (*mi'rāj*), who must learn to observe good manners (fol. 14a). He must realize that he is a weak slave, and that *'ubūdīya* is an attribute attaching to him both in this world and the next (fol. 14b). This is the only safeguard against *shirk*.

One of the most dangerous defects against which the Ṣūfī has to guard himself is infatuation with eloquence and poetry, a vice which affected a number of famous men. Those specifically named are al-Sanā'ī,¹³ al-Mutanabbī, al-Fāramadhī,¹⁴ Yaḥyā b. Mu'ādh al-Rāzī,¹⁵ al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī,¹⁶ and al-Ghazālī (fol. 20b).

¹³ A somewhat garbled version of Genesis i, 27.

¹⁴ This is surely the earliest reference to Sanā'ī in Arabic writing.

¹⁵ Pupil of al-Qushairī and teacher of al-Ghazālī, d. 477/1084.

¹⁶ Famous preacher, d. 258/872.

¹⁷ D. 110/728.

أما الغزالي والرازي والبصري وأمثالهم قدس الله أرواحهم لو لم يشتغلوا بالوعظ والتذكير وتزيين الكلام وإظهار الفصاحة لوصلوا الى فوق ما وصلوا بأضعاف أضعافها ولكن لما غلب عليهم مكالمة الناس انقطعوا على ما كانوا من المقام وانجمدوا عليها، وإن زادوا من الزهد عن الدنيا والعبادات من الصيام والقيام وأشباهها. والذي نحن نتكلم فيه أمرٌ وراء الزهد والعبادة بل أمرٌ في عوالم الهمم والحقيقة، وأبلغ ما لهؤلاء من المقامات الخوف للحسن والرجاء ليحيى والعشق لأحمد.¹⁷

The criticism of Sanā'i is repeated and detailed (fol. 21a-b).

وأما الشعر والشعراء قال الله تعالى والشعراء يتبعهم الغاؤون.¹⁸ وأحسن الأشعار شعر العرب والعجم، وأقربها الى أحوال الصوفية أشعار السنائي، ثم أكثر كلماته في أشعاره لغو وهذيان وكثير منها غواية وجهل، فلو لم يشتغل بترتيب الأشعار والأبيات والقصائد واشتغل بالسلوك في هذا الطريق لوصل الى مقامات بليغة من مقامات المشايخ فإن بعض كلامه في أشعاره يدل على أنه كان أهلاً لسلك هذا الطريق . . . ونحن نقرّ بتلك الفضيلة¹⁹ ولا ننكرها ولكن بشرط أن لا يخلطها الهذر والهذيان كأشعار السنائي، فإن فيها كلمات الكفر والبدع والفسوق والفواحش لا تحصى، على أننا نقول إنه لو لم يشتغل بالشعر والتذكير والكلام الكثير لكان مقاماته أبلغ مما بلغ اليه.

Anticipating a *tu quoque*, al-Dailamī defends his own activity as an author, and explains why he is superior to those whom he has condemned.

ونحن من هؤلاء الذين شغلهم الله تعالى بإعلام الناس ما لم يعلموا ولم يخطر ببالهم، غير أن بيني وبينهم فروقاً من وجوه آخر، أحدها أنني إنما اشتغلت بالكتابة بعد ما وصلت الى عوالم الحقيقة وصرت فيها ماهراً طياراً كالطير في الهواء أو السمك في الماء تلويناً وتمكيناً الخ.

Another of the dangerous defects for Ṣūfis consists (fol. 22b) in *khayāl*, *takhayyūl*, and *takhyīl* which lead to imagined visions of God and the angels. It is for the *shaykh* to treat such reported experiences on the part of his disciples with all reserve.

The final requirement enunciated concerns the nature of the human soul; here (fol. 23b) al-Dailamī denounces (without naming names) those Ṣūfis who have been influenced in their beliefs by the philosophers, notably Ibn Sīnā.

ان عموم المتأخرين من مشايخ الصوفية غلطوا واتخذوا بأقوال الفلاسفة أخزاهم الله من أيام أبى على السينا فإنه دسّ مذهب الدهر والفلسفة في الاسلام، واتخذ بعض

¹⁷ Doubtless Ahmad al-Ghazālī, famous for his *Sawānīh* on mystical love, d. 517/1123.

¹⁸ Qur'ān xxvi, 224.

¹⁹ So. skill in admonition and wise sayings.

العلماء، واتخذاع الصوفية له أبلغ لسبب أنه قلّ فيهم من يكون ماهراً في أصول دين الاسلام وماهية ملل الأنبياء السالفة وما بينهم وبين الحكماء من المخالفة والمعاداة وقلة معارفهم بمقائق علم القرآن والأخبار وإجماع هذه الأمة واختلافهم . . . وذلك أنهم يزعمون أنّ هذا الانسان ليس في الحقيقة هذا البدن ولا هو في هذا البدن وإنما هو شئٌ روحانى قديم أزلى أبدى وأنه العقل الفعال ويسمونه عقل الكلّ والنفس الناطقة يزعمون أنّ وجوده من العلة الأولى وأنه العلة الثانية وربما يزعمون أنه العلة الثالثة أو الرابعة أو العلة الحادية عشر. . . يسمون تلك العلة الثانية إسرائيل والثالثة جبريل والرابعة ميكائيل والخامسة ملك الموت الخ.

B

Sharḥ Kitāb al-Anfās

In a paper written nearly 30 years ago²⁰ a brief reference was made to a Cairo manuscript containing a work ascribed to the famous Ṣūfī al-Junaid entitled *al-Sirr fī anfās al-Ṣūfīya*.²¹ It was conclusively demonstrated that the attribution was erroneous, and the promise was given that an edition of this nevertheless interesting treatise would be prepared.

Meanwhile the discovery of Chester Beatty 4142 has thrown important new light on the contents of the Cairo manuscript. The second of the two works comprised in Chester Beatty 4142 is a commentary by al-Dailamī on this text,²² now described by the commentator as a compilation of al-Junaid and his contemporary Ibn 'Atā'. This attribution proves to be equally suspect; but at least we can now be certain that the text was composed before 588/1192, the date of completion of the commentary.²³ Internal evidence suggests that it may have been compiled as early as the second half of the fourth/tenth century.

Beginning (fol. 29b) :²⁴

الحمد لله الذى لا كيف لكيفه ولا شئء كمثلته ولا أين لمكانه ولا حين لزمانه ولا حيث أين هو ولا أين حيث هو كيفه هو وهو كما هو ليس كمثلته شئء وهو السميع البصير، وصلواته على محمد رسوله سيّد المرسلين وعلى آله وأصحابه الطيبين الطاهرين المتّقين الأخيار. أما بعد فإنّ هذا شرح كتاب الأنفاس التى جمعها الإمامان الكبيران سيّدا أهل المعرفة قدوتا مشايخ الصوفية أبو القاسم الجنيد بن محمد وأبو العباس

²⁰ *JBRAS*, NS, XIII, 1937, 1-5.

²¹ Brockelmann, I, 199, Suppl., I, 354.

²² My pupil Mr. Gaafar informs me that another copy of this commentary is preserved in the library of the Azhar in Cairo.

²³ The Cairo manuscript is undated, but looks to be not later than the ninth/fifteenth century.

²⁴ The author seems to have been careless sometimes in his grammar. His solecisms have been left uncorrected.

أحمد بن عطاء قدس الله أرواحهما فجمعها جميعاً في هذا الكتاب مما صح وثبت عندهما من ألفاظهما وألفاظ المشايخ الكبار بعد ما التقطنا ألفاظاً صحاحاً وعرضناها على العقل والشرع والمعرفة جميعاً فما وافق الحق والتزم الصدق وعرفوها يقيناً أنه صدق وأوردوها في هذا الكتاب وإن كان ألفاظها بظواهرها ينبو عقول المنكرين عنها غير أنهم أوجزوا هذه الألفاظ وعمّوها تعميةً ضنةً منهم على غير أهلها لا بخلاً منهم على أهلها لكن الأهلون حرّموا عنها ضرورةً لاجها لها. وها أنا شارح في شرحها الخ.

From this introduction it is seen that al-Dailamī attributes the compilation of this anthology of mystical aphorisms to two celebrated Ṣūfis of the classical Baghdad school, al-Junaid who died in 298/910 and his companion Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Aṭā' (his full name was Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Sahl b. 'Aṭā' al-Ādamī), who died in 309/921 or 311/923.²⁵ Unfortunately this attribution, like that to al-Junaid alone in the Cairo manuscript referred to above, is invalidated by the fact that amongst the Ṣūfis cited in the course of the anthology are some who belonged to the generation after these two masters, like Abū 'Alī al-Rūḍhabārī who died in 322/934, and al-Shiblī who died in 334/945.

The commentary is preceded by a preliminary discussion of the meaning of the term *anfās* (sing. *nafas*) in relation to Ṣūfī psychology. The exposition proper begins on fol. 34b :

باب صفة الأنفاس. اعلم أنّ تفسير الأنفاس على مذهبه قد مرّ في فصل مفرد من قبل. قال أبو القاسم الجنيد بن محمد إنّ الله عز وجل خلق القلوب وجعل داخلها سرّة . . . وصاحبه مسؤول عنه. اعلم أنه أراد بالسرّ الروح الأقرب الذي هو قلب السرّ الذي نسميه خفياً الخ.

Thereafter each saying (and the sayings are grouped in chapters according to topics, see below) is explained at length according to al-Dailamī's understanding. The final quotation in the Cairo manuscript occurs at the top of fol. 87b and is followed by a few more not present there.

End :

فافهم جميع ذلك من تفسير كلماتهم إن شاء الله وحده. تمت هذه الكلمات المجموعة في كتاب الأنفاس بتفاسيرها فسرتها على وفاق مذاهبه ولي في بعضها خلاف لكني حلمت عنها وكظمتها مع ما بيّنت مذاهبي في كتب آخر والله المستعان وعليه التكلان.

Then follows the transcript of al-Dailamī's colophon as reproduced at the beginning of this paper.

In conclusion, the following is the text of the opening lines of the Cairo manuscript of the so-called *Kitāb al-Sirr fī anfās al-Ṣūfiya*.

²⁵ See al-Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ṣūfiya* (ed. Nūr al-Dīn Shuraiba), p. 265 for references.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم. صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ وَآلِهِ
 كِتَابُ السِّرِّ
 فِي أَنْفَاسِ الصُّوفِيَّةِ مِنْ كَلَامِ
 سُلْطَانَ الْحَقِيقَةِ وَمَلِكِ الطَّرِيقَةِ
 أَبُو الْقَسَمِ الْجُنَيْدِ نُورِ اللهِ ضَرْيْحِهِ
 بَابُ صِفَةِ الْأَنْفَاسِ

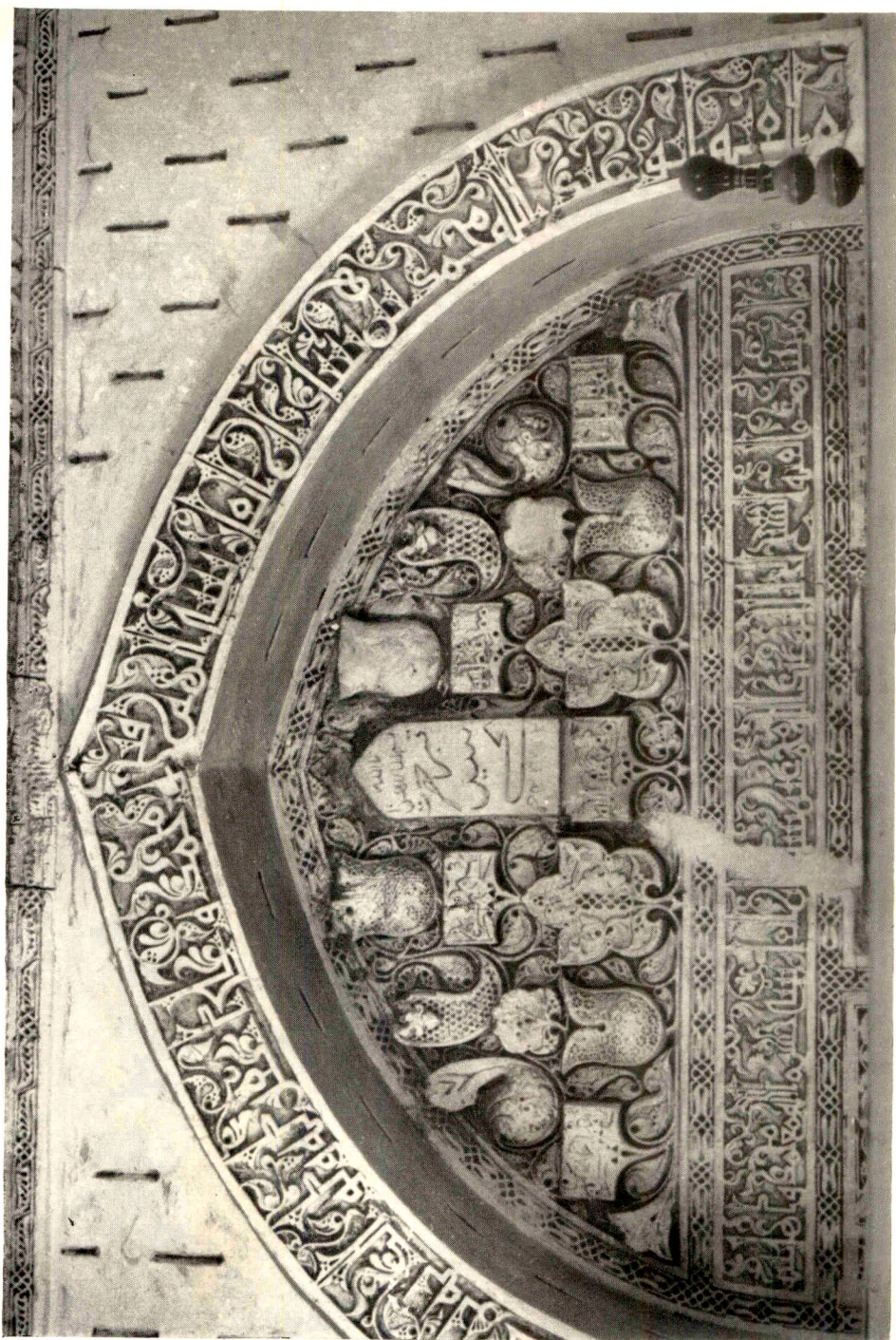
قال أبو القاسم الجنيد بن محمد رحمه الله عليه. الحمد لله الذي بذكره نفتتح الكلام،
 وعليه خاتمة التمام، وبتوفيقه السداد، وفي طاعته الرشاد، وصلى الله على محمد
 المختار، وعلى آله الطيبين الأخيار. إن الله خلق القلوب وجعل داخلها سره . . .
 وقال النفس ريح الله . . . وقال أبو العباس بن عطاء في نفس واحد نجاة العبد الخ.

It is evident that the title and exordium were supplied by an editor of the anthology, probably some time after al-Dailamī composed his commentary. We may speculate that the original text as available to al-Dailamī, and to the editor of the Cairo manuscript, was in fact a fragment of an extensive anthology of Ṣūfī sayings, arranged in chapters by topics. This fragment would seem to have lacked both beginning and end. It was presumably the accident of the occurrence of al-Junaid's name at the opening of the fragment that suggested the idea that the whole text was composed by him, or by him and Ibn 'Aṭā' whose name comes second.

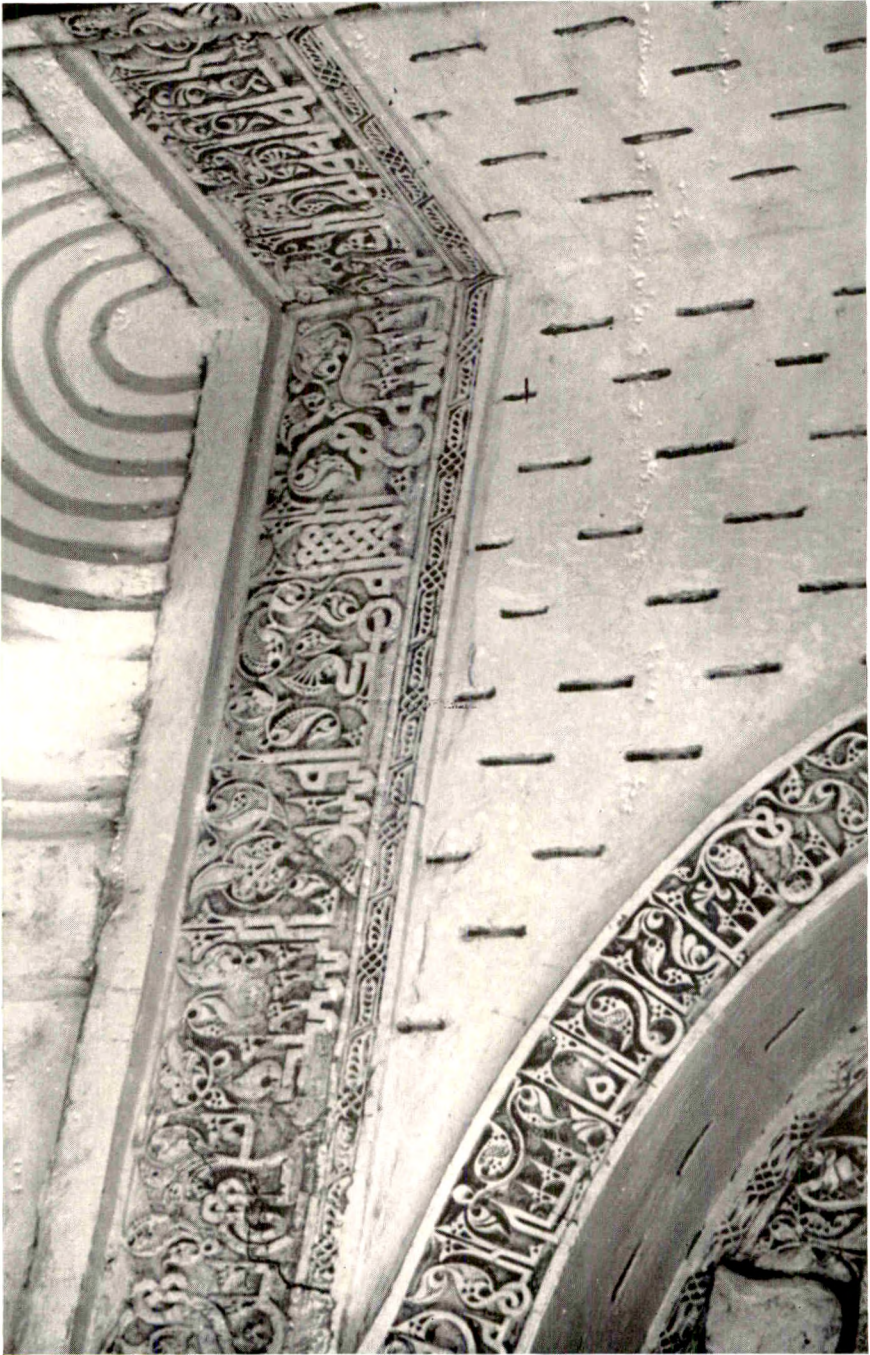
The titles of the chapters into which the text is divided in both recensions, as listed below, show further that in reality only the first section deals with the theme of *nafas* and *anfās*, and that therefore the title given to the work is entirely supposititious.²⁶

CB	Cairo	
fol. 34b	page 2	باب صفة الأنفاس
fol. 43a	page 8	باب صفة الخطرات
fol. 49b	page 11	باب صفة المكر
fol. 56a	page 15	باب صفة المشاهدة
fol. 62a	page 20	باب صفة العلم
fol. 70b	page 24	باب صفة الوجد
fol. 74b	page 26	باب صفة المحبة
fol. 81a	page 30	باب صفة الغيرة
fol. 83b	page 32	باب صفة الحقيقة
fol. 85a	page 33	باب صفة الإرادة والهمة

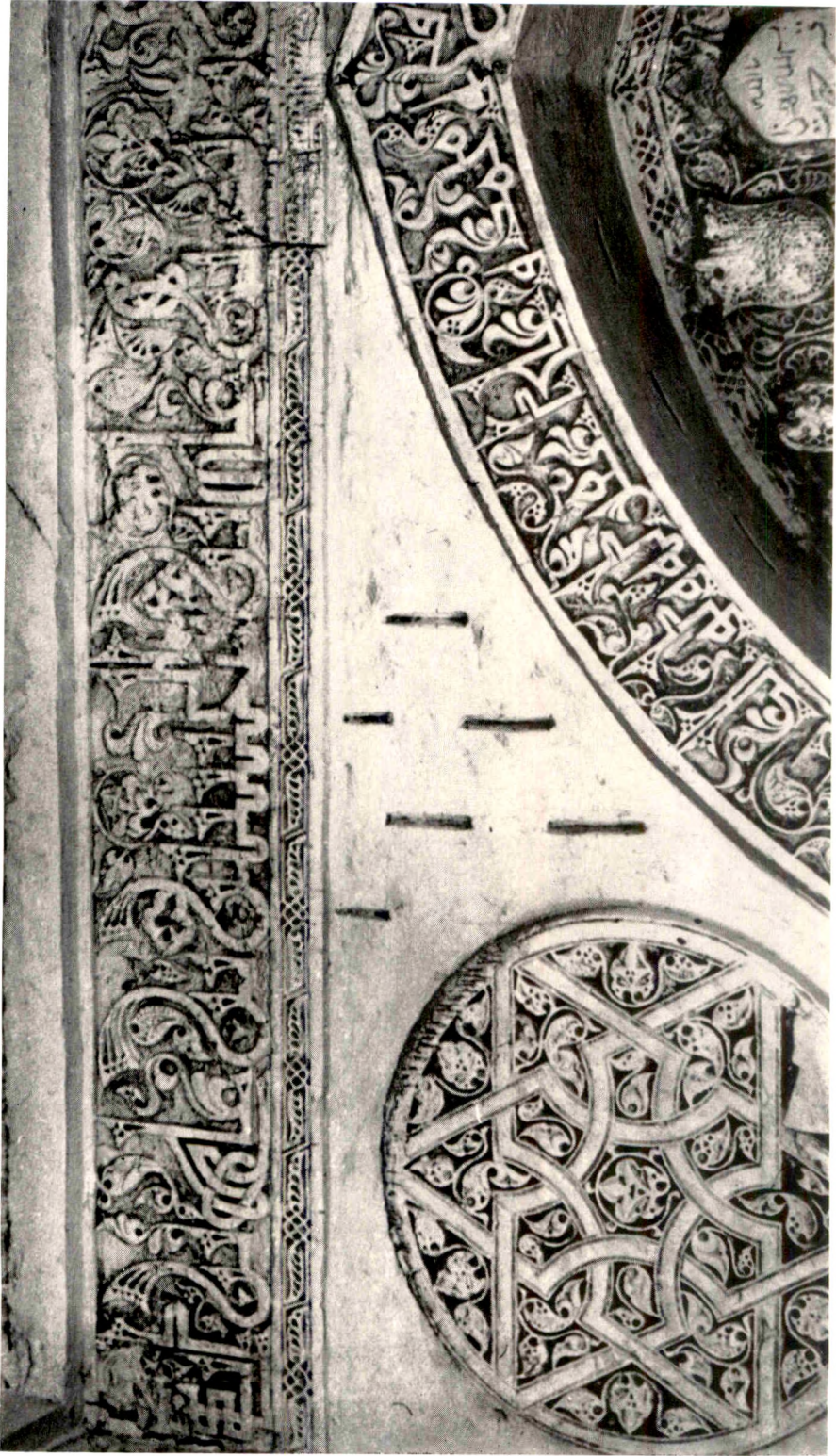
²⁶ The chapter headings are as given in CB 4142; the wording in the Cairo manuscript is occasionally slightly different.



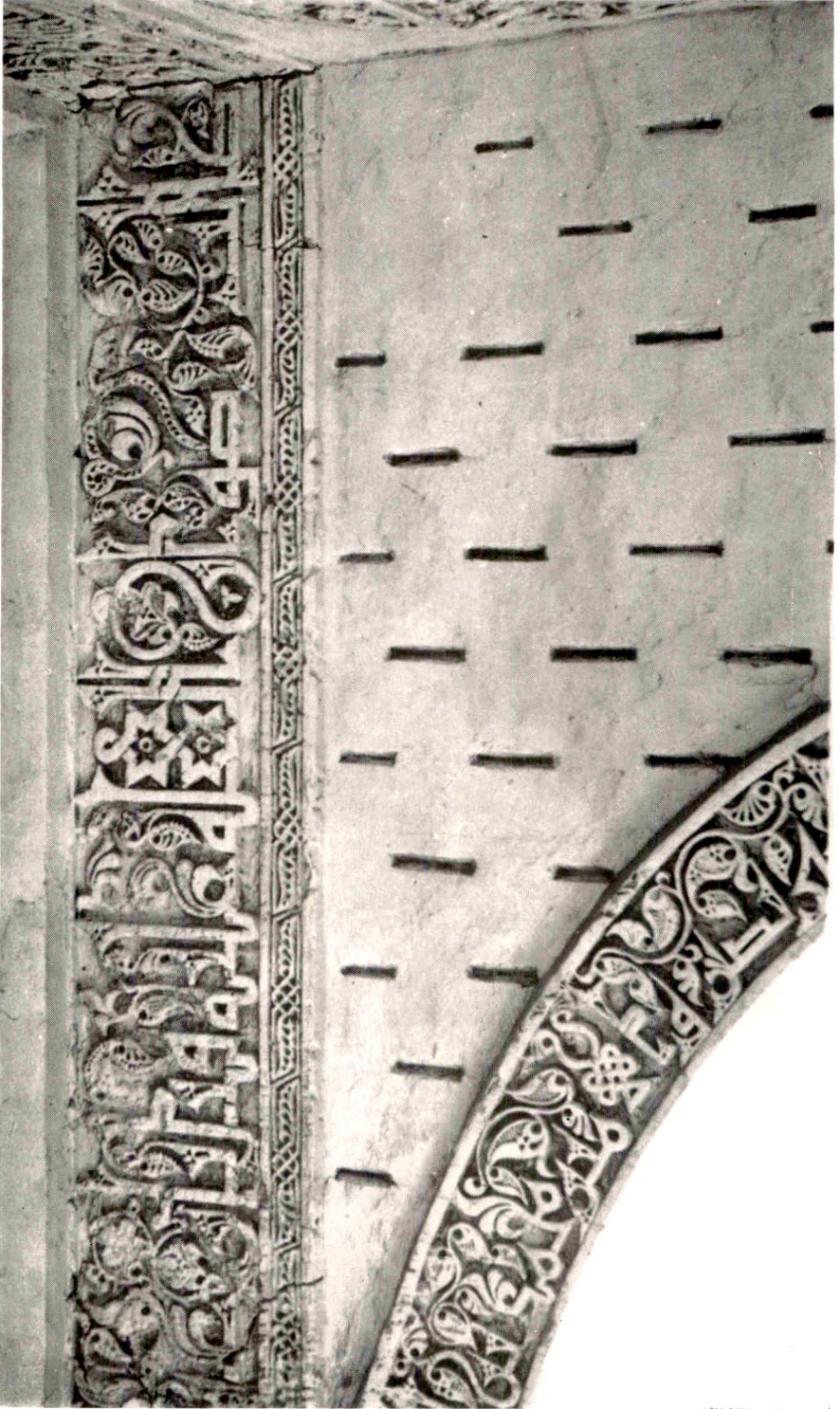
SAR-I PUL, IMĀM-I KHURD : THE MIHRĀB



IMĀM-I KHURD : FRIEZE OF WEST WALL (a)



IMĀM-I KHURD : FRIEZE OF WEST WALL (b)



IMĀM-I KHURD : FRIEZE OF SOUTH WALL (a)



IMĀM-I KHURD : FRIEZE OF SOUTH WALL (*b*)

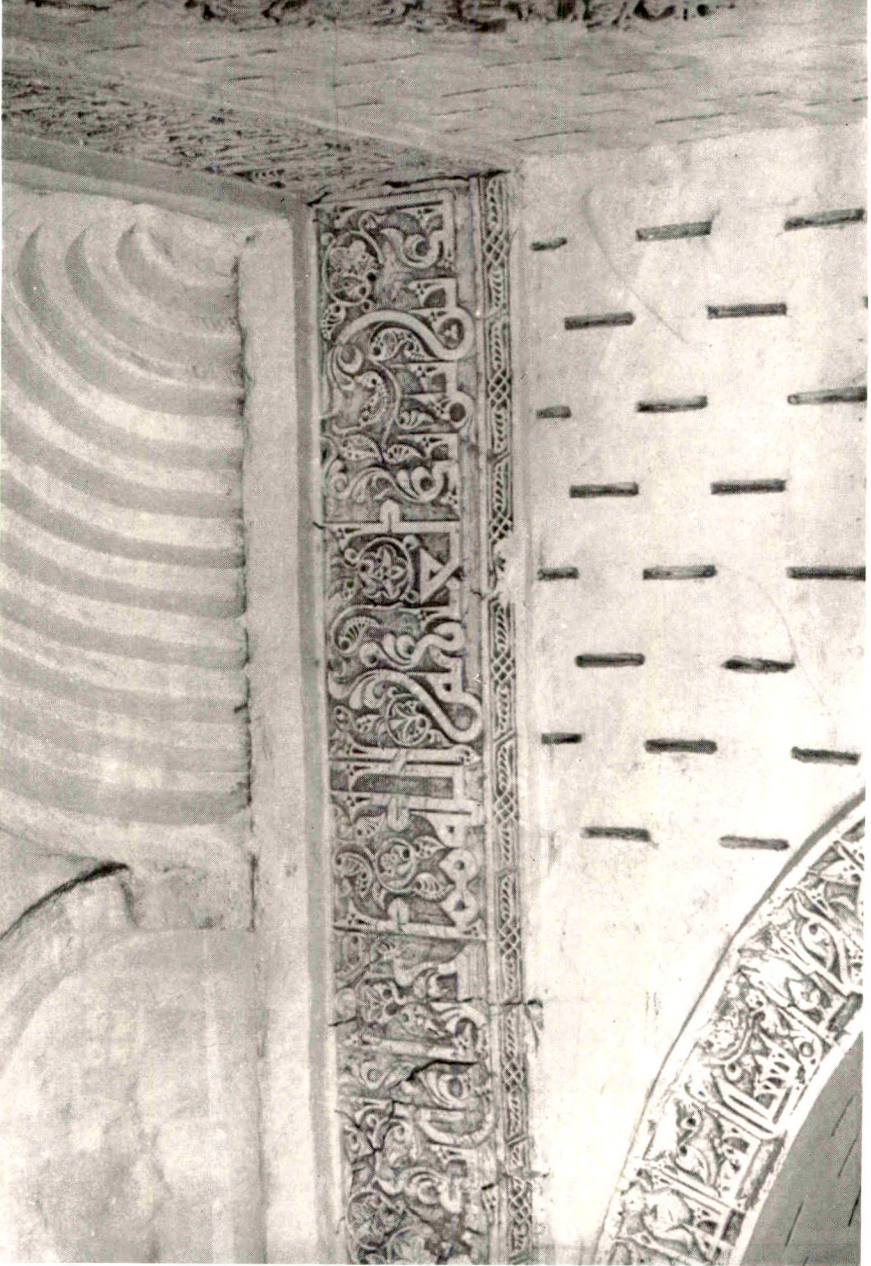


IMĀM-I KHURD : FRIEZE OF EAST WALL (c)

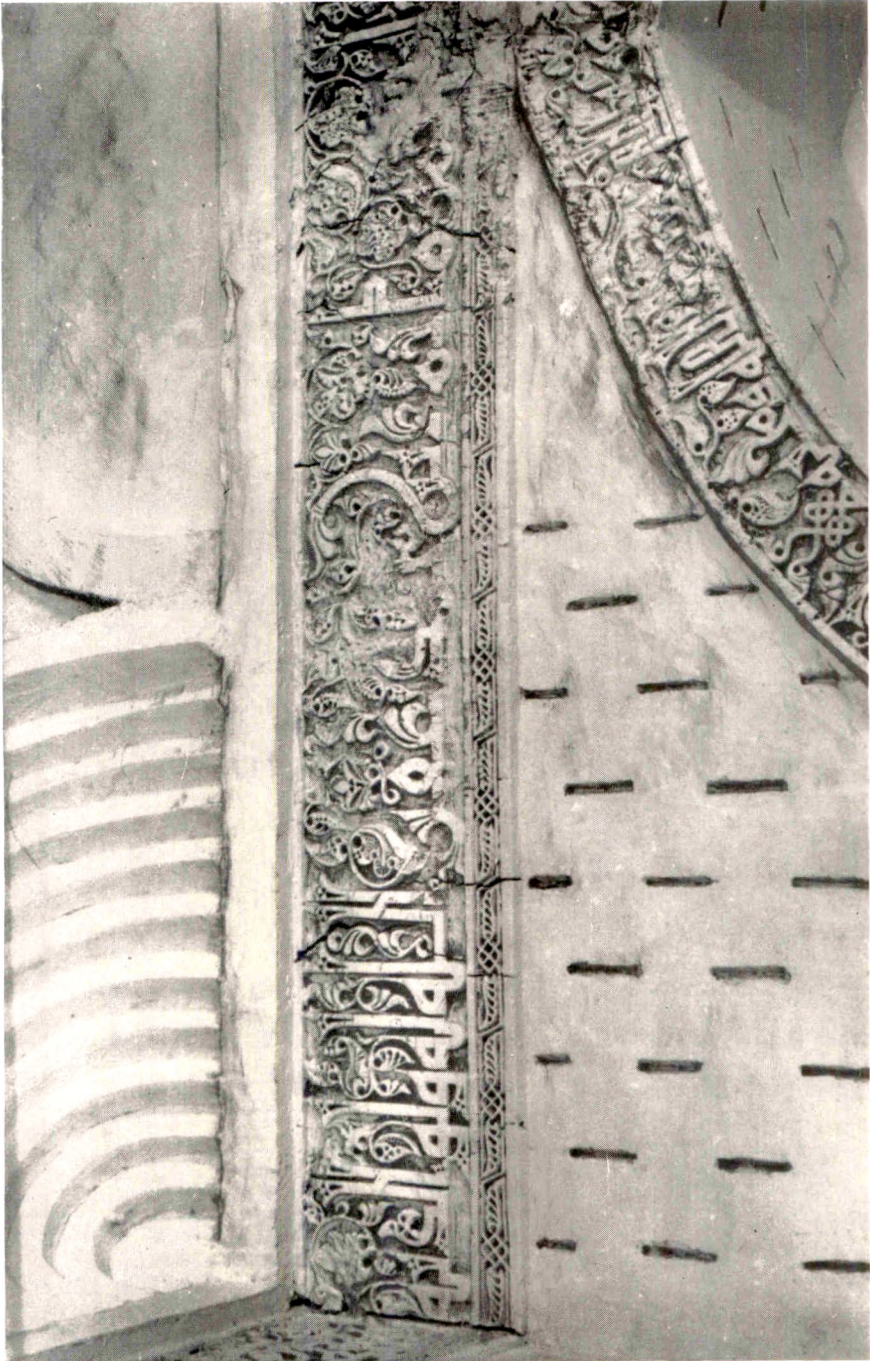


IMĀM-I KHURD : FRIEZE OF EAST WALL. (b)

PLATE VIII



IMĀM-I KHURD : FRIEZE OF NORTH WALL (a)



IMĀM-I KHURD : FRIEZE OF NORTH WALL (*b*)

PLATE X



SAR-I PUL, IMĀM-I KALĀN : THE *MIHRĀB*

SELJŪQID ZIYĀRATS OF SAR-I PUL (AFGHANISTAN)¹

By A. D. H. BIVAR

(PLATES I-XI)

The story of Yaḥyā b. Zayd (in full, Yaḥyā b. Zayd b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib) forms a well-known episode in the history of the closing years of the Umayyad Caliphate. The insurrection of Yaḥyā was in many respects a forerunner of the final rising under the 'Abbāsīd emissary Abū Muslim, by which Umayyad government in Khurāsān was overthrown.² The fullest early description of this episode is that given by the historian al-Ṭabarī in his account of the events of the year 125/742-3.³ After the rebellion and death of his father Zayd at Kūfa in 122/739-40, the young Yaḥyā had fled from Iraq with a few companions to Khurāsān. At Balkh he lived concealed under the protection of a man named al-Ḥuraysh b. 'Amr. Eventually 'Uqayl b. Ma'qil, the prefect of the town for the Umayyad government, received instructions to track down the fugitive. When Ḥuraysh had been severely beaten his son revealed the hiding-place of Yaḥyā, who was sent as a prisoner to the governor of Khurāsān, Naṣr b. Sayyār, at Merv, and there incarcerated in the citadel.

However, on his accession, the new caliph al-Walīd II (125-6/743-4) sent instructions for the release of Yaḥyā, who was allowed to set out for the west, and given an allowance of 2,000 *Baghlī* dirhams⁴ for the expenses of his journey. After passing through the districts of Sarakhs and Ṭūs, Yaḥyā clashed with the prefect of Nishāpur, 'Amr b. Zurāra, whom he routed despite a great inferiority in numbers, the prefect himself being killed in the battle. After this incident Yaḥyā discontinued his journey to the west, and withdrew past Harāt to the district of Jūzjān, where, having raised 700 followers, he was intercepted by a certain officer of the governor named Salm b. Aḥwaz, with a strong force of cavalry. A pitched battle was fought at a village in the neighbourhood called Arghūy or Arghūya, where the followers of Yaḥyā were defeated, and Yaḥyā himself slain.⁵ The body of Yaḥyā was long exposed at the city gate, and only buried at last by the followers of Abū Muslim after their conquest of Khurāsān. Al-Mas'ūdī relates that in later centuries the tomb became a place of pilgrimage.

The episode is also mentioned by Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, s.v. Anbīr and Jūzjān, Anbīr being the name of the capital city of Jūzjān district, near which the battle took place. Minorsky has pointed out that the medieval town of Anbīr

¹ The journey to Sar-i Pul on which the present study is based was made possible by a generous grant from the University of London Central Research Fund.

² For the career of Yaḥyā b. Zayd, see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, s.v.

³ Ed. de Goeje, II, 1770-4.

⁴ For an account of the *Baghlī* dirham see J. Walker, *A catalogue of the Muhammadan coins in the British Museum*. [I.] *A catalogue of the Arab-Sassanian coins*, London, 1941, p. cxlviii. The term implies a pre-reform dirham of full Sassanian weight.

⁵ The name of the village does not appear in the text of al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, II, 1773. This is, however, one of a number of additional details supplied by Abu 'l-Faraj 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Isbahānī, *Maqātil al-jālibīyīn*, Najaf, 1353/1934, 115, who names the scene of the fatal encounter as Arghūy. It is evident, therefore, that in al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, VI, 2, the true reading of the corresponding name should be Arghūya.

is to-day represented by the modern Sar-i Pul ⁶ (in full, Sar-i Pul-i Khaṭīb), but although this town is celebrated in connexion with the journey across Afghanistan of the nineteenth-century French traveller J. P. Ferrier,⁷ no modern visitor seems to have described Sar-i Pul from the point of view of its antiquities.

In August, 1964, the present writer had the opportunity to visit Sar-i Pul. The purpose of the trip was to investigate Ferrier's notorious report of the existence of a rock-sculpture, apparently Sasanian, in the adjoining hill-country. This question had been previously investigated by Maricq, without positive result, and it is understood that several years ago Professor D. Schlumberger of the Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan had also visited Sar-i Pul. None the less the question seemed of sufficient interest to merit another visit. The journey was arranged with the Afghan authorities by Mr. R. J. Alston of the British Embassy, Kabul, and Mr. Asadullāh Ḥabīb of the Faculty of Letters of the University of Kabul accompanied the writer as interpreter. A journey up the valley of the Astarāb river south of Sar-i Pul led the party successively to the villages of Balghalī, Ādrin, Laghmān (where several caves of the Buddhist period were seen in the cliff-faces), 'Alaf-i Safid, Sar-i Darrah, Jirghān, Faizābād, Warwā, Bedistān, Ganja, Deh-yi Surkh, Khumdān, Pasinay, and Khawāl. Almost all these villages had already been listed by Maricq,⁸ and are now accessible from Sar-i Pul by jeep. Yet though inquiries were made at most of these places with a view to ascertaining whether any rock-sculpture such as that described by Ferrier ⁹ was known locally, the results were uniformly negative. Since many of the informants questioned were plainly well acquainted with the local countryside and its antiquities, and denied all knowledge of any rock-sculpture, it becomes increasingly difficult to believe in the correctness of Ferrier's report, though as Maricq had observed, his account of the terrain appears to correspond closely with the facts.

On his return to Sar-i Pul, the writer made inquiries about the *ziyārats* of the town, with a view to discovering whether the shrine of Yaḥyā b. Zayd was still known locally. It came as a surprise to learn that it was, indeed, very well known, and still the site of an Islamic monument of considerable interest. Altogether, informants gave details of ten *ziyārats* in the town of Sar-i Pul, of which the names were as follows :

- (1) Imām-i Khurd 'The Lesser Imām'
- (2) Imām-i Kalān 'The Greater Imām'
- (3) The *ziyārat* of Sayyād
- (4) Bahā al-Dīn Bālagardān
- (5) Khaṭīb Ṣāhib
- (6) Sayyid Ibrāhīm Jān

⁶ V. Minorsky, *Hudūd al-'ālam*, London, 1937, 335.

⁷ For a recent discussion of Ferrier's journey, see André Maricq and Gaston Wiet, *Le minaret de Djam*, Paris, 1959, 71-6.

⁸ *op. cit.*, 75-6.

⁹ J. P. Ferrier, *Caravan journeys. Second edition*, London, 1857, 229.

- (7) Imām Ja'far
- (8) Khwāja Sabzposh
- (9) Shāh Raḥmatullāh Walī
- (10) Sulṭān Uways Qarani

The time available was not sufficient to make possible an investigation of all ten of these *ziyārats*. It was, however, the first two which were of the greatest importance. It soon transpired that the first was, in fact, the tomb of Yaḥyā b. Zayd. The second, the Imām-i Kalān, was reported locally to be the shrine of another Yaḥyā, son of the Imām of the Ithnay'ashariyya Shi'a, Muḥammad al-Bāqir.¹⁰ Both of these *ziyārats* were said to contain ancient inscriptions, and under the guidance of the Qāḍī of Sar-i Pul, who had taken a keen interest in the preservation of the shrine, and gave valuable help with the reading of its inscriptions, a visit was paid first to the Imām-i Khurd.

This *ziyārat* lay about a mile south-east of the centre of Sar-i Pul, that is to say, in the up-stream direction. It consisted of a simple domed chamber about 16 feet square, with a rectangular antechamber at the entrance. The centre of the inner chamber was occupied by a large wooden sarcophagus of modern construction. The outer walls were covered in natural mud-plaster, and from the outside the building looks entirely unremarkable. However, the inside walls of the cella bear spectacular inscriptional decoration in carved stucco, which had recently been restored and whitewashed.

Plate I illustrates the *mīhrāb* of the inner shrine. This is plainly a piece of carved stucco decoration of the Seljūq period, if not, indeed, earlier. The decoration may best be compared with that of the Masjid-i Jāmi' at Nāyīn in Iran,¹¹ dated by Pope to c. 350/960. This early dating originated with Viollet and Flury, cf. Henry Viollet and S. Flury, 'Un monument des premiers siècles de l'Hégire en Perse', *Syria*, II, 1921, 226-34, especially p. 229; S. Flury, 'La mosquée de Nāyīn', *Syria*, XI, 1930, 43-58. It was however contested, it seems rightly, by Herzfeld *apud* Myron Bement Smith and E. Herzfeld, 'Imām Zāde Karrār at Buzūn, a dated Seldjūk ruin', *AMI*, VII, 1935, 72, who stressed the analogy of the Buzūn monument, dated Jumādā II 528/April 1134. In the case of the Sar-i Pul *mīhrāb*, an inscriptional date is lacking, but it will be shown that there is little doubt that the work is either of the fifth Muslim century, or the early sixth. In addition to its rich floral decoration, the *mīhrāb* bears three Arabic inscriptions in remarkably fine foliate Kufic script. The horizontal inscription reads:

ما¹² امر بنا هذه القبة الشيخ الجليل ابو عبد الله محمد بن شاذان الفارسي
حشره الله مع محمد واهل بيته

¹⁰ However, Dr. S. M. Stern points out that no such person is listed by Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥanna, 'Umdat al-tālib fī nasab al-Abū Tālib.

¹¹ A. U. Pope (ed.), *A survey of Persian art*, London, 1938-9, v, 265.

¹² The first word of the inscription, *mimmā*, is in fact redundant. It helps to show that those who drafted these Arabic inscriptions were not native Arabic-speakers, and that their command of the language sometimes fell short of complete proficiency.

‘ Ordered the building of this dome the noble Shaykh Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Shādhān al-Fārisī, may Allāh unite him with Muḥammad and the People of his Household.’

Interspersed between the elements of the floral decoration above this inscription are a number of flat panels which carry the architect’s inscription in smaller characters.

ما عمل ابو نصر محمد بن احمد البنا الترمذى غفر الله له ولوالديه

‘ Of that which Abū Naṣr¹³ Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, the builder of Tirmidh, constructed. May Allāh forgive him and his two parents ’.

Around the curve of the *mihṛāb* arch runs another Kufic inscription, which coincides to a large extent with the text of the first. The reading of this inscription, which helps to supply the damaged portion of the first, runs as follows :

— — — هذ[ه] القبة ابو عبد الله محمد بن شاذان الفارسي الهم — — —
ومحمد وعلى اغفر له ولوالديه برحمتك يا ارحم [الراحمين]

‘ . . . this dome Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Shādhān al-Fārisī, may (Allāh) inspire (him) . . . Muḥammad and ‘Alī. Forgive him and his two parents (their sins), by Thy mercy, O most merciful (of the merciful ones) ’.

Near the apex of the arch there appears to be a break in the continuity of the inscription, and the present writer has not been able to read the short word beginning with the letter *fā*’ which occupies the apex of the arch.

It will be observed that the two larger inscriptions of the *mihṛāb* are written in a highly decorative variety of foliate Kufic script. Yet accomplished as is the calligraphy of these panels, it is far surpassed by that of the truly remarkable inscriptional frieze which runs round the cella at the level of the top of the wall, and contains historical information on the origins of the shrine. This inscription is illustrated in plates II-IX, and the text reads as follows :

بسم الله هذا قبر السيد يحيى بن زيد بن علي بن الحسين بن علي بن ابي طالب رضوان الله عليه. قُتِلَ بارغ[وى] يوم الجمعة شهر شعبان سنة خمس وعشرين ومائة. قتله سلم بن احوز في ولاية نصر بن سيار في ايام الوليد بن يزيد لعنهم الله. مما جرا [sic] على يدي ابي حمزة احمد بن محمد غفر الله له ولوالديه

‘ In the name of Allāh, this is the grave of the Sayyid Yaḥyā b. Zayd b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, may the approval of Allāh be upon him. He was

¹³ The reading is not entirely certain.



IMĀM-I KALĀN : FRAGMENT OF NĀSKHI INSCRIPTION AT ENTRANCE

killed at Arghūy on a Friday of the month of Sha‘bān, in the year 125. Salm b. Aḥwaz killed him, during the governorship of Naṣr b. Sayyār, in the days of al-Walīd b. Yazīd, may Allāh curse them. (This was part) of what was executed at the hands of Abū Ḥamza Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, may Allāh forgive him and his two parents’.

The text of the inscription, which corresponds closely in its historical content with the narrative of al-Ṭabarī, proves conclusively that the *ziyārat* known as the Imām-i Khurd at Sar-i Pul is indeed the site of the grave of the Sayyid Yaḥyā b. Zayd, and that the medieval town of Anbīr is in fact the modern Sar-i Pul. But the chief point of interest about the inscription is less its historical content, than the superb calligraphic technique in which it was executed. The lettering combines elements not only of foliated, but also of floriated and plaited decoration. Particularly characteristic are the variant renderings of the word ‘Allāh’, decorated at its first occurrence (plate II) with a complex interlace pattern between the two *lāms*, and at its second appearance with a pattern of two stars in the same position (plate IV). In its two other occurrences this word is more simply written (plates VIII and IX). Another strikingly decorated letter is the plaited ‘*ayn*’ of the word ‘Sha‘bān’ in plate V, larger and more ornate than the other occurrences of this letter in the inscription. The letter *rā* is more than once rendered as a simple leaf, as in plate IV. *Lām-alif* has an elaborate plaited form, and a great variety of plaited shapes is found for the final *yā*, some of these being extremely intricate. It is, of course, not possible to describe in detail the rich decorative effects which have been achieved in the carving of this inscription. These can best be appreciated by an inspection of the plates. But it may be said without exaggeration that this is one of the most magnificent decorative inscriptions preserved from the Muslim Middle Ages.

Unfortunately, as was noticed above, the inscriptions of the Imām-i Khurd do not preserve the date of erection of the building. Since the personages named in the inscriptions appear to be unknown,¹⁴ any effort to establish its date must therefore depend on analogy and general considerations. The present writer knows no close parallel for the calligraphy of the frieze inscription, but the nearest approach is perhaps provided by two well-known tomb-towers of Māzandarān. The first of these, which provides some parallel for the foliate and floriate lettering, is the exquisite monument of Resget, near Pul-i Safid.¹⁵ Some doubt remains as to the date of this building, since a portion of the inscription is damaged, but the editor took the date as being exactly 400/1009–10.

In the Resget monument, however, plaited decoration does not yet appear, and to find an analogy for this feature we have to look at a slightly later tower,

¹⁴ It is not possible to identify the patron of our work with any of the 19 personages listed s.v Šābān by F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 270. Nor is the builder Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Tirmidhī amongst the persons listed by L. A. Mayer, *Islamic architects and their works*, Geneva, 1956.

¹⁵ André Godard, ‘Les tours de Ladjīm et de Resget’, *Athār-e Irān*, I, 1, 1936, 119 ff.

that of Rādkān-West in Gurgān Province,¹⁶ begun in 407/1016-17 and finished in 411/1020-1. Yet even this analogy provides no more than a *terminus post quem*. For the lettering of the Rādkān inscription is markedly simpler than that of the Imām-i Khurd, which should therefore be appreciably later. Whilst any attempt at a close dating for the Imām-i Khurd is therefore hazardous, it is reasonable to suppose that it would be not earlier than 450/1058-9. It is therefore clear that by this date, if indeed not earlier, this spot was regarded as being the authentic site of the burial of Yaḥyā b. Zayd.¹⁷

It remains to say a few words about another medieval *ziyārat* which is still partly preserved (and of course like that of Yaḥyā b. Zayd still in use as a place of worship) at Sar-i Pul. This is the shrine known as the Imām-i Kalān, which is situated about three-quarters of a mile to the westward of the town centre. Like the Imām-i Khurd, the Imām-i Kalān has the external appearance of a simple mud building. According to local tradition, to which, however, there attaches an element of doubt, the site represents the grave of another Yaḥyā, the son of the Imām Muḥammad al-Bāqir. The inscriptions of this shrine are much less well preserved than those of the Imām-i Khurd, so that epigraphic confirmation for the tradition is lacking. However, the epigraphic decoration of the west wall of the cella contains the words '*Alīyī walīyī 'ulāh*' 'Alī is the friend of God', a phrase which confirms that the shrine was a Shi'a foundation.

At the Imām-i Kalān portions of a decorated *mīhrāb* in stucco are once more preserved (plate x), together with a few adjoining panels of epigraphic decoration. In this case the writer has not been successful in deciphering the texts, which appear to consist merely of Qur'anic phrases. An inscription on the arch which surrounds the entrance to the cella from the antechamber is of a rather different character. Instead of being written in Kufic script, as are all the other inscriptions of the *ziyārats* of Sar-i Pul, the entrance inscription is written in a bold and flowing *naskh* (plate xi). Unfortunately the greater part of this arch is badly broken, and only the closing words of the text are preserved. These contain a tantalizing fragment of the date, with the words

فی شهر شعبان تسع — —

'In the month of Sha'bān, (year) . . . 9'. Unfortunately the vital figures for the tens and hundreds are no longer to be distinguished. None the less, the

¹⁶ E. Diez, *Churasanische Bau Denkmäler*, 1, Berlin, 1918, 36-9. It is worth pointing out that the photographs at present available of the Rādkān-West tower leave something to be desired. Those reproduced by Diez have been printed with the negative reversed, and are on an insufficiently large scale to show the inscription. The good reproduction in A. U. Pope, *A survey of Persian art*, v, 340, shows only a small portion of the inscription.

¹⁷ The present writer is puzzled by the tradition prevailing at Gunbad-i Qābūs in Iran that the personage whose grave is marked by the large *imāmzādeh* there was Yaḥyā b. Zayd. This version is attested by H. L. Rabino, *Māzandarān and Astarābād*, London, 1928, 92, and is that current in local tradition at the present day. However, according to Ḥamdullāh Mustawfi Qazwīnī (*Nuzhat al-qulūb*, tr. Lo Strange, 158) the Sayyid whose grave was venerated at Jurjān (i.e. the modern Gunbad-i Qābūs) was Muḥammad, the son of Ja'far al-Šādiq, who died in 203/818-19. Another Sayyid who was killed near Jurjān was Muḥammad b. Zayd, known as al-Dā'i al-Kabīr, whose death occurred in 287/900.

appearance in monumental decoration of the *naskhī* script is sufficient evidence that the arch cannot be earlier than the sixth Muslim century.¹⁸ Meanwhile, at either side of the arch in the antechamber, may be seen fragments of painted floral scroll decoration in red upon the walls. This is evidence that the *ziyārat* in its hey-day must have been splendidly adorned.

The *ziyārat* of the Imām-i Kalān is now in sadly dilapidated condition, which makes it difficult to visualize its original appearance. But no doubt this building, like the happily far better preserved *ziyārat* of the Imām-i Khurd, was once a handsome example of Seljūqid decoration in carved stucco. The existence of these Shi'a shrines at Sar-i Pul on the route from Khurāsān via the Astarāb valley to central Afghanistan may be relevant to the problem of the introduction of Shi'ism to this part of the world, where it has become in more recent times the prevailing cult amongst the mountain peoples of Hazārajāt.

¹⁸ The date of the introduction of *naskhī* script for historical inscriptions in Iran is discussed by G. C. Miles in his appendix to the article by Myron Bement Smith, 'Material for a corpus of early Iranian Islamic architecture. III. Two dated Seljuk monuments at Sīn (Isfahan)', *Art Islamica*, VI, 1939, 13-14. The first appearance of *naskhī* is on the *minār* called Čihil Dukhtarān at Isfahān, dated A.H. 501; the next is on the *minār* of Muḥammad b. Malikahāh at Sāveh, dated A.H. 503, for which see G. C. Miles, 'Inscriptions on the minarets of Sāveh, Iran', *Studies in Islamic art and architecture in honour of Professor K. A. C. Creswell*, Cairo, 1965, 174. The *naskhī* inscription at Sar-i Pul may thus be confidently dated after 600/1106-7.

SOME NOTES ON THE *DEVSHIRME*

By V. L. MÉNAGE

No Ottoman institution has aroused more bitter criticism than the *devshirme*, the 'tribute of blood', especially—and naturally—among those Christian peoples whose forebears were subjected to it; and at the same time none touches on so many fundamental problems. Dr. Basilike Papoulia, bringing together the Western and oriental sources and submitting them to a close and careful analysis, has now presented the first full discussion of its origin and its character.¹ The scope of her study appears already in the definition with which she begins and ends it, that the *devshirme* was 'the forcible removal, in the form of a tribute, of children of the Christian subjects from their ethnic, religious, and cultural environment and their transplantation into the Turkish-Islamic environment with the aim of employing them in the service of the Palace, the army, and the state, whereby they were on the one hand to serve the Sultān as slaves and freedmen and on the other to form the ruling class of the State'.

She presents a valuable new source, the *vita* of St. Philotheos of Athos (which she has since published and discussed more fully in *Südost-Forschungen*, xxii, 1963, 259–80). Here it is stated that for fear of the Turks the saint's parents had moved from Elateia in Asia Minor (near the coast, opposite Lesbos) and settled in 'Chrysupolis in Macedonia' (between Xanthi/Yenije and Christupolis/Kavala)—which cannot yet therefore have been in Ottoman hands; but that as boys the saint and his brother were seized in what the writer clearly depicts as a *devshirme*.² Although this incident cannot be dated more precisely than to the last years of the fourteenth century, it is a welcome parallel to set beside the earliest datable reference, the sermon of Isidore Glabas of 1395.³

Her book consists of four sections: (1) 'Das Phänomen' (pp. 1–23), in which she surveys the 'slave-institution' of the Ottoman Empire and the similar institutions of earlier Muslim states; (2) 'Der Ursprung' (pp. 24–61), in which she seeks to show that the Ottoman slave-institution performed a similar function to the institution of clientage (*walā'*) in the 'classical' Caliphate, the new and characteristic Ottoman feature being the levy of *dhimmī* children; (3) 'Die Entstehung' (pp. 62–97), a discussion of the sources, in an attempt to determine when the *devshirme* was instituted; and (4) 'Hintergründe' (pp. 98–116), a survey of the reactions of the subject populations as expressed in the laments of their writers and the resistance of individuals.

Her remarks on military slavery in the Muslim world in general are now to be complemented, and are in part overtaken, by the long article s.v. *ghulām* in the new edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. One weakness in her discussion is that the Seljūq sultanate of Rūm, the state most likely to have influenced the

¹ Basilike D. Papoulia: *Ursprung und Wesen der 'Knabenlese' im osmanischen Reich*. (Südosteuropäische Arbeiten, 59.) x, 139 pp. + errata slip, plate. München: Verlag R. Oldenbourg, 1963. DM. 15.

² He speaks of a *πρόσταγμα* of the ruler for *συνλογή παιδίων*.

³ S. Vryonis, Jr., 'Isidore Glabas and the Turkish *devshirme*', *Speculum*, xxxi, 1956, 483–43.

Ottomans, is mentioned only in a footnote (p. 17, n. 33). Professor S. Vryonis has already, in a review-article on her book,⁴ supplied several references to help fill this gap. He there draws attention to the corps of *igdish* (pseudo-Ar. plural *agādīshā*), and particularly to Professor Osman Turan's remark (in *Studia Islamica*, x, 1959, 150) that they were 'analogues aux *devshirme* de l'Empire ottoman'. All the same, it is perhaps premature to read too much into this. Practically nothing is known of this corps beyond the name, but the probable etymology of the word and its semantic development⁵ tend to suggest that the *igdish* were not themselves *ghulāms* but were the sons of *ghulāms*; certainly there is no clear indication that they were raised directly by a forced levy of *dhimmī* children—and this is the crux if any real analogy with the *devshirme* is to be considered.

In the course of this same first chapter (pp. 4–10) Dr. Papoulia tackles the very obscure problem of the juridical status of members of the Ottoman slave-institution. She concludes that the *škma*, the 'passing-out' from the various training-schools, amounted to a modified manumission and bestowed a status comparable with that of the 'client' (*mawlā*) in the classical Muslim world.

⁴ *Balkan Studies* (Thessaloniki), v, 1964, 145–53.

⁵ Sir Gerard Clauson suggests to me that the word is a deverbal noun in *-ish* from *igdi-/ikiḡ-*/*ikī-*, 'to rear, bring up', and so means primarily 'reared, [home-]bred'. We may perhaps compare (Kāshgharī) *ikī*: *al-'alūfa min al-hayawān* 'hand-reared animal', (Codex Cumanicus) *ikī*: *domesticus* 'tame', Old Ottoman (*TTS*, s.v. *ekī*, definition 2) and provincial Anatolian (*SDD*, s.v. *ekī*) *ikī/ekī*: 'tame'. Sir Gerard also kindly refers me to the earliest attestations of the word, in the *Kutadhgu bilig*: verse 1554 (ed. R. R. Arat), *men igdish kulūḡ-men* 'I am your servant (?) brought up in your household' (the speaker is the son of the ruler's recently-deceased advisor Ay-Toldi, and certainly not a bought or captured slave); v. 5590, *takt yilkīḡ igdish uklitūni* 'and let the herdsman increase the (?)home-bred stock'; and verses 4439 ff., speaking of the duties of the *igdishēler*: *kamug yilkīlarka bular bashēlar* 'it is these who are in charge of all the flocks'.

From this meaning it is only a short step to the meanings noted by İ. H. Uzunçarşılı (*Osmanlı devleti teşkilâtına medhal*, Istanbul, 1941, p. 116, n. 3) as attested by the thirteenth-century Ibn Muḥannā (ed. Melioransky, 51, 10; ed. Kilişli Rif'at, 147), *al-muwallad* 'child born of one brought up in the Muslim world' (see W. Heffening, in *Enc. Islam*, first ed., s.v.) and by the early fourteenth-century Waṣṣāf, 'half-Turkish'. In the thirteenth-century MS of Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī's *Diwān lughāt al-turk* (facsimile, p. 611) one reads clearly *igdish* or (as interpreted by Besim Atalay) *ikdish*, with the translation *banū 'l-akhūyāf* 'uterine brothers'; but the context, a proverb contrasting the behaviour of half-brothers having a common father (*kaḡ-dagh*) with that of half-brothers having a common mother, strongly suggests that *igdish* here is a slip for *ḡ-dagh*; the copyist may have been misled by the meaning 'hybrid, half-breed' which *igdish* bore in his day. The eighteenth-century dictionary of Čaġhatay Turkish, the *Sanġlākh* (ed. Sir Gerard Clauson (GMS, NS, xx), 1960, fol. 108v, line 28), gives two forms, *igdish/igdiḡ*, and the definition 'horse of mixed blood'. The Ottoman meaning 'gelding' (Redhouse, with the variants *igdish/igdiḡ*—and also the doublet *ikdish* [Persian!] 'hybrid') seems to be modern; it developed, perhaps, from the idea of docility.

Either of the contemporary meanings attested by Ibn Muḥannā and Waṣṣāf fits a corps raised from the sons of *ghulāms*, of men brought into the Islamic world where they married local girls. Such a Muslim-born second generation represented something of a problem in a Muslim state and various solutions were found in order to provide for them; with all reserve I suggest that the *igdish* are to be compared with the *awlād al-nās* in the Mamluk state (D. Ayalon, in *BSOAS*, xv, 3, 1953, 456 ff., and in *Enc. Islam*, second ed., s.v.) and the *mutteferriqa* (M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, in *IA*, s.v., especially the second paragraph) under the Ottomans.

Part of the difficulty, as she fully appreciates (pp. 8–9), resides in the word *kul*. Lexically it undoubtedly means ‘slave’; yet in most Ottoman contexts its true meaning is something less precise: ‘servant’ or ‘officer’. The definition of Rycaut (c. 1665) is significant here: ‘Such as receive any wages or pay coming from the Exchequer, or any office depending on the Crown, have the title of *Kul*, which is, the Grand Signior’s *Slave* . . . and it is more honourable than the condition and name of *Subject* . . .’⁶ That this relatively late definition held good also for earlier periods is apparent from an Ottoman agent’s report, of 1486, describing how he was cross-questioned by the young Duke of Savoy: ‘What is your status? Are you a *kul* of the Sultān?’ ‘I am.’—‘What is your descent?’ ‘I am Turkish-born.’—‘One who is Turkish-born cannot be the Sultān’s *kul*.’ ‘Your Excellency is right, but I am the son of a *kul*; I eat the Sultān’s bread and so count as his *kul*.’ The speaker, we may be sure, was a free man and born free, but he claimed—and proudly—the ‘title’ of *kul*.

Indeed the terms *kulluk* and *khizmet*, often interchangeable, usually mean merely ‘service’, without any implication of ‘servitude’.⁸ Dr. Papoulia is probably right in seeing a distinction between the terms *khizmet eden* (‘Dienenden’), which appears in documents concerning the ‘*ajemī-oghlanları*, and the *yoldashlık* of grown Janissaries; but she presses the distinction too hard in making of it ‘einen qualitativen Unterschied’ of status (p. 6, n. 15). The text to which she refers (İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Kapıkulu ocakları*, I, Ankara, 1943, 136) for the interpretation of *küllü khizmet eden* as meaning ‘gänzlich Dienenden’, with the implication ‘full slaves’, cannot possibly be read in this sense. The document on which she relies, a firman of 992/1584 addressed to the Agha of the Janissaries, says merely: ‘Since it has been reported that some of the paid ‘*ajemī-oghlanları* and some of those still undergoing basic training (*Türk üzerinde olan*)⁹ rendered every service that could be expected (*küllü khizmet*) in the recent fire and that they have shown themselves fit for campaigning-service (*yoldashlık*) . . .’; the background is simply that the cadets turned out to fight a fire and are to be promoted as a reward. The distinction between *khizmet* and *yoldashlık* in such contexts is, in my view, more likely to be that between non-combatant and combatant duties, or that between peace-time and war-time service. Thus for example a *qāmūn-nāme* of 952/1545,¹⁰ referring to the exemption from taxes enjoyed by certain *voynuks* in return for ‘frontier service’ and for services rendered as scouts, etc., on the occasion of a campaign, sums these

⁶ *Present state*, Bk. I, ch. iii.

⁷ Published by Ş. Turan in *Bellefen*, xxvi, 103, 1902, 539–55, at p. 547.

⁸ See, for example, in H. İnalok, *Süret-i defter-i sancak-i Arvanid*, Ankara, 1964, the references to *sipāhîs* who, through blindness or old age, *kulluktan kalmış* or *kulluğa yaramaz* (îmâr 132, 333); the first of these is called *ghulām-i mîr*, but the second is one of the *sürgün*, presumably free-born Turks, from Sarukhan; the term for a *sipāhî* who fails to report for duty is *kulluk etmez* (îmâr 159).

⁹ For the technical meaning of this phrase see İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Kapıkulu ocakları*, I, Ankara, 1943, 115 ff.

¹⁰ Ö. L. Barkan, *Kanunlar*, Istanbul, 1943, p. 306, § 12, and of. p. 381, § 38.

up as *envā'-i khizmet ve yoldashlık*, which I should interpret as 'various services rendered to the state in peace and war'.¹¹

The collapse of this unstable prop does not, however, bring her thesis down in ruins. There is here a very real problem, and her solution is, I shall suggest, on the right lines. In this connexion there are some illuminating details in the testament of Murād II, which survives both in the original Arabic text of 850/1446 and in a slightly later Turkish translation.¹² It contains this significant paragraph (p. 212, lines 5-7 [Arabic]): 'Every slave (*abd*) which I possess at the present time or shall possess hereafter of those called in Turkish *iç oğlani*, whether he be now with me or whether he has gone out (*kharağa*) to a post (*mansib*), shall be free (*hurr*), as from 40 days before my death-sickness . . .'.¹³ The Turkish paraphrase (p. 207, § X) renders *abd* as *āzādsuz kul* (and *mansib* as *tīmār*); *āzādsuz*, it is clear, can mean only 'unmanumitted',¹⁴ so that these persons are not merely, in the general sense, *kul*, but juridically 'abd, slaves; and the Sulṭān, be it noted, is bestowing the 'post-dated' manumission not merely on the pages still in the palace service but also on those who have 'passed out'.

¹¹ That all three terms *kulluk*, *khizmet*, and *yoldashlık* might, however, be practically synonymous is nicely illustrated in a report of Dāwūd Pasha, of c. 1482 (*Arşiv Kısavuzu*, II, Istanbul, 1940, pl. xvii, lines 13-14); some members of the Dhu'l-Qadr house having submitted, Dāwūd had proposed to send them to the Porte, but they volunteered to join his forces: . . . *āsītāne-i devlete işal edük-idi. Hāliyyā 'Yoldashlık mahallinde gitmezüz; elden geldükçe A'azz Allāhu anşārahū yollında khizmet ve kulluk edelim' deyü bunda yoldashlığha kaldılar.*

¹² Published by Halil İnalcık, in *Fatih devri üzerinde tetkikler ve vesikalar*, I, Ankara, 1954, 204-15 and plates III-V; and again by İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, IV, 1958, 1-17.

¹³ A grant of manumission with effect from the master's death is known as *iadbir* (see *Enc. Islam*, second ed., art. 'Abd', by R. Brunschvig, col. 30a; M. D'Ohaon, *Tableau général . . .*, second ed., VI, Paris, 1824, 31 ff.; T. W. Juynboll, *Handbuch des islamischen Gesetzes*, Leiden and Leipzig, 1910, 206). Here, however, it is stipulated that the manumission takes effect not at the testator's death but as from 40 days before his death-sickness (*maraf al-mawt*). A slave freed at death (*mudabbar*) formed part of the estate, and hence complications might arise in that a testator could dispose of only one-third of his estate, the rest going to his heirs according to the Qur'anic provisions (Juynboll, *Handbuch*, 206-7; J. Schacht, *An introduction to Islamic law*, Oxford, 1964, 160-74); again, a gift made during death-sickness was treated as a legacy (*Enc. Islam*, first ed., art. 'Wasiya', by J. Schacht; *idem*, *Introduction*, 174; A. A. A. Fyzee, *Outlines of Muhammadan law*, third ed., Oxford, 1964, 363 ff.); but the provision '40 days before my death-sickness' would presumably remove altogether the risk that the grant of manumission, interpreted as a bequest, should be hindered in the event that the testator had exceeded the one-third limit of his property that he was able to dispose of by will.

It is a point of some interest that the wording of this testament (*kullu 'abdin amlakuhu al-ān . . . /āzādsuz kullarından şholki iç-oğlanlarımdur . . .*) shows clearly that the members of the 'slave-institution' were regarded as belonging not to 'the Crown' impersonally, but to the Sulṭān personally, and (as a corollary) were inherited by his son and successor.

¹⁴ Like *kul*, the word *āzād* must be interpreted with caution. It may bear the neutral meaning 'released (from prison)', as in 'Ağhiqpağazāde, ed. Giese, 122: *khunkār daki ferāhtından āzād eyledi, Tokat hışārtınuy habsinden çıkardı*, and L. Fekete, *Die Siyāqat-Schrift*, Budapest, 1955, doc. 3; but in other contexts *āzād et-* means, more precisely, 'to manumit': see for example G. Elezović, *Turski spomenici*, I, 2, Belgrade, 1952, p. 87, a letter of Hersek-zāde Ahmed Pasha to Ragusan ambassadors who are claiming the return of an enslaved lad: *biz ol oğlan [sic] āzād edürüb-dürürüz; oğlan şhimdi āzādlu-dür amma oğlan āzād olduğı gibi kendü ikhtiyāriyle Musūlmān oldı . . .*; cf. also Barkan, *Kanunlar*, p. 102, § 47.

The next paragraph reads (Arabic): ' . . . and every slave (*'abd*) of whatever category who came with me from Sarukhan to Edirne and is at this time with me at Edirne shall be free as from 40 days before my death-sickness '. The Turkish version (here rendering *'abd* simply as *kul*) goes into greater detail and specifies the categories as ' *'ulufejis, kapujis, solaks, çadır-mihterleri, doĝhanjis, seĝbāns, at-oghlanları, khar-bendes, devejis, ašhēs,* and so on '. All or most of these are not lads in training but grown men ; and though some of these categories, the cooks and ostlers, might be regarded as ' domestic slaves ', others—the *solaks* and *seĝbāns*, for example—certainly counted as members of the ' slave-institution '. Furthermore, the implication is inevitable that their fellows serving in the palace at Edirne, those who had not been in the household of Murād II during his retirement in Sarukhan, were to remain unfree.

Equally eloquent is another slightly earlier document of Murād II, dated end of Sha'bān 848/early December 1444,¹⁵ by which the Sultān renews a grant of manumission at his death (*tadbīr*) for 15 survivors, all of European origin,¹⁶ of a larger group to whom *tadbīr* had been granted three years before, ' but some of them have already gained the honour of freedom (*hurriyya*) from the above-mentioned deponent (*muqirr*, i.e. the Sultān), and some of them were killed in the battle in which the accursed Hungarians were defeated [i.e. the battle of Varna, fought two months before] '. The manumission is said to have been granted to them as a reward ' after they had been his slaves (*'abidahu wamamātikahu*) for many years and had served him well '. For these therefore the *çikma* must have been a thing of the past ; nevertheless they had remained slaves up to that point, and in the future too the Sultān, with the normal right of the *mudabbir*,¹⁷ is to enjoy their service ' as he enjoys the service of an absolute slave '.¹⁸

A third witness is the curious notice, found in contemporary histories, of a great freeing of slaves by Meĝemmed II during his campaign against Uzun Ĥasan in 878/1473. The earliest Ottoman record of this seems to be the brief note in the history attributed to Rūĥī, which states that after the second, successful, engagement Meĝemmed II ' gave thanks to God and in gratitude manumitted the slaves of his who were present on that campaign '.¹⁹ Idris Bidlisī, either following this work or recalling something he had heard when he himself had been a *munshī* in the service of Uzun Ĥasan,²⁰ gives the number of

¹⁵ Also published by H. İnalcık, *Fatih devri . . .*, 215–17 and pl. vi.

¹⁶ Three are Serbians, two Saxons (*sāsi*), four Boanians, five Albanians, and one Vlach ; five are described as *shahinji* and four as *çakırji* (two groups of falconers, see *Enc. Islam*, second ed., s.vv. *çakırđji-başı* (B. Lewis) and *doĝhandji* (H. İnalcık)) and one each as *khazine-oghlan*, *silibdār, rikābī, oda oĝlanı, raĝĝāṣ,* and *tabbākh*.

¹⁷ Juynboll, *Handbuch*, 208 : ' Solange der Herr lebt, ist die rechtliche Stellung eines solchen Sklaven durchaus dieselbe, wie die anderer Sklaven '.

¹⁸ *kamā yantaḡi'u bi-khidmati* [so to be read, not *khidmatihī*] 'l-'abdi 'l-mullaĝ.

¹⁹ Bodleian Library MS Marsh 313, fol. 133r : *pādīshāh-i Islām dakhi jeth u zaferē muttālī' olub shūkr-i Ĥaĝĝ edüb bu shūkrāneye ol seferde olan kulların āzād eidi*.

²⁰ See V. Minorsky (tr.), *Calligraphers and painters : a treatise by Qādī Ahmad . . .* (Freer Gallery of Art Occasional Papers, III, 2), Washington, 1959, 85.

those freed as 40,000 and makes it clear that he regards them not as domestic slaves in general²¹ but as the slave-troops of the Sultān.²² From Idrīs's work this notice has passed into the histories of Bihishtī and Sa'd al-Dīn.²³ All present this manumission as being a pious act of thanksgiving.

Granted that the figure of 40,000 is a gross exaggeration, it still seems difficult at first sight to credit that this note should be historically true: are we to understand, for example, that the Janissaries were manumitted? Yet its truth is confirmed by the completely independent testimony of Angiolello, who was present on the campaign as the slave of Prince Muṣṭafā. But Angiolello sets it in a different, and perhaps more convincing, context: he records the manumission not as a gesture of thanksgiving for victory but as one of several desperate measures employed by the Sultān to restore the spirits of his army a week earlier, after the critical setback when the *beglerbegi* of Rūmeli had been killed.²⁴ This is not the place to go into all the implications of Angiolello's presentation²⁵; it suffices to note that he confirms, in its essentials, the historicity of Idrīs's notice, and that for him, as for the Oriental historians, the status of many of the Ottoman troops was such that they were eligible for manumission, that they were, in other words, 'absolute slaves'.

These three examples suffice to show that—in the middle years of the

²¹ This seems to be the interpretation of Mūnejjim-bağlı, III, 391, for he mentions slave-girls as well: *ne kadar kul ve jāriyeye mālīk iseler jumlesini i'tāğ buyurdılar*; and cf. Hammer, *GOR*, II, 122: 'gab er . . . allen seinen Selaven und Selavinnen die Freyheit'.

²² *Haṣṭi bihiṣṭi*, MS Nuruosmaniye 3209 (fair-copy autograph), fol. 468v:

این چنین تقریر فرمود که هر قدر رقبه از رقاب که بر بقة رقیب [sic; read رقیب] سلطان مامقید باشد همگی خالصاً لوجه الله ازاد باشند . . . بعد از ضبط نواب وحساب موازی جهل هزار غلام مملوک خاصه سلطانی که اکثر بندکان زرین کر ماهسیا بودند . . . بمرتبہ احرار رسیدند .

²³ Bihishtī, British Museum MS Add. 7869, fol. 201r: *hattā mervidār ki bu shūkrāneye bir gunde shāh-i 'āli-nizhād dāl-shād olub kırk biñ kulln āzād eyledi*; Sa'd al-Dīn, I, 542: *bir kelime-i jūmi'a ile bir khayr-i 'aṣim-i nāfi'a mebde olub 'jemi'-i 'abid ve memālīkīm ahrār olsunlar* demekle hisāb olındukda kırk biñ raqabe ribqa-i riqqadan āzād oldi.

²⁴ 'Breve narrazione della vita . . . del signor Ussuncassano', in Ramusio, *Navigazioni* . . . , II, 1559, 66r-78r, at 69r: 'Hauuta questa rotta il Turco dubitò fortamente, & deliberò di ridurre il suo essercito per la piu corta nel suo paese, & per confortar li suoi soldati, oltre il soldo ordinario dette un'altra prestanza, & donò la prima, che haueua data alla sua partita: & fece anche liberi tutti li suoi schiaui, che si trouauano in campo, con questa conditione, che niuno fusse in libertà di abbandonarlo, ma fussero huomini del Signore, come gli altri stipendarij, che non sono schiaui, & posson fare della lor robba quel che lor piace: & fece molte altre prouisioni carezzando & donando alli Capitani'. (Cf. the very similar account incorporated in Donado da Lезде, *Historia turchesca*, ed. I. Ursu, Bucharest, 1909, 54.) The remitted 'earlier loan' to which Angiolello refers was an advance of 'one quarter's pay' (to the *kapu khalq*) and a 'subvention to the timariots' made at the beginning of the campaign (Ursu, 49). This detail also is confirmed by the Oriental sources (who say that the sum involved was 100 *yüks* = 10 million *akçes*), though they represent this as being, like the manumission, a gesture of thanksgiving after final victory (Idrīs, Sa'd al-Dīn, Hammer, loc. cit.).

²⁵ I note only that what Angiolello calls 'the condition that none should be at liberty to desert him but that they should be the Sultān's "men" like the other paid troops who are not slaves' presumably refers to the bond of clientage (*walā*). Dr. Papoula is evidently right in seeing this as an important element in the Ottoman 'ruling institution', but the question is when, and to what extent, the master-slave relationship was modified to that of patron and client.

fifteenth century at least—a *Ekma* did not automatically bring with it legal manumission; thus although the *Ekma* as an institution seems to imitate the Mamluk *kharj*—and the term itself sounds very like a calque—it differed from it fundamentally in that the *ič oghlanı*, unlike the *Mamlūk*, was not (or perhaps not necessarily) then ceremonially manumitted.²⁶

The *Ekma* certainly did, to varying degrees for the various categories, bring with it an increased freedom of action: Dr. Papoulia justly emphasizes (p. 7) that the former *ič oghlanları*, for example, could thereafter marry and themselves own slaves, thus enjoying a status somewhere between complete servitude and complete freedom. But it is unnecessary to postulate, as she appears to do, that this status sprang from a quasi-manumission based on 'örf'.²⁷ By the *shari'a* doctrine of *idhn* or *ahliyya* the master could authorize his slave (now 'abd ma'dhūn) to marry and to possess property, slaves included.²⁸ This doctrine would justify not only the greater personal freedom which the Sultān's slaves enjoyed on the completion of their training but also their possession, on his behalf, of executive power.²⁹

In her second section Dr. Papoulia discusses the still more obscure question of whether, and if so how, the *devshirme* was accommodated to the *shari'a*. She rejects (pp. 43–7) Professor Wittek's point³⁰ that according to *Shāfi'i* law Christians converted from paganism after the revelation of the Qur'ān—and hence nearly all the Slavonic population of the Balkans—were not entitled to the status of *dhimmī*, principally on the grounds that there is no evidence that the Greeks were ever exempted as 'genuine' *dhimmīs*. She inclines rather to the concept expressed by H. A. R. Gibb and H. Bowen,³¹ that the *devshirme* was a 'penalization' of the Balkan peoples 'for the sins of their fathers', in that they had resisted the Ottomans and submitted only reluctantly to paying the *jizya* (pp. 49–53); this comes near to the apologia of Idrīs Bidlisī, which presents the *dhimmīs* as having been conquered by force and thus in reality reduced to slavery.³²

²⁶ See D. Ayalon, *L'esclavage du Mamelouk*, Jerusalem, 1951, 17. If the Ottoman slave-institution was in some features consciously based on the Mamluk system, it may be that this striking difference, the absence among the Ottomans of a wholesale manumission, was a conscious 'improvement', aimed at eliminating the intense group-loyalties which in Egypt so easily led to faction.

²⁷ p. 6, n. 15: 'Es ist offensichtlich, dass das "Ekma" ein staatsrechtlicher Begriff war mit einer speziellen Bedeutung bezüglich der zukünftigen Stellung dieser Sklaven. Es handelte sich um einen Staatsakt, für den die Erlaubnis des Sultans erforderlich war . . .'. Long before the Ottomans came on the scene, the doctrines of servitude and manumission had been fully elaborated by the *shar'*, so that (in principle, at least) no scope remained for the operation of 'örf. Certainly the permission of the Sultān was required when a *Ekma* was held; but he was acting (I suggest) not as 'Head of the State' but as the personal owner of the slaves involved.

²⁸ M. D'Ohsson, *Tableau général . . .*, VI, 18–23; *Enc. Islam*, first ed., s.v. *idhn*, by T. W. Junybol.

²⁹ Any officer of the state held his position by virtue of a *berāt*. In the case of a slave this would presumably, in law, amount to a delegation of *idhn*.

³⁰ P. Wittek, 'Devshirme and shari'a', *BSOAS*, XVII, 2, 1955, 271–8.

³¹ *Islamic society and the West*, I, 2, London, 1957, 223.

³² Quoted in V. L. Ménage, 'Sidelights on the devshirme . . .', *BSOAS*, XVIII, 1, 1956, 181–3.

She fortifies her case with an impressive series of references (pp. 49–51, n. 16) for districts which were granted exemption from the *devshirme* in return for a willing submission. All the same, she is perhaps a little too vehement in insisting (p. 47) that reasons of state alone could justify the institution; reasons of state certainly lay behind it, but some religio-legal justification, however sophistical, must at some stage have been advanced and accepted. By advancing the ‘law of fratricide’ as a parallel and asking (p. 47) by what possible religious authority this could be justified, Dr. Papoulia in fact weakens her case, for that some sort of a justification had been put forward is evident from the very terms in which the ‘law’ is expressed in the *qānūn-nāme* of Meḥammed II: ³³ ‘Most of the ‘ulemā’ have declared it permissible’ (*tejvīz etmişdür*, i.e. have deemed it *jā’iz* ‘unobjectionable’ ³⁴). It is striking that Sa’d al-Dīn uses the *qānūn-nāme*’s phrase *niẓām-i ‘ālem içün* ‘for the sake of the good order of the world’ in describing (I, 407) Meḥammed II’s execution of his infant brother, and that in recounting the killing of Bāyezīd I’s brother Ya’qūb (I, 124) he cites the Qur’anic phrase (II, 187) *al-fitna aḥadd min al-qatl*, which, interpreted as ‘civil war is more serious than killing’, might be the very authority that justified the practice. So too it is by no accident of vocabulary that Ibn Kemāl, one of the greatest of Ottoman legists, says that the killing of Meḥammed II’s brother *müstahsen görüldi* ³⁵ ‘was regarded as the better course’ with an implicit appeal to the (Hanafi) doctrine of *istihsān*. ³⁶ For both these writers the ‘law of fratricide’ was, at the worst, not incompatible with the *sharī‘a*.

The *devshirme*, as Professor Wittek has suggested, presumably developed in the unsettled conditions when there was no precise frontier defining the *dār al-ḥarb*. But it is scarcely credible that after things had settled down no Ottoman theologian—not an Idrīs but a jurist of the calibre of Ibn Kemāl or Abū’l-Su‘ūd—posed himself the question whether it was compatible with the *sharī‘a*. We may of course be confident that, if he did, he succeeded in finding an affirmative answer; but it would be interesting to know what the grounds for that answer were.

A related question is whether the exemption from the *devshirme* granted to some (all?) inhabitants of *waqf*-estates rested on a principle—that it was presumptuous to levy an impost which impaired the productivity of estates devoted to pious aims—or arose from the fact that when the estates had been granted as freehold (*mülk*) to the endowers, some of the latter were sufficiently influential to request that their properties should be exempt. ³⁷ Dr. Papoulia

³³ Supplement to *TOEM*, nos. 14–15, p. 27.

³⁴ *Enc. Islam*, second ed., art. ‘*Djā’iz*’, by Chafik Chehata; J. Schacht, *Introduction*, 121 f.

³⁵ *Tevārīh-i Āli Osman*, VII. *defter*, ed. Ş. Turan, facs. (Ankara, 1954), 10 = transcription (Ankara, 1957), 9.

³⁶ Juynboll, *Handbuch*, 52 f.; *idem*, in *Enc. Islam*, first ed., s.v.; J. Schacht, *Introduction*, 60–2.

³⁷ The *devshirme* must have been unpopular with landholders, for whom it entailed the loss of hardy peasants; thus in an early sixteenth-century document (Uzunçarşılı, I, 92–4) punishment is threatened to anyone who hides away a lad ‘in his *timār* or in his house or in his village’: the first of these can be directed only at the *sipāhīs*.

touches on this point in referring, *inter alia*, to a firman of 987/1579–80³⁸ by which the *qādīs* whose jurisdictions embrace the Yeni İ *khāşşlar* (near Sivas) are informed that these estates have now been granted as *mülk* to the Vālide Sultān (Nūr Bānū) and that 'from his Imperial clemency' (*mezīd-i merhamet-i khusrevānemden*) the Sultān, Murād III, has exempted all the inhabitants from 'awāriż and *tekālif*, and the Christians among them (*keferesi*) from the *devshirme* ('*ajemī oğlani vermekden*).

The history of these estates can be traced more widely in Ö. L. Barkan's *Kanunlar* (p. 85, § 28 and n.). They had formed part of the *khāşş* of Rüstem Pasha (d. 968/1561) and his wife Mihrimāh Sultān (d. 985/1578), the daughter of Süleymān I, and in those days too the inhabitants had possessed these exemptions 'because it was the Imperial will that the estates should flourish' (*irādet-i sherife ābādānlığına müte'alliq olmaghtn*). Then, presumably on the death of Mihrimāh, the estates were granted as *mülk* to the Vālide, but (again presumably) on the understanding that she would make them over as *waqf* for the mosque, now the Atikvalide Camii, which she was founding at Üsküdar. Hence the exemptions are confirmed in the firman of 987/1579–80, while the mosque is still building and the land is still *mülk*, and re-confirmed in the *qānūn-nāmes* of 991/1583, when the estates have become *waqf* so that 'it is even more necessary [for they now support not a mortal member of the Imperial family but a pious foundation] that they should be given protection'.³⁹

At the same point Dr. Papoulia interprets three late documents, of 1621, 1622, and 1666, as implying that *khāşş*- and *waqf*-lands at that time no longer enjoyed immunity. It is true that the documents begin with the emphatic command that all *ra'āyā* are to present their sons to the recruiting-officers for inspection, whether they are living 'in towns or villages, on *ze'āmet*s or *tīmār*s, on *khāşş*- or *waqf*- or *mülk*-lands'. But later on⁴⁰ comes the provision that those who claim that they are exempt, as being miners or dwellers on *waqf*-lands, must surrender their diplomas (*mu'āf-nāme*, *hükem*) to the recruiting-officer, to be sent to the Porte. Already at this time the central administration had in practice broken down: the very length of these documents, with their threats of punishment for every conceivable infringement, indicates that their execution was difficult, so that the Porte was concerned first to get hold of the lads and only then to investigate whether claims to exemption must be upheld. The principle has not necessarily been abandoned; but the genuineness of the *mu'āf-nāmes* is suspect.

In the third section of her book Dr. Papoulia analyses the imprecise and contradictory accounts in the Ottoman historical sources of the origin of the Janissaries—on the one hand the presentation of the Anonymous Chronicles, Uruj, and 'Ashiqqashazāde, aptly called by J. A. B. Palmer⁴¹ 'the Chroniclers'

³⁸ pp. 54–5 and n. 33. The document is transcribed in Uzunçarşılı, I, 114.

³⁹ *himāyetleri dākhli ziyāde lāzım olmakla*.

⁴⁰ Uzunçarşılı, I, 90, last para., and 97, second para.

⁴¹ J. A. B. Palmer, 'The origin of the Janissaries', *Bull. of the John Rylands Library*, xxxv, 2, 1963, 448–81, at p. 443.

narrative', which describes the levying of the *yaya* from Turks by Orkhān and the introduction of the *penjik* and (apparently) the establishment of the Janissaries by Murād I; on the other, Idrīs's unequivocal statement that, Orkhān having raised the *yaya* and found them unsuitable, it was Orkhān too who instituted the *devshirme* and manned from it the corps of Janissaries, Murād I introducing the *penjik* simply as a monetary tax on prisoners of war. Dr. Papoulia concludes emphatically that Idrīs's account is to be preferred.

This is, I feel, extremely dubious. In the absence of convincing external evidence, the question resolves itself into that of the relative reliability of the 'Chroniclers' narrative' and of Idrīs.

The former relates that early in the reign of Murād I (the incident is located between events dated to 762/1361 and 766/1364-5) the *dānīshmend* Kara Rüstem came to the *qāḍī'asker* Kara Khalīl asking why the treasury (*beglik*) did not exact its due of one-fifth on the prisoners taken by the *ghāzis*. Murād I having been assured that this was indeed the provision of the *sharī'a*, Kara Rüstem installed himself at Gallipoli and collected 25 *akçes* per prisoner; 'this innovation (*iḥdāth*) of taking dues (*bāj*) at Gallipoli on prisoners was introduced by these two. They also ordered Evrenos Beg to take one prisoner in five of those brought in by raids (*akın*) or else 25 *akçes* per prisoner from a captor who had less than five. They proceeded on this arrangement and began to collect (*divshür*-, in some texts) lads, brought them to the Porte, and distributed them to Turks in the countryside to learn Turkish. After some time they called them in, [Urūj and 'Āpž.: + made them wear the white cap] and made them Janissaries at the Porte'.

So far so good: ⁴² this description of the introduction of the *penjik* agrees broadly with Idrīs's, and can be interpreted in the sense that the *penjik*-levies were drafted into the ranks of an already-existing Janissary corps. But *all* the texts then have, with variants, a concluding sentence which, with various degrees of explicitness in the various texts, implies that the Janissaries had not existed before this time. ⁴³ In order to reconcile the 'Chroniclers' narrative'

⁴² Except that Dr. Papoulia sees here (pp. 76-7) two separate episodes, the Gallipoli levy being an 'economic measure' and the Evrenos levy a recruitment of men. This interpretation is possible, but unlikely. Gallipoli, the main crossing-point from Rūmeli into Anatolia, is the obvious place for 'customs control', where dues may be levied from the *sipāhis* of Anatolia as they return to sell their booty, human and otherwise, in the markets of Bursa before dispersing to their fiefs; but the *ghāzis* of Rūmeli have no occasion to pass through here, and so the powerful Evrenos is given the thankless task of collecting *penjik* from them. In later years, when great raids were made across the Danube, the *penjik* could conveniently be levied at the crossing-place on the river, but even so the control was not easy: in describing a raid of Mikhāl-oghll 'Ali Beg, Ibn Kemāl, to emphasize the great number of prisoners taken, says (facs., 410): 'at the crossing-place [on the Danube] the *ghāzis* paid *penjik* to the treasury on 32,000 prisoners, apart from those [evidently numerous] who were hidden away in remote frontier regions'.

⁴³ Urūj, MS Oxford (ed. Babinger, 22): *aşlıda yepiçeriniñ bunyādi budur, ol vaqitdenberü adini yepiçeri kodılar*; MS Cambridge (ed. Babinger, 94) lacks *aşlıda* and *ol vaqitdenberü*; MS Manisa (fol. 21r) begins *yepiçeriniñ aşı bunyādi . . .* and continues as Oxford; MS Paris, Bibl. Nat. supp. t. 1047 (fol. 17v): *aşlıda yepiçeriniñ aşı bunyādi budur, ol vaqitdenberü adı yepiçeridir*. The W₁ recension of the Anonymous Chronicles has the clauses transposed (ed. Giese, 22): *ve*

with Idrīs Dr. Papoulia wishes to reject this last sentence as an addendum by a redactor.

The common source of the Anonymous-Uruj group and of 'Āshiqqashazāde was a redaction made in the very first years of the reign of Murād II,⁴⁴ so that any sentence or phrase found in any of the Anon.-Uruj texts which is found also in 'Āpz. must have stood in this common source,⁴⁵ and is therefore traceable back to about 1425. By this test, the whole story of the 'Chroniclers' narrative', including the last sentence, can confidently be located in this source. In it stood also the phrase 'made them wear the white cap' (for it is shared by Uruj and 'Āpz.). Whether the verb *divshūr-* stood in the source is less clear, for 'Āpz. has here *jem' olun-* and the W₃ group of Anon. has *al-*; but my own conclusion is that *divshūr-*, attested both by Uruj and by Type W₁ of Anon., had stood in the source, in the neutral sense of 'collect', and that 'Āpz. and the redactor of Type W₃, in whose times the verb had acquired the narrower sense of a forced levy from *dhimmīs*, independently paraphrased it by 'neutral' words. Be that as it may, the source of 1425 presented the Janissaries as newly-raised (and hence, presumably, called the 'New Corps') from *penjik*-prisoners early in the reign of Murād I.

Idrīs was a foreigner, a high-ranking officer of the Ak-Koyunlu administration, who came to the Ottoman court as a refugee only in 907/1501-2. It was his skill as a stylist that procured him the commission to write his history of the Ottomans. It is unlikely that he travelled much in Rūmeli or had first-hand acquaintance with *ghāzī* traditions there. His chapter on Orkhān's institution of (1) a coinage, (2) a distinctive head-gear, and (3) an infantry force (*katība* II, *dastān* 7) is certainly inspired—directly, or indirectly via Neshrī—by 'Āpz.'s chapter (§ 31) on head-gear and the raising of the *yaya* (itself inspired by the 'common source' of 1425, cf. Anon., ed. Giese, p. 14, lines 12-25, but with many additions by 'Āpz.). Idrīs's concern, however, is to transform the amiable family atmosphere of 'Āpz.'s account into the majestic dignity of a classical Oriental court. He notices that although 'Āpz. had recorded earlier (§ 14) the introduction of the *khutba* in the Ottoman ruler's name, he fails to mention (until § 37, and then only in passing) the other characteristic prerogative of an independent ruler, his own coinage. This then he mentions first, implying that Ottoman coins were first struck in 729 and at Bursa (which may well be

hem adnlı yeñičeri kodllar, bunların ağılı ol vaqidenberü oldı; the W₃ recension has a single, telescoped, clause (MSS M₁L): *yeñičerinin adnlı ol vaqidenberü yeñičeri kodllar* (cf. *Annales*: *ei inde ab illis usque temporibus nomen hoc Gemizarorum adepti retinenti*). 'Āpz. reads (§ 46) *adnlı yeñičeri kodllar, yeñičeri bunun zamānında vāqı' oldı*, with the same transposition as W₁.

⁴⁴ Not the '*menāqib* of Yakshī Faqih' but an anonymous work, see V. L. Ménage, in Bernard Lewis and P. M. Holt (ed.), *Historians of the Middle East*, 1962, 171 and 175, and in *BSOAS*, xxvi, 1, 1963, 52.

⁴⁵ Barring, of course, the case of contamination, which has admittedly occurred (elsewhere) in the Paris texts of Uruj (they contain some interpolations from 'Āpz.); but otherwise the Anon.-Uruj group and 'Āpz. do not seem to have influenced each other.

correct),⁴⁶ but describing them as being 'of gold and silver' (*az zar u sîm*): this is certainly an anachronism, for the first Ottoman gold coins were struck only under Mehmed II. For the section on head-gear he adds some details, perhaps from traditions he had heard at the court (where these minutiae were carefully observed). In the section on the *yaya* he promotes Kara Khalil, 'qādî of Bilejik' in 'Äpz., to *qādî al-quḍāt*—an office common in many Muslim states, the Ak-Koyunlu (with which Idrîs was best acquainted) among them,⁴⁷ but unknown to the Ottoman hierarchy. Idrîs then adds the passage on the *devşirme*, the introduction of which is explicitly attributed to Orkhan (after consultation with the principal officers of the state, *arkân-i davulat*); from the lads so recruited the Janissary corps was formed.⁴⁸

Sa'd al-Dîn, mainly following Idrîs, reproduces (I, 39) the phrases relating to 'gold and silver' coinage, not noticing the partial anachronism; but he

⁴⁶ See, for example, 'Ali, in *TOEM*, VIII, 48, 355 ff., and Khalil Edhem, *Meskûât-i 'Oḥmâniyye*, 2-4. There is no need to postulate a written source for this statement of Idrîs: he may well have seen one of these early coins.

⁴⁷ İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilâtına medhal*, Istanbul, 1941, 302 f. and index, s.v. *kadîlkuzat*.

⁴⁸ This is the appropriate point to clear up a misunderstanding. At p. 151 of his review (cited at p. 65, n. 4 above), Professor Vryonis speaks of the discrepancies between the 'Palmer version' of Idrîs (i.e. Palmer's summary at p. 470 of the article cited at p. 72, n. 41 above) and the 'Ménage version' (the passage quoted in *BSOAS*, XVIII, 1, 1956, 181 f.). The 'Palmer version' is a summary of the whole chapter as presented by Sa'd al-Dîn (I, 37-41); the 'Ménage version' is a quotation, from Idrîs, of a small passage in the whole chapter: it occupies 15 lines out of a total of 135 in the Nuruosmaniye MS 3209, Idrîs's autograph, of which I now have a microfilm (the equivalent in Sa'd al-Dîn is p. 40, l. 24 to p. 41, l. 5; and in Palmer, p. 470, lines 25-30, 'This *piyâda* . . . service and obedience'). Idrîs certainly does refer to the collected youths as becoming Janissaries—but in contexts before and after the passage which I quoted: he introduces the 'infantry' section by speaking of *يك قسم لشكرى معروف به جماعت ييا يعنى* and *لشكر يئكى چرى* and later refers twice to *اين بندكان يئكى چرى* and *لشكر يئكى چرى* and *پياده وينكى چرى يعنى لشكر نو*.

Again, Dr. Papoulia's aside (p. 72), that perhaps not all MSS mention Kara Khalil, is unwarranted (unless her MS, Berlin Or. fol. 3170, has very different readings from those I have seen). Idrîs begins his 'infantry' section by stating that Orkhan consulted his brother 'Alâ' al-Dîn Pasha and the *qādî al-quḍāt* Kara Khalil; Kara Khalil pointed out that in order to take fortified towns (cf. Sa'd al-Dîn, I, 39, line 10) infantry were more necessary than cavalry (another anachronism!); Orkhan agreed, and Kara Khalil was put in charge of recruiting *yaya*. The levy of *dhimmi* lads, however, is ascribed to the advice not of Kara Khalil but of *arkân-i davulat* (line 3 in *BSOAS*, XVIII, 1, 181 = MS Nuruosmaniye, fol. 93v, line 7, and cf. Sa'd al-Dîn, I, 40, line 26). Dr. Papoulia is therefore mistaken in saying (p. 72) that Kara Khalil is mentioned by Idrîs 'als Ratgeber Orkhans' on the question of the *devşirme*, and (p. 89) that 'die Einführung des Devşirme mit dem Namen des Qara Ḥalil verbunden ist'; it is Hammer who makes this assumption (*GOR*, I, 91).

Even if there were a link between Kara Khalil and the *devşirme*, it is rather hard on him to say (p. 89) that he was 'für seine Verstösse gegen das Scheriat-Recht bekannt'. This notoriety rests solely on the criticisms of the redactor of the Anonymous Chronicles (ed. Giese, p. 30, lines 21 ff., and cf. 'Äpz. § 63), who is saying in effect that in the good old days honest *ghâzis* were not pestered by the central government: there was no *penjik* (= *khums*, one of the basic prescriptions of Islam) to tax private enterprise; there were no laws compelling the surrender of an earlier sound currency in exchange for a debased new one; and there were no nasty *iç-oğlans* (everyone knows how *they* won favour) coming out of the Palace to lord it over free-born Turks. Kara Khalil's evil reputation derives in fact not from his infringement of the *shari'a* but from his attempts to apply it.

follows 'Āp̄z. and/or Neshrī in making Kara Khalīl only 'qādī of Bilejik' (I, 40, line 16). In his shortened section on the *devshirme* (I, 40–1) he does not mention the name of Orkhān, but speaks, perhaps with intentional vagueness, only of *shāh-i 'ālī-jāh*. Again, when inserting his own calculation that over 200,000 men have been brought into the Muslim community through the *devshirme* since it was instituted, he comments that this is a period of 'over 200 years': since Sa'd al-Dīn completed his history in 982/1575, this comment hardly takes us back so far as the reign of Orkhān. Thus though he is in general content to follow Idrīs, Sa'd al-Dīn seems to have reservations about his chronology.

The historian whom it would be most interesting to hear on this point is Ibn Kemāl. He had started his career as a soldier and served in Rūmeli, he wrote the bulk of his history while a *müderriis* at Edirne (between 908/1502–3 and 916/1510–11), and rose to be *Sheykh al-Islām*. He was, beyond doubt, no less familiar with the existing chronicles than Idrīs and was certainly better acquainted with Ottoman traditions and institutions. The introduction of the *penjik* (and perhaps too of the Janissaries) we should expect him to describe in his third book, on the reign of Murād I, but the relevant pages seem not to have survived.⁴⁹

The establishment of the *yaya* he describes as occurring after Orkhān had made Iznik his capital (with many details found in 'Āp̄z., §§ 33–4). He names neither 'Alā' al-Dīn Pasha nor Kara Khalīl; the *sipāhīs*, he says, were prospering so much from rich booty that the *ra'āyā* too were eager to serve, as infantry; some of them therefore were enrolled and granted exemption from taxes. He continues: 'The origin of the enrolling of *yaya* in Anatolia is this which has been related. But at that time there were no Janissaries: the service which they render was rendered then by the *yaya*. . . . Later, when the Janissaries were introduced, this corps of *yaya* fell from the ruler's favour and became abandoned in the nook of rejection; hard and rough tasks were assigned to them and that body lost all esteem: they became despised among their successors'.⁵⁰ Thus Ibn Kemāl says only that the Janissaries were instituted 'later' and makes no mention here of the *devshirme*. If Idrīs had before him a source now lost or knew of a tradition which ascribed the institution of the

⁴⁹ I have microfilms of MS Nuruosmaniye 3078 and of part of MS Ali Emiri 30. The former is wrongly described in *Ist. küt. tarih-coğrafya yazmaları katalogları*, I, 2, 1944, p. 122, as containing books I–IV: it contains only I, II, and IV; the latter (books I–IV) lacks some pages between fol. 81v (the incidents of 'Āp̄z., § 44) and fol. 82r (defeat of the Serbs, 'Āp̄z., § 49).

⁵⁰ MS Nuruosmaniye 3078, fol. 45v: اناطولى ده ياي ايا يازله سنك اصلى بو ايدى كه تقرير و تحرير اولندى اما اول زمانده يكيچرى يوغدى اونلرك خدمتى بونلر كورلردى ساز و سلب جنكى مهيا و مرتب ايدوب آهنگ سفر ظفر اثره حاضر و ناظر طورلر وعزم رزم اولسه لشكر كشوركشانك اوكنجه بورلردى صكره كه يكيچرى حادث اولدى مذكور طائفه نظر سلطانن دور دوشوب كوشه حرمانده مهجور اولديلر مشقتلو خدمتلر اونلره تعين اولنوب اول جماعته رغبت قالمادى خلفك اراسنده مشغور اولديلر

devşirme and the Janissaries to Orkhān, Ibn Kemāl either was unaware of it or rejected it.⁵¹

Dr. Papoulia's reasoning therefore fails to persuade me to reject J. A. B. Palmer's conclusion that Idrīs, using the sources known to us, re-cast and distorted the sequence of events. On the present evidence we must adhere to her second—and rejected—summary of the position (p. 70): 'Die Grundung der Janitscharen ist mit der Einführung des Penğik zur Zeit Murāds I. verbunden, während das Devşirme, auf Grund der Rede von Isidoros, anschliessend innerhalb der Regierungszeit Murāds I. oder spätestens im Jahre 1395 anzusetzen ist'.

Dr. Papoulia is well aware of the difficulties inherent in the discussion of Ottoman institutions—that the two principles of *shar'* and '*örf*' could lead to contradictions, that the position of the Sulṭān's subjects varied from district to district, and that the extension of the Empire impelled modifications from century to century, so that the attempt to bring together data from different regions and different periods may produce only distortion. We have, she says, 'nur Bruckstücke eines verlorengegangenen Mosaiks'. Without attempting to fit them in precisely, I append a few more fragments which have now come to light.

1. In discussing the numbers of lads taken (p. 96 and n. 22), Dr. Papoulia notes the proportion 'one lad per 40 households' mentioned in an undated *nishān* ascribed by Uzunçarşılı (I, 92-4) to the early sixteenth century. Dr. D. Bojanić-Lukač has now explained the term *çılık*, used in the 'Memoirs' of Konstantin Mihailović to designate a '*devşirme*-boy', as derived from Persian *çihal-yak*, 'one in 40' (cf. *penjik* < *panj-yak*).⁵² Thus it seems that the proportion of one lad per 40 [households] was observed as early as the mid-fifteenth century.

2. The document of 787/1385 (*TOEM*, v, 28, 244-6, considered by

⁵¹ Closely linked with this point is the question whether the *devşirme* was first applied in Rümeli and then extended to Anatolia or whether (perhaps as a continuation of Seljūq practice) it had been carried from Anatolia into Rümeli. This is crucial for Dr. Papoulia's thesis, for if the *devşirme* were shown to have originated in Rümeli it could hardly have been instituted by Orkhān, and still less in the first years of his reign. Dr. Papoulia points out that there is no evidence in the earliest sources that it was confined to the European domains; and she argues convincingly (p. 85 and n. 19) that the letter of 1456 to the Grand Master of Rhodes (which, in my article '*Devşirme*' in *Enc. Islam*, second ed., I suggested might refer only to piracy) does indeed indicate that the *devşirme* was then practised in Anatolia. But the existence of an Anadolu Aghasī, which she cites in corroboration (p. 87), does not in fact help her argument. This officer's duty, apparently, was to supervise the lads from Rümeli who were undergoing their 'basic training' in Anatolia, and that of his colleague, the Rümeli Aghasī, the converse (see e.g. Hezārfenn, quoted in *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, x, 1953, 383). Of the two, however, the Anadolu Aghasī was senior in rank (Uzunçarşılı, I, 44-5); and this suggests that his post had been established earlier (just as the *beglerbegi* of Rümeli out-ranked his colleague of Anatolia), and hence that the *devşirme* had been established first in Rümeli.

⁵² Dušanka Bojanić-Lukač, 'Povodom izraza *çilik*', in *Vesnika Vojnog Muzejajna* (Belgrade), VI-VII, 1962, 237-9.

Dr. Papoulia at p. 67), which refers to the misdeeds of two Janissaries, has now been discussed by Professor Wittek (*WZKM*, LVIII, 1962, 192–4). He concludes that it is spurious (not merely because of the surprisingly early reference to Janissaries), so that it is no indication for the date of the founding of the corps.

3. In a document of about 880/1476 it is threatened that Christians (of Premedi, in southern Albania, and Grevena, in south-western Macedonia) liable to the *jizya* who have fled will be pursued, apprehended, and transported to Anatolia, and their sons taken 'for Janissary service' (*yenicerilige*).⁵³ Here then a near-equivalent to the *devshirme* is represented as a punishment—but here easily justifiable on the ground that the *dhimmīs* in question have broken their compact with the Muslim ruler.

4. In a recently-published article,⁵⁴ Professor İnalçık has noted that in the early Ottoman period 'relatives of the children levied for the Janissaries' were exempted from paying *jizya*. To surrender a son to the 'slave-institution' seems therefore to have been regarded as a quasi-military service, comparable with the other services (guarding of passes, etc.) which too could bring exemption from *jizya*.

5. I take this occasion to mention some further manuscripts of the *Qawānīn-i Yeniceriyān*, to add to the two already noted (p. 88, n. 26) in public collections: (i) Istanbul, Revan 1319 (F. E. Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı . . . türkçe yazmalar kataloğu*, I, 1961, no. 1839); (ii) Bratislava (*Arabische, türkische und persische Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek in Bratislava*, by J. Blaškovič and others, Bratislava, 1961, no. 439), where are noted also: (iii) Gotha (Pertsch, no. 134); (iv) Nuruosmaniye 4095 (?); (v) no. 66 in the library of Dr. Safvet Beg Bašagić (*Popis orijentalnih rukopisa . . .*, in *Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja u Bosna i Hercegovini*, XXVIII, 1916, 207–90, at p. 225).

I should be most reluctant, by these criticisms of a few points, to leave the impression that Dr. Papoulia's monograph is unsound. On the contrary, it is the most exhaustive study of the *devshirme* yet made, based on very extensive and critical reading. Indeed it is simply because it will be widely read and deservedly cited, especially by non-Orientalists, that I have attempted here to overtake, before they gain general currency, a few interpretations that seem to me rather hazardous.

⁵³ *Ḳānūnnāme-i sūltānī ber müceb-i 'orf-i 'osmānī*, ed. R. Anhegger and H. İnalçık, Ankara, 1956, 78 (= ed. F. Babinger, Munich, 1956, 272, and cf. N. Beldiceanu, *Les actes des premiers sultans . . .*, I, Paris, 1960, p. 149, § 3).

⁵⁴ *Enc. Islam*, second ed., art. '*Djizya*', col. 564b.

WESTERN INFLUENCE IN CONTEMPORARY PERSIAN: A GENERAL VIEW

By MOHAMMAD ALI JAZAYERI

1.1.1. It has been said that 'the interrelation of language and other aspects of culture is so close that no part of the culture of a particular group can properly be studied without reference to the linguistic symbols in use'.¹ One manifestation of cultural change in the language is seen in 'linguistic borrowing', which, both as a general linguistic and cultural phenomenon, and as a process related to particular languages, has attracted the attention of a great number of scholars, including many linguists.²

1.1.2. As the previous studies have indicated, linguistic borrowing may occur in all domains of language: phonology, morphology, syntax, and lexicon. However, 'since lexicon is the index of culture, and in its totality presumably can describe the culture, we would expect the greatest correlation [between language and culture] to be here: the lexicon expresses the meanings, which *are* the culture. But the correlation of the more purely linguistic and structural parts of language with culture is indirect, and therefore less responsive to cultural change'.³

1.1.3. Persian is a very fertile field for studying the various aspects of linguistic borrowing and its relation to cultural borrowing, since the cultural contacts of its speakers have been very extensive through the centuries. Unfortunately, however, the matter has received much less attention than it deserves. It is the purpose of this paper to present, on a modest scale, a general survey of the more recent developments in this connexion. Although we shall try to cover as much of the subject as possible, our concern in the bulk of what follows will be lexical borrowing in Persian—subject to two restrictions. In terms of time, we shall only cover 'contemporary' Standard Persian—more

¹ H. Hoijer, 'Linguistic and cultural change', *Language*, xxiv, 4, 1948, 336.

² See, for example, W. D. Whitney, *The life and growth of language*, New York, 1883, ch. vii, esp. pp. 114–20; O. Jespersen, *Language*, New York, 1923, ch. xi; E. Sapir, *Language*, New York, 1927, ch. ix; L. Bloomfield, *Language*, New York, 1933, ch. xxv–xxvii. In recent years, in the United States, Einar Haugen has published extensively on the subject, developing, and from time to time refining, a theoretical and terminological framework. His many publications on the subject include: 'The analysis of linguistic borrowing', *Language*, xxvi, 2, 1950, 210–31; *The Norwegian language in America: a study in bilingual behavior*, 2 vols., Philadelphia, 1953; *Bilingualism in the Americas: a bibliography and research guide*, [Tuscaloosa], University of Alabama, 1956; and 'Language contact', *Proceedings of the eighth International Congress of Linguists*, Oslo, 1958, 771–85. Another American scholar, Uriel Weinreich, has discussed the theoretical aspects of 'language contact', and has proposed a rather elaborate methodology. His major published work is *Languages in contact: findings and problems*, second printing, The Hague, 1963, which includes a 658-item bibliography. In Europe, books and articles have been published on the subject by Deroy, Betz, Gneuss, and others. See, for example, Louis Deroy, *L'emprunt linguistique*, Paris, 1956. This book contains a very extensive bibliography, in which references to other European scholars can be found.

³ E. Haugen, *Proceedings*, 774.

exactly, the Persian of the period of 'Westernization'.⁴ As far as the sources of borrowing are concerned, we shall mainly consider the languages of the 'West'—Europe (and America), including Russia. Our plan in what follows is first to present briefly some basic notions and terms used in the discussion of linguistic borrowing (in § 1); then to discuss the sources for research on recent linguistic borrowings in Persian (§ 2); the cultural background against which the recent borrowings have taken place in Persian (§ 3); and, finally, the borrowings themselves (§ 4). In the latter connexion, it is not our purpose—nor will it be possible in a single article—either to list all the loans, or to discuss all the problems and ramifications involved. Rather, we shall try to present an over-all picture of the situation. In § 5 one or two broad questions concerning recent loans will be dealt with.

1.2.1. 'Linguistic borrowing' may be defined, for our purposes, as 'the attempted reproduction in one language of patterns previously found in another'.⁵ The borrowing language is called the 'recipient' language; it has also been called the borrowing, primary, or replica language. The language from which the borrowing is made is referred to as the 'source' language; it has also been termed the lending, secondary, model, or donor language. The borrowed element as it was in the source language is the 'model', and as it is in the recipient language is the 'replica'.⁶

1.2.2. Writers on lexical borrowing use the term 'loan-word' to refer to a 'borrowed' word. 'Word', however (even disregarding the fact that, though universally used, it is still an undefined, or at best an inadequately defined, term), will not always be an adequate term, as when one wants to refer to affixes. A more exact term, covering both words and affixes (as well as some other things) is 'morpheme'; morphemes are, in one definition, 'the smallest individually meaningful elements in the utterances of a language'.⁷ Two other relevant terms are 'free' and 'bound'. A 'bound' form is a linguistic form which is 'never spoken alone'; all other forms are 'free'.⁸ Finally, by 'phoneme' is meant, roughly speaking, each of the significant speech sounds, used to distinguish two forms which are otherwise alike in the sounds composing them (barring the cases of homonymy).⁹

1.2.3. Linguistic 'loans, of whatever kind, may be analyzed and described',

⁴ We shall not include Afghan or Tajik Persian in our discussions. The recent linguistic developments in these dialects have not been identical with those in 'Tehrani' Persian. Nor will we attempt to cover other Persian dialects of Iran, such as those of the south (formerly the area of the operations of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company) and the north (where Russian has had more influence than elsewhere in the country).

⁵ E. Haugen, *Language*, xxvi, 2, 1950, 212.

⁶ The terms 'model' and 'replica' are often used by scholars to refer both to the languages involved and to the items borrowed. Here we use them only with reference to the latter. The corresponding terms for the languages are, as indicated, 'source' and 'recipient'.

⁷ C. F. Hockett, *A course in modern linguistics*, New York, 1958, 123.

⁸ L. Bloomfield, *Language*, 160.

⁹ These definitions of general linguistic terms are not intended to be exhaustive. Rather, they are given as working definitions.

according to Haugen, 'in terms of the extent to which they are imported in extenso and the extent to which they are modified by substitutions of native habits'.¹⁰ All types of loans (including the lexical ones) may thus be said to fall between the two extreme poles of complete 'importation' and complete 'substitution'. On this basis, he recognizes three major varieties of loans.¹¹ 'Loanwords' are complete morphemic importations, as in P /fizik/ فیزیک 'physics' < F *physique*.¹² When only partial substitution is involved we have 'loanblends', as in P /vòlt sánj/ ولت سنج 'voltmeter', where F *volte* is imported, but where P /sánj/ is substituted for F *mètre*. 'Loanshifts' involve complete substitution, as in P /ràhe 'ahán/ راه آهن 'railway', where P /ráh/ is substituted for F *chemin*, P /-e/ (the *ezafé*, or connective /-e/) for F *de*, and P /'ahán/ for F *fer*. Loan-shifts are foreign loans which 'appear in the language only as changes in the usage of native words'.¹³ In some cases a native morpheme takes on a new meaning or meanings transferred to it from a foreign morpheme with which it originally had one or more meanings in common. An example is /šærayét/ شرایط in Persian which originally meant 'conditions' in the sense of 'terms', but now also means 'conditions' in the sense of 'situation', on the model of the word *condition* in English or French. Such loans are 'loanshift extensions'. On the other hand, a combination of native

¹⁰ E. Haugen, 'Problems of bilingualism', *Lingua*, II, 3, 1950, 288.

¹¹ The terminology of linguistic borrowing used here, and the definitions of the terms, are based on the works of Haugen cited in p. 79, n. 2, p. 81, n. 10, and p. 82, n. 14. Deviations from his terminology are negligible.

¹² In what follows, we shall use the conventional orthographies for representing the foreign (i.e. non-Persian) forms cited. The Persian forms, however, will be represented in phonemic transcription as well as conventional orthography. The following symbols are used to represent the Persian consonant and vowel phonemes: /p b t d k g ? s z š ž o j f v x q h r l m n y w i e æ u o a/. The symbols /š ž/ stand for pre-palatal fricatives, voiceless and voiced respectively (ش and ژ in Persian orthography). /ç j/ are pre-palatal affricated stops, voiceless and voiced respectively (چ and ج). /x q/ are voiceless and voiced post-velar fricatives respectively (خ and ق). /ʔ/ is the glottal stop (the *hamza* or ع). /w/ occurs only as the second member of certain diphthongs (in the literary style only in /ow/) and there it corresponds to the letter و (*wāw*) when the latter symbolizes a diphthong. /v/ is a voiced labial fricative, written as و (*wāw*) in Persian orthography. /i e æ/ are the front vowels, from high to low, and correspond, respectively, to the Persian letter ی (in one of its uses), the *kasra*, and the *fatḥa*. /u o a/ are the corresponding back vowels; /u/ is represented by the letter و (*wāw*); /o/ by *zamma* in some cases, and by و (*wāw*) in others; /a/ by the letter ا (*alef*). The Persian stress phonemes are /' ˘ ˙ /, primary (or strong), secondary, and tertiary (or weak); this last will be left unmarked. On the phonemes of Persian see G. E. Nye, 'The phonemes and morphemes of Modern Persian: a descriptive study', doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1954; C. T. Hodge, 'Some aspects of Persian style', *Language*, XXXIII, 3, Pt. 1, 1957, 355-69; and G. Lazard, *Grammaire du persan contemporain*, Paris, 1957. In book titles, authors' names, etc., transliteration is used throughout; when an item has been published with a title-page in roman characters, the author's own roman-character rendition will be used. The following abbreviations will be used: P(ersian), F(rench), E(nglish), R(ussian).

¹³ E. Haugen, *Language*, XXVI, 2, 1950, 219.

morphemes may acquire, on the model of an item in a foreign language, a new meaning or meanings not equal to the sum total of its components. P /màhe ʔæssæl/ ماه عسل 'honeymoon' is an example. These loans are called 'loanshift creations'.

1.2.4. All the above types of words can be subsumed under the term 'dependent innovation', which we can define as any linguistic innovation based on a model in another language. It may be noted here that not all linguistic innovations naming cultural innovations borrowed from other cultures depend on models in other languages. Thus, P /mašīn dudī/ ماشین دودی, a word used to designate a 'tramway' running between Tehran and a nearby shrine, and literally meaning 'smoky machine', was coined in Persian without any foreign model to base it on. Such innovations can be called 'independent innovations'.¹⁴

2.1.1.a. As for the sources, no serious attempt seems to have been made to collect recent Western loans in Persian, to classify them systematically, or to analyse them from a linguistic point of view.¹⁵ Even a reasonably complete list has not been published. There are, however, a number of secondary sources, some of which we shall mention here. These sources fall within two groups: dictionaries, and other works. We begin with the latter group. Most of the Iranian writers who have dealt with the subject of recent linguistic borrowing at all have confined their discussions exclusively—or very nearly so—to whether or not loan-words (and loan-shifts) should be admitted to, and accepted as a legitimate part of, the language.¹⁶ The earliest discussion of recent loans in Persian that has come to this writer's attention is an article in French, by the Iranian Foroughi (Zokaol Molk), published in 1908. In it, the author discusses foreign words in Modern Persian, emphasizing those introduced in recent times, and gives examples of Arabic, Turkish, Indian, Chinese, English, French, and Russian loan-words. In 1908, M. K. Shirazi, another Iranian, published a list of 138 new words, which he had collected from recent Persian newspapers, in an English journal. With one or two exceptions, the new words were borrowings from European languages. The list provided the Persian orthographic forms of the words, their English meanings, and indications as to the source languages; there was no accompanying discussion. Meanwhile, Paul Horn, in his grammar

¹⁴ E. Haugen uses the terms 'borrowed' and 'native' respectively where we use 'dependent' and 'independent'. See his review of H. Gneuss, *Lehnbildungen und Lehnbedeutungen im Altenglischen*, Berlin, etc., 1955, in *Language*, xxxii, 4, Pt. 1, 1956, 761-9.

¹⁵ This writer made such an attempt for a small segment of recent Western loan-words in his unpublished doctoral dissertation, 'English loanwords in Persian: a study in language and culture' (University of Texas, Austin, 1958), and is currently engaged on a book on the same subject.

¹⁶ Examples are S. Naficy in the introduction to his *Dictionnaire français-persan*, 2 vols., Tehran, 1930-1; M. T. Bahār in his *Sabk-shenāsī*, second edition, iii, Tehran, 1959, 403-7; Moḥammad Qazwīnī, in *Natḥ-e Fārsī-ye mo'āṣer*, ed. by I. Afshar, Tehran, 1961, 59-63; A. Kasrawī, in *Zabān-e pāk*, Tehran, 1943, 2-12; S. Ḥ. Taqīzādeh in *Ḥefẓ-e zabān-e faṣīḥ-e Fārsī*, Tehran, 1947; M. A. Foroughi, in the work cited under Massé in p. 83, n. 18; and P. N. Khānlari, *Dar bāre-ye zabān-e Fārsī*, Tehran, 1961, 107-25 (a reprint of articles published earlier).

of Modern Persian, among the earliest publications to discuss recent loans even in passing, devoted seven pages to an extremely brief discussion and examples of loan-words (old and new) in Persian. He gave only two short paragraphs to borrowings from Russian, French, and English, citing only one example. In 1910 L. Bouvat published a paper on the modern evolution of the languages of the Islamic world, devoting about four pages to Persian. In 1934-9, C. E. Wilson, in a Persian-English glossary of new words and expressions he had compiled mostly from recent Persian newspapers, included a number of European borrowings, almost all of them from French. Malek'ol-Sho'arā Bahār, in his history of the evolution of Persian prose, published 1940-4, gave a few examples of recent lexical developments in Persian, including Western loan-words. In 1943, M. Ishaque gave a short list of European loans in discussing the poetry of modern Iran. In 1955-6, C. Dutt, in a general discussion of loan-words in Persian, gave short lists of borrowings from Greek, Aramaic, Babylonian, Indian, Turkish, Chinese, Armenian, Russian, English, and French. In 1956, an article by W. Giese dealt with French loan-words in Persian, including some analysis. A list of some recent Western loan-words and foreign proper names appeared in Persian in 1959; and another short list in 1961.¹⁷ Since the foundation of the Iranian Academy (the Farhangestān) in 1935, several articles have appeared in European journals on the major activity of that institution—the coining of new words to replace loan-words in scientific terminology, as well as in the language at large.¹⁸ The Academy itself has published periodic lists of the words it has coined or adopted.¹⁹

2.1.1b. As far as the dictionaries are concerned, we must first make certain general observations. About 200 monolingual Persian dictionaries have been

¹⁷ Foroughi (Zokaol Molk), 'L'influence exercée par les langues étrangères sur le persan', *Revue Bleue*, No. 21, 1908, 364-68; M. K. Shirazi, 'A list of 138 new words, chiefly European, that constantly occur in modern Persian newspapers . . .', *Journal and Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal*, NS, III, 1, 1907, 9-13; Paul Horn, 'Neupersische Schriftsprache', in W. Geiger and E. Kuhn (ed.), *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, I, 2, Strassburg, 1898-1901, 1-8; L. Bouvat, 'L'évolution moderne des langues musulman', *Revue du Monde Musulman*, x, 1910, 47-69; C. E. Wilson, 'Contributions to the Modern Persian-English vocabulary', *Islamic Culture*, VIII, 4, 1934, 560-84; IX, 1935, 80-106, 308-34, 493-518, 580-602; X, 1936, 63-87, 280-98, 451-70, 610-32; XIII, 1, 1939, 82-97; M. T. Bahār, *Sabk-shenāsi*, second edition, III, Tehran, 1959, 404-06; M. Ishaque, *Modern Persian poetry*, Calcutta, 1943, ch. iii; C. Dutt, 'Loan-words in Persian', *Indian Linguistics*, xvii, 1955-6, 114-20; W. Giese, 'Französische Lehnwörter im modernen Persischen', *Zeitschrift für Französische Sprache und Literatur*, LXVII, 1, 1956, 69-77; F. Kār, *Farhang-e emrūz*, Tehran, 1958; H. Rāzi, *Farhang-e eṣṭelāhāt-e khāreji dar zabān-e Fārsī*, Tehran, 1961. A few other articles have been published on the subject in Persian, and are listed in Iraj Afshar, *Index Iranicus*, I, 1910-1958, Tehran, 1961.

¹⁸ See, for example, R. Lescoṭ, 'La réforme du vocabulaire en Iran', *Revue des Études Islamiques*, 1939, Cahier 1, 75-96; H. Massé, 'La lettre a l'Académie Iranienne de S. A. Mohammed Ali Foroughi', *ibid.*, 17-74; W. Hinz, 'Neue Formen des persischen Wortschatzes', *ZDMG*, xci, 3, 1937, 680-98; E. Rossi, 'La riforma linguistica nell'Iran', *Oriente Moderno*, xix, 9, 1939, 516-19.

¹⁹ The last of these was *Vāzehā-ye now ke tā pāyān-e sāl-e 1319 dar Farhangestān-e Irān pazirofteh shodeh ast*, Tehran, 1941. The Academy discontinued its word-coining activities after the abdication of Reżā Shāh in 1941.

compiled in the Islamic era.²⁰ Of these, about 50 have been published during the last 40 years or so—some 15 or so in the past 12 or 15 years, during which period a sudden interest in compiling dictionaries has been manifested in Iran. However, with little or no exception, the existing dictionaries are hardly more than lists of words, with very inadequate definitions, uncritically collected from earlier dictionaries. While a great number of words they list have been out of use for centuries (without being marked accordingly) the great majority of recent additions to the lexicon are not even listed. A number of dialect words are included, but not always labelled as such. Not a few ghost words are listed. Pronunciation of words is indicated by inadequate methods, when indicated at all. As for the later European borrowings, some of the more recent dictionaries have included a number of them, but here, as in the case of the native, and older foreign, material, the coverage as well as the treatment leaves something to be desired. These remarks, it should be noted, apply also to the bilingual Persian dictionaries (Persian-English, Persian-French, Persian-Russian, English-Persian, French-Persian, etc.). Sometimes, however, these are somewhat better than the monolingual Persian dictionaries.²¹

2.1.2. The secondary sources surveyed (as well as others not mentioned) are restricted in their usefulness for several reasons. First, the number of recent loans they list is very small. Second, even when a loan is listed, it is not always correctly identified. Sometimes words are tagged as 'European', without further identification. Third, some sources do not give the Persian meanings or definitions of Western loans they list. Fourth, the pronunciation is usually not adequately represented. In some cases, it is not indicated at all. As a result of these and other shortcomings, the existing secondary sources are not always of as much help to the investigator as he might wish.²²

2.2.1a. By far the most important sources for the study of recent linguistic borrowings in Persian are the primary sources. By a primary source, we mean the language itself as it appears in everyday speech and in writing. (Such things as radio and television broadcasts are, strictly speaking, neither the spoken nor the written form of the language, but something between the two: the element of spontaneity which marks the spoken style is absent in them, while, on the other hand, an attempt is often made to make at least some broadcasts 'sound natural'. Those novels—such as the works of Hedāyat and Jamālzādeh—and plays which aim at reproducing natural spoken forms are

²⁰ In a revised version of an earlier list, S. Naficy enumerates 188 monolingual dictionaries, including glossaries, etc., in 'Farhanghā-ye fārsī', in A. A. Dēkhodā, *Loḡhat-nāma*, ed. M. Mo'in, Tehran, 1946—, fasc. 40 (introduction by a group of scholars to the whole work), 178–86. The figure given in the text above includes works not in the Naficy list.

²¹ For a list of the dictionaries of Persian into European languages, and vice versa, see *Loḡhat-nāma*, fasc. 40, 373–8.

²² For some detailed observations on the sources see my dissertation (cited in p. 82, n. 15 above), 5–15. Matters are not helped by the lack of an etymological dictionary of Modern Persian. *Loḡhat-nāma* and a new dictionary now in preparation under the editorship of M. Minovi (cf. p. 86, n. 27 below) will be helpful when completed.

also to be delegated to the in-between position. (Extemporaneous, unrehearsed interviews and speeches, on the other hand, are of course in the same general category as the spoken style.) In the written primary sources, a cross-section of the language can be found in selected newspapers and journals; a fairly complete set of school textbooks, in all fields; works of selected novelists and poets; a selection of books on various subjects; and selected records of travels to Western countries, especially in the earlier periods.²³ In all cases, especially in the periodicals, selections should be representative, both chronologically and geographically. In the newspapers, perhaps complete files of the *Rūznāme-ye Waqāye'-e Ettēfāqīyeh*, which was the first Persian newspaper to last for any length of time (even if under different names); the original (Calcutta) *Ḥabl'ol-Matīn*; the London *Qānūn*; the Istanbul *Akhtar*; the *Chehreh-nemā* (first of Alexandria, later of Cairo); *Shafaq-e Sorkh*; *Īrān*; and *Ettelā'āt*, all of Tehran (the last one the only paper to be published uninterruptedly since its inception in 1926), would yield very nearly all the instances of linguistic borrowing (with the exception of those in the 'pure sciences') up to the present time. In journals, *Īrānshahr* (of Berlin); *Armaghān*; *Ta'tīm wa Tarbiyat*, and its continuation, *Amūzesh wa Parvāresh*; *Yaghmā*; *Mehr*; *Sokhan*; *Āyandeh*; *Mardom*; and *Ettelā'āt-e Haftegā* (all of Tehran) can be examined. The yearbook *Sālnāme-ye Pārs* may be added to the list. In all periodical publications, especially the newspapers, advertisements should be carefully examined.

2.2.1b. The importance of native informants as a primary source should not be forgotten. Even when lists of loans have been collected from various other sources, the use of native informants will be necessary for at least two purposes: to verify the actual use of each item in the spoken style, and to determine its pronunciation, which is not always adequately recorded in the various sources. To a lesser degree, radio and television broadcasts can also be used for the same purposes as the live informants.

2.3. Undoubtedly, in an effort to conduct a comprehensive study of recent Western loans, the secondary sources must also be utilized, despite their imperfections, although the emphasis should be placed on the use of primary sources, of which not the least important are native informants. Until, therefore, the full examination of primary sources can be undertaken, and even when such an examination is undertaken, in conjunction with the primary sources, there is a handful of dictionaries which can be consulted with advantage. It

²³ For a list and descriptions of the newspapers published in Iran since the earliest times, see M. Šadr-e Hāshemi, *Tārīkh-e jarā'ed wa majallāt-e Īrān*, 4 vols., Isfahan, 1949-54. For journals, see also Iraj Afshar, *Index Iranicus* (cited in p. 83, n. 17), 1, 15-38. A list and descriptions of Persian yearbooks is given in the latter work, pp. 39-42. On Persian books published since the introduction of printing in Iran see Khān Bāhā Moshār, *A bibliography of books printed in Persian*, 2 vols., Tehran, 1958-63; and the annual *Bibliography of Persia*, comp. Iraj Afshar, Tehran, 1955-. It is true that, for more complete results, all the publications of the period since 1800 should be examined. Such a gigantic task, however, would involve too many participants, and too long a period of time, to be feasible in the near future. The major aspect of the work which would suffer from using only a selection of sources is the establishment of the date of the first occurrence of each borrowed item.

must, however, be borne in mind that the major use of the dictionaries, and other secondary sources, is in making an initial list of words *presumed* to be of Western origin. Once such a list is made, each item must be subjected to careful examination, its actual use in the language verified, its pronunciation(s) and meaning(s) checked, its source language determined, and the final analysis based on the outcome of these investigations. Subject to these reservations, we may mention several dictionaries the examination of which should prove fruitful. In the bilingual group, one of the earliest, which is also the largest, is that compiled by Steingass (1892). Others are Naficy's French-Persian (1930-1); Boyle's Persian-English (1949); and Miller's Persian-Russian (1953) dictionaries. But perhaps the most useful bilingual dictionaries are those compiled by Halm. Of the monolingual dictionaries, we should mention the *Farhang-e Nezām* (1927-39), *Kātūziyān* (1932), *Farnūdsār* (1939-45), *Amīr Kabīr* (1955), and *'Amīd* (1955).²⁴ Two other Persian dictionaries deserve special mention: Dehkhodā's *Loḡhat-nāma* is a monumental work now in progress. The compiler, a distinguished scholar who died in 1956, worked on this encyclopedic dictionary for 45 years, extracting and excerpting materials out of a large number of works, both published and in manuscript. He collected about three million cards. The work of supervising the publication, as well as some updating, is now carried on by a committee headed by Dr. Moḥammad Mo'īn. Over 50 fascicules have been published so far. A larger number of European loan-words than in any other work are included.²⁵ The other work is a new edition of *Borhān-e qāṭe'*, also edited by Mo'īn.²⁶ By far the most useful and voluminous part of the edition are Mo'īn's footnotes, where, among other things, he lists some recent Western loan-words.²⁷

3.1.1. From the earliest times Iran has been a meeting-place of many cultures, and an intermediary between East and West. Trade, diplomacy,

²⁴ F. Steingass, *A comprehensive Persian-English dictionary*, fourth impression, London, 1897 (first edition, 1892); S. Naficy, *Dictionnaire français-persan*, 2 vols., Tehran, 1930-1; J. A. Boyle, *A practical dictionary of the Persian language*, London, 1949; B. V. Miller, *Persideko-russkij slovar'*, third edition, Moscow, 1953; S. Halm, *New Persian-English dictionary*, 2 vols., Tehran, 1934-6, and *The one-volume Persian-English dictionary*, Tehran, 1961; S. M. 'A. Dā'i-ol Eslām, *Farhang-e Nezām*, 5 vols., Hyderabad, 1927-39; M. 'A. Kātūziyān, *Farhang-e Kātūziyān*, Tehran, 1932; 'A. A. Nafisi, *Farnūdsār yā farhang-e Nafisi*, Tehran, 1939-45; M. 'A. Khalili and 'A. A. Shamim, *Farhang-e Amīr Kabīr*, Tehran, 1955; Ḥ. 'Amīd, *Farhang-e 'Amīd*, fourth edition, Tehran, 1962.

²⁵ For further details on this work and its historical development see *fasc.* 40 of the work itself, cited in p. 84, n. 20 above.

²⁶ Moḥammad Ḥosayn ebn-e Khalaf de Tabriz, *Borhān-e qāṭe'*, ed. Moḥ. Mo'īn, 4 vols., Tehran, 1961-6. A fifth volume, containing addenda and corrigenda was later issued (Tehran, 1963).

²⁷ To the above list we may add several now in preparation. One is a dictionary to cover Modern Persian up to the end of the nineteenth century. Under the editorship of M. Minovi, this work is based on selected primary sources representative of each century, from the ninth to the nineteenth. This work, which should prove very valuable, is expected to be published before long. Mo'īn, also, has promised four dictionaries, of various sizes and levels, which, according to advanced descriptions on p. 8 of the foreword to the fourth volume of his edition of *Borhān*, should solve many, if not all, of the problems in Persian lexicology.

wars, science, the arts, religion, philosophy, have brought its inhabitants into contact with many other peoples and cultures. By the seventh century of the Christian era, Elamites, Sumerians, Akkadians, Aramaeans, Greeks, and a number of other peoples, as well as Iranians themselves, had met, in war and in peace, and out of these meetings Persian culture as it existed at the dawn of the Islamic era had emerged.²⁸

3.1.2. In the seventh century, Muslim Arabs invaded Iran, which thus became part of the Muslim world. 'Iran was penetrated to the core by Arabian religion and Arabian ways.'²⁹ Arabic became the language of religion, and for centuries also the language of science and scholarship, throughout the Islamic lands. During the Islamic period, Iranians have also come in contact with Turkic peoples, at times ruled by them, at others competing and fighting with them: in one way or another, they have had close dealings with them for almost as long as they have had dealings with the Arabs. Turkic languages have at various times been spoken at the royal courts of Iran, and in certain sections of the country.³⁰

3.2.1. At the beginning of the nineteenth century Napoleon Bonaparte was planning to attack India with the help of Iran. Britain was trying to forestall this. Napoleon's dream was never realized, but as a result of it Iran was drawn into the orbit of European politics. The Anglo-French rivalry over Iran's alliance soon gave place to an Anglo-Russian rivalry over controlling Iran. This state of affairs was to dominate Iran's external, as well as internal, affairs in the years that followed.³¹

3.2.2. The 1828 Treaty of Torkmānchāy, ending the wars between Iran and Russia, marked the beginning of a new era in Iran's diplomatic relations with the West. Among other things, this treaty gave Russia extraterritorial privileges in Iran. By the end of the nineteenth century, treaties of friendship and commerce had been signed between Iran and a number of other countries of the West, including England, France, Germany, and the United States, among others. Many of these countries established permanent legations in Tehran.³²

3.3.1. At about the same time as the beginning of Iran's involvement in Western politics, and, partly at least, as a result of it, some Iranian leaders began to think of the necessity of military, and other, reforms. Thus it was that began the period of so-called 'Westernization'. During this period, Iran's

²⁸ A general survey of Iran's major cultural relations in pre-Islamic times may be had in R. Ghirshman, *Iran from the earliest times to the Islamic conquest* (Penguin Books, A 239), 1954; and R. N. Frye, *The heritage of Persia*, Cleveland and New York, 1963.

²⁹ Th. Nöldeke, as quoted in P. Sykes, *A history of Persia*, third edition, London, 1930, I, 536.

³⁰ On Iran's history in Islamic times, Sir Percy Sykes, *A history of Persia*, third edition, 2 vols., London, 1930, or, for a more up-to-date account, the relevant volumes of *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, may be consulted.

³¹ See Sykes, op. cit., II, 298 to the end of the book; and G. Lenczowski, *Russia and the West in Iran*, Ithaca, N.Y., 1949.

³² On the Treaty of Torkmānchāy see Sykes, op. cit., II, 319-32. For a list of the countries with which Iran signed treaties on the basis of Torkmānchāy see A. A. Siassi, *La Perse au contact de l'Occident*, Paris, 1931, p. 124, and n. 1.

cultural relations with the West have expanded along with her diplomatic and commercial relations.³³

3.3.2. 'Westernization' as used here refers to cultural changes and innovations in various phases of life which have come about in Iran as a result of that country's expanding cultural contacts with the Western world. These contacts have been effected through various factors and channels. Chief among these have been : the increasing foreign trade, including the various economic concessions granted to Westerners ; developments in science, technology, and industry ; new and expanding means of communication and transportation ; modern education, including missionary and other foreign schools ; printing and publication, including the introduction and numerical expansion of newspapers ; the spread of European languages ; translations of European (and American) books and articles ; the two World Wars ; and the direct personal contacts resulting from the presence in Iran of European and American missionaries, educators, technicians, advisers, administrators, soldiers, etc., as well as the visits, of varying length, paid by an increasing number of Iranians, especially students, to Europe and the United States.³⁴ The proclamation of a Constitution in 1906 and the conscious, concerted, and determined efforts of Rezā Shāh (1921-41) helped to increase the tempo and the extent, if not necessarily the depth, of Westernization.³⁵ Since the second World War, the movement towards 'modernization', which to many Iranian people is synonymous with 'Westernization', has gained even more speed.

4.1. The various cultural contacts of its speakers had, by the end of the eighteenth century, left considerable traces in the Persian language. In the realm of vocabulary, there were elements in it from a great variety of sources. It included, besides a small number of words of Persian, and other Iranian, origin, words from a number of non-Iranian languages, including Arabic, Greek, Latin, Aramaic, Turkish and Mongolian, and Indic languages.³⁶ Most of these came from Arabic. Arabic also served as the medium through which some Greek and Latin words, as well as words from other languages, found their way into Persian. A few examples of these early loan-words may be in order here.

(a) From Arabic Persian has borrowed /ketáb/ کتاب 'book' ; /sé'y/ سعی 'effort' ; /towzih/ توضیح 'explanation' ; /jamé'/ جامع 'comprehensive' ;

³³ See Siassi, op. cit., on Iran's cultural contacts with the West.

³⁴ See Siassi, op. cit. ; R. Arasteh, *Education and social awakening in Iran*, Leiden, 1962 ; and for a brief factual outline, my dissertation (cited in p. 82, n. 15), ch. ii.

³⁵ On the Rezā Shāh period see A. Banani, *The modernization of Iran, 1921-1941*, Stanford, Calif., 1961.

³⁶ There is no complete study of Arabic influence on Persian. Some examples, however, may be found, among others, in Paul Horn's work cited in p. 83, n. 17 above. Examples of loan-words from other old sources are found in the same work as well as in the following : Th. Nöldeke, *Persische Studien*, Wien, 1892 ; P. Horn, *Neupersische Etymologie*, Strassburg, 1893 ; P. de Lagarde, *Persische Studien*, Göttingen, 1884 ; and *Borhān-e qāte'*, cited in p. 86, n. 26, where an extensive bibliography is given in the introduction to vol. I, and supplements in the other three volumes.

/mowzúʔ/ موضوع 'subject'; /tábʔ/ طبع 'printing'; /šówq/ شوق 'enthusiasm'; /tekrár/ تکرار 'repetition'; /ʔentešár/ انتشار 'publishing'; /xatemé/ خاتمه 'termination'; /nætijé/ نتیجه 'result'; /fazél/ فاضل 'learned'; /lebás/ لباس 'clothes'; /mænzél/ منزل 'house'; /halá/ حالا 'now'; /tæqribáén/ تقریباً 'approximately'; and literally thousands of others.

(b) From Turkish and Mongolian come: /çæpavól/ چپاول 'plunder'; /yoréš/ یورش 'attack'; /ʔordú/ اردو 'camp'; /ʔaqá/ آقا 'gentleman'; /ʔíl/ ایل 'tribe'; /túp/ توپ 'cannon'; /tutún/ توتون '(pipe) tobacco'; /ʔilcí/ ایلچی 'envoy'; /yaqí/ یاغی 'outlaw'; /bolúk/ بلوک 'cluster of villages'; /qædqæén/ قدغن 'emphasis'; /topóz/ توپوز 'mace'; /qæravól/ قراول 'guard'; /qacáq/ قاچاق 'contraband'; /qeycí/ قیچی 'scissors'; and a number of others.

(c) Greek is represented by: /lægæn/ لگن 'basin'; /længær/ لنگر 'anchor'; /kalbéð/ کالبد 'mould; carcass'; /mumiyaʔi/ مومیائی 'mummy'; /deyhím/ دیهیم 'crown'; and others.

(d) Aramaic loan-words include: /kešiš/ کشیش 'priest'; /çælipá/ چلیپا 'cross'; /šeypúr/ شیپور 'trumpet'; /gombád/ گنبد 'dome'; /šeydá/ شیدا 'mad'; /gówd/ گود 'deep'; /tút/ توت 'berry, mulberry'; and so on.

(e) From Indic languages have come: /šekær/ شکر 'sugar'; /šoqál/ شغال 'jackal'; /nargíl/ نارگیل 'coco-nut'; /cáp/ چاپ 'printing'; and so on.

4.2. Since the nineteenth century, new cultural developments have left their impress on the Persian language. On the lexical level, the cultural changes and innovations have resulted in the expansion of the Persian vocabulary, which, as a result of these same cultural developments, has been exposed to influences from languages of the Western world. This vocabulary expansion has resulted, for the most part, though not in all cases, from the necessity to meet new lexical needs.

4.3.1. Three major sources have been used in meeting the new lexical situations: (1) the established resources of Persian, by which is meant the native Persian elements as well as the 'naturalized' foreign elements of long standing (notably those from Arabic); (2) new loan-words of Arabic origin; (3) loan-words from Western languages. These three types will be discussed briefly, and a few examples of each will be supplied.

4.3.2a. As for the words based on the established resources of Persian, these

are of two major varieties. In some cases, old words are given new meanings. Sometimes the old meanings are kept, perhaps with lessened frequency. Thus /ʔózv/ عضو now means 'employee', as well as the old 'member (limb, organ)'; /tæzkeré/ تذكرة means 'passport' as well as 'biography' (although in this sense its use is restricted); /ræ'y/ رأى means 'opinion' as well as 'vote'. /kár/ کار, originally meaning 'labour', now means a 'work' of art (or scholarship) also. /mellét/ ملت now means 'nation'; its original meaning of 'religious community' has all but completely disappeared. /ruznamé/ روزنامه now means 'newspaper'; its older meaning of 'official diary' is virtually unknown.³⁷ /danëshnamé/ دانشنامه now means '(university) degree', while at some time or another it was used in the past to mean something like 'encyclopedia' (as in Ibn Sīnā's *Dāneshnāme-ye 'Alā'ī*). /ʔagəhí/ آگهی has acquired the specialized sense of 'advertisement', besides its general meaning of 'information'. Its variant /ʔagahí/ آگاهی now means 'secret police (department)'. /malësh/ مالش 'rubbing', now means 'friction' (in physics) too. There are many more examples.

4.3.2b. In some other cases new words are coined, as in the following examples: /xəbærnegár/ خبرنگار 'reporter'; /xəbærgozarí/ خبرگزاری 'news agency'; /bašgáh/ باشگاه 'club'; /ʔəbdozdák/ آبدزدک 'syringe'; /degærdisi/ دگردیسی 'metamorphism'; /vazænësh/ وازنش 'repulsion' (in physics); /ʔasayəšgáh/ آسایشگاه 'sanatorium'; /bazdàštgáh/ بازداشتگاه 'house of detention'; /širxàrgáh/ شیرخوارگاه 'nursery'; /dærmàngáh/ درمانگاه 'clinic'; /geranigáh/ گرانیگاه 'centre of gravity'; /səngvəré/ سنگواره 'fossil'; /mixí/ میخی 'cuneiform'; /baznəšəsté/ بازنشسته 'retired'; /baliní/ بالینی 'clinical (patient)'; /behdarí/ بهداشتی 'public health (department)'.

4.3.3. New loan-words of Arabic origin are of three major types. Some have been borrowed directly from Arabic, usually through Egyptian and Syrian publications. Others have been taken from Turkish, in which some terms were coined from Arabic linguistic materials, rather than borrowed from terms actually used in Arabic; most of these terms—which, strictly speaking, are not Arabic, but Turkish, loans—date back to the pre-Republican period in Turkey. Still other terms were coined in Persian itself from Arabic resources.³⁸ A few

³⁷ See Bahār's work (cited in p. 82, n. 16 above), III, 343.

³⁸ For a brief discussion of this subject, see Taqizādeh, cited in p. 82, n. 16 above; and Bahār (also cited there), III, 404.

examples of new loans of Arabic origin are : /^ʔæqælliyæt/ اقلّيت 'minority' ; /^ʔæksæriyyæt/ اكثریت 'majority' ; /^ʔeftexarí/ افتخاری 'honorary (chairman, doctorate, etc.)' ; /^ʔettehadíyyé/ اتحادیه 'union' ; /mottæhédolmæ^ʔál/ متحد المآل 'circular (i.e. "form letter")' ; /layehé/ لایحه 'bill (parliamentary term)' ; /bæyaníyyé/ بیانیه 'communiqué' ; /tæyyaré/ طیاره 'aeroplane' ; /^ʔe^ʔtesáb/ اعتصاب 'strike' (labour term) ; /mizánolhæraré/ میزان الحراره 'thermometer' ; /mæšruté/ مشروطه 'constitutional (government)' ; /qanúne^ʔasasí/ قانون اساسی 'constitution' ; /ræ^ʔsolvozerá/ رئیس الوزرا 'prime minister' ; /næzmíyyé/ نظمیّه 'police (department)' ; etc., etc.

4.3.4a. Of the three sources of new words mentioned in § 4.3.1, the third one, Western loan-words, accounts for one large group of new words in Persian. These are 'loanwords' proper. Two other groups of new words represent a combination of the first and third sources—that is, of the native (including naturalized foreign) resources and Western language resources. Of these, one sub-group is made up of the 'loanshifts', in which no new morphemes are involved, but in which established morphemes take on new functions under foreign linguistic influence. The other sub-group is that of 'loanblends', each of which involves one (or more) native morphemes and one (or more) foreign morphemes, the combination having a new meaning (or meanings) based on a foreign model containing the foreign morpheme.

4.3.4b. Loan-words from Western languages can be numbered in the thousands, and are illustrated by /fizík/ فیزیک 'physics' < F *physique* ; /tanžánt/ تانژانت 'tangent' (mathematics term) < F *tangent* ; /báz/ 'base' (in chemistry) < F *base* ; /sæmavær/ سہاور 'samovar' < R *samovar* ; /gilás/ گیلاس 'glass (tumbler)' < E *glass* ; /cék/ چک 'cheque' < E *cheque* ; /dorošké/ درشکه 'droshky' < R *drozhki* ; /^ʔænžèksiyón/ انژکسیون 'injection' < F *injection* ; /bošké/ بشکه 'barrel' < R *bochka* ; /yuneskó/ یونسکو 'UNESCO' < E *UNESCO* ; /métr/ متر 'metre' (measure of length) < F *mètre* ; /^ʔestekán/ استکان 'glass cup' < R *stakan* ; and so on.

4.3.4c. As for the loan-shifts, there are, as we have seen, two varieties. We have examples of loan-shift extensions in : /rást/ راست 'right' and /cép/ چپ 'left', both now used in the political sense also ; /bonyád/ بنیاد 'foundation', now also used in the sense of '(charitable, educational, etc.) foundation' ; /šæbæké/ شبکه 'network', now also used in '(spy, telephone, etc.) network' ; /pá/ پا 'foot', now also 'foot' (measure) ; etc.

4.3.4d. Loan-shift creations are illustrated by : /màhe ʔæsáel/ ماه عسل ‘honeymoon’, on the model of the English word ; /noqtèye næzээр/ نقطه نظر ‘point of view’, on the model of the English phrase or its French equivalent ; /bolændgú/ بلندگو ‘loud-speaker’, on the model of F *haut parleur* or E *loud-speaker* ; /sib zæminí/ سیب زمینی ‘potato’, modelled on F *pomme de terre* ; /qovvéye ʔésb/ قوه اسب ‘horse-power’, modelled on E *horse-power* ; and so on.

4.3.4e. Loan-blends are represented by : /ʔampèr sáenj/ آمپر سنج where the first element is ‘imported’ from F *ampère*, and the second element is a Persian morpheme ‘substituted’ for the F *mètre* ; /rekòrd šekæstæn/ رکورد شکستن ‘to break a record’ ; /rekòrd gozaštæn/ رکورد گذاشتن ‘to set a record’ ; /políse mæxfí/ پلیس مخفی ‘secret police’ ; /ʔæšæʔéye ʔix/ اشعه ایکس ‘X-rays’ and so on. Loan-blends should not be equated with ‘hybrid’ forms involving borrowed morphemes as well as native morphemes. Loan-blends are formed on the model of words, or morphemes, in a foreign language, as our examples illustrate. ‘Hybrid’ forms, on the other hand, are not formed on any foreign model ; they just happen to contain elements borrowed from other languages. Thus, the Persian compound /sahèb xané/ صاحبخانه ‘landlord’ contains the loan-word /sahéb/ (< Arabic *šāḥib*) and the Persian word /xané/, but the compound is a Persian formation ; there is no Arabic compound on which it is modelled. Another such formation, consisting entirely of native Persian elements, is /darùxané/ داروخانه ‘pharmacy’ < P /darú/ ‘medicine’ + P /xané/ ‘house’.

4.4.1a. Of the three major types of new words described, the first one, based on the established element in Persian, especially the ‘pure’ native element, was for quite some time almost completely ignored. One reason for this situation is to be sought in the extended use of Arabic—for over a millennium—as the language of science and learning throughout the Islamic world, of which Iran was an active part. Persian had been used as a vehicle of belles-lettres since about the ninth century of the Christian era. Histories, also, had been written in Persian. Even in these fields, however, especially in prose works, the vocabulary could hardly be considered Persian. At any rate, the language of science, and, even when Persian was used, its vocabulary, had remained almost exclusively Arabic, and it was here that many new terms have come to be needed in the recent period.

4.4.1b. Another reason for the virtual absence of native coinages was that most Iranian writers—or, rather, translators—especially in the scientific field, and especially in more recent decades, have not been adequately acquainted with the possibilities existing in their own language for forming new words.

In earlier decades, their 'linguistic' education, when they had any, was, for all practical purposes, restricted to the grammar of Classical Arabic.

4.4.2a. There remained, then, two alternatives for designating new concepts—Arabic and Western loans—and both of these were made use of. Arabic, however, with the passage of time, gradually lost its hold. The younger generations of writers and translators became weaker and weaker in their knowledge of Arabic. At the same time, they acquired more familiarity with Western languages, especially French. Consequently, when they needed new terms, they usually found it easier to use the original Western terms (or facsimiles thereof) than to try either to find already existing—but infrequently used—Persian words for them, or to coin new terms by using the resources of Persian itself. As a result, large numbers of new loan-words found their way into Persian in a comparatively short time.

4.4.2b. Borrowing Western words thus became more and more common at the expense of Arabic loans. Then came the time when the use of Persian resources was more and more encouraged, the new words, to some extent, displacing Western loans. This was the time when the movement for language 'purification' gained momentum in Iran, especially in the 1930's, during the zenith of the régime of the nationalist-minded Rezá Shāh (1921–41). With the establishment of the Academy in 1935, native lexical creations became the rule, their use enforced by the authority of the government. In fact, the Academicians not only coined 'pure' Persian terms for *new* concepts, but also coined new terms, or revived older 'pure' Persian ones, to replace many Arabic and European terms already in use—such terms as /bæxší/ بخشی (= /mæqsúm/ مقسوم) 'dividend' (in arithmetic); /bæxšyáb/ بخشیا ب (= /mæqsúmon مقسوم عليه) 'divisor'; /pišíné/ پیشینه (= /sabeqé/ سابقه) 'record (of employment, etc.)'; /bàzporší/ بازپرسی (= /'estentáq/ استنطاق) 'interrogation'; /bàzræsí/ بازرسی (= /tæftíš/ تفتیش) 'inspection'; and so on.

4.5.1a. So far we have been concerned solely with the vocabulary of Persian. The Western influence in Persian goes beyond the individual borrowed elements, however. To round out our survey, therefore, we must at least mention some of the influences in areas other than the lexicon. Considering grammar first, a new device has come to be used in word formation, hitherto using the two devices of compounding and affixation (or a combination of these). Now, through such loans (usually names of organizations) as /yuneskó/ یونسکو 'UNESCO (= United Nations Economic, Social, and Cultural Organization)' and /yuniséf/ یونیسف 'UNICEF (= United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund)', the device of 'acronymy' seems to be finding its way into Persian. An 'acronym' is a word formed by the first letters of the components of a compound term, arranged in sequence and pronounced as a single word.

Persian examples are: /^oemká/ امکا < کارگران ایران (Ettēhādīye-ye Mellī-ye Kārgārān-e Irān) 'National Union of Iran's Labourers'; /sumká/ سومکا < کارگران ایران [حزب] سوسیالیست ملی (Hezb-e Sosyālist-e Mellī-ye Kārgārān-e Irān) 'National Socialist [Party] of Iran's Labourers'; and one or two others.³⁹ Admittedly, the number of such acronyms is quite small in Persian, and we cannot predict as yet whether or not their number will increase and the device will become a permanent part of Persian grammar.

4.5.1b. Not to be mistaken for acronymy is the orthographic device of 'abbreviation', i.e. the use of first letters of the components of a long word (usually a name) pronounced, not as a single word (as in the case of acronyms), but as individual letters, as in E U.S.A. Such abbreviations occur now and then in Persian, though they are far from common. An example is س.ب.ا.ک. (S.B.E.K.) < سازمان بیمه‌های اجتماعی کارگران ایران 'Organization of Social Insurances [= Social Security ?] of Iran's Labourers'. Occasional occurrences of U.S.S.R. 'اتحاد جماهیر شوروی سوسیالیستی' (E.J.Sh.S.) for س.س. have also been recorded. However, the only situations in which abbreviations are now reasonably common involve the use of initials of personal names. These are to be found in signatures to newspaper and journal articles, on covers and title-pages of books, store and company signs, etc.

4.5.2a. Another sort of influence in grammar is seen in certain grammatical forms which have gained frequency, even if they have not been created, under the influence of Western languages, as a result, originally, of translations from those languages. One such form is the so-called 'definite future'—the periphrastic verb formed by the verb /xastēn/ خواستن 'to want' followed by the past stem ('short infinitive') of the 'main verb': /xahéd réft/ خواهد رفت 'he will go'; /xahém réft/ خواهم رفت 'I shall go'; etc. The commoner form in these situations continues to be the 'present continuous', i.e. /mírvæd/ می‌رود 'he will go'; /mírvæm/ می‌روم 'I shall go'; etc.

4.5.2b. Similarly, the formation of the 'passive voice' by the past participle of a verb plus the appropriate form of the verb /šodēn/ شدن 'to become' (or, less often, its more formal synonym /gæštēn/ گشتن) is becoming more and more frequent; e.g. /košté šod/ کشته شد 'he was killed'; /didé xahím

³⁹ We use transliteration here and in the next paragraph, rather than transcription, since our concern is the orthography of the Persian words cited. Note that the phoneme /^o/, which appears as the initial consonant of /^oemká/ is represented by the letter *alef* in the Persian spelling, and by *E* in the transliteration of that letter. Furthermore, the last phoneme of /^oemká/, i.e., the vowel /s/, represents the initial letter *alef* in ایران, where it is part of the diagraph ای (*alef* + *ye*) which is pronounced /^oi-/, though this pronunciation does not affect the pronunciation of the final *alef* in /^oemká/. This is somewhat akin to the problem of the pronunciation of the letter *c* in UNICEF, where it is pronounced /s/, although in the original word *c* is part of the diagraph *ch*, which is pronounced as in 'church'.

šòd/ دیده خواهیم شد 'we shall be seen'; etc. However, the more common way of expressing this kind of meaning is to say 'they killed him'; 'they will see us'; etc., without the use of the independent subject pronoun. The Persian forms would be /kóštændèš/ کشتندش '(they) killed him'; /mšbinændèman/ مبینندمان '(they) will see us'; etc. (but not /ʔanhá kóštændèš/ آنها کشتندش; /ʔanhá mšbinændèman/ آنها مبینندمان etc.).⁴⁰

4.6. If certain recent secondary sources are to be relied on, there seems to be evidence that a change is taking place in the phonological system of Persian, and this under the influence of recent Western influence: Modern Persian, certainly in the Standard dialect, and in the major known local dialects of Iran, is generally stated to have no initial consonant clusters. Persian speakers learning foreign languages have difficulty pronouncing initial clusters.⁴¹ Thus, they pronounce E *sport* as /ʔespórt/; F *platine* as /pelatín/; F *Français* as /færansé/; etc. In the morphemes that have survived from Old and Middle Persian periods, initial clusters have disappeared. Now, a few sources claim that initial clusters do exist in contemporary Persian, even if in small numbers and/or with distributional limitations. In Haim's two-volume Persian-English dictionary (p. 86, n. 24 above) we find such forms as P /flút/ فلوت 'flute'; P /gramafón/ گرامافون 'gramophone'; P /gliserín/ گلیسرین 'glycerine'; and a few others. In Miller's Persian-Russian dictionary (p. 86, n. 24 above) the number of words with initial clusters is larger. In the grammar appearing as an appendix to Miller's dictionary, we find a statement to the effect that initial clusters do not usually occur in Persian, but that there are certain exceptions, 'primarily later loans', in words which have /r/ or /l/ as the second of two initial consonants, as in P /prožé/ پروژه 'project'; /proletariyá/ پرولتاریا 'proletariat'; /plán/ پلان 'plan'; etc.⁴² Other observers generally transcribe each of these words with a vowel between the consonants in some cases, or before them in other cases. It is of course possible that a change is in fact taking place in the phonological system of Persian, under the influence of recent loan-words. The evidence, however, is quite scanty, and not always entirely reliable. The sources from which examples have been cited are not, strictly speaking, phonemically oriented; they do not approach language in a structural framework. Furthermore, it is not at all unlikely that the writers whose works have been cited have not been linguistically unbiased; even the

⁴⁰ Note that in the second example, where reference is made to an action which is to take place in the future, we have in the passive voice used the 'definite future', which, as indicated in the preceding paragraph, is not a very common form. In the active voice, the 'definite future' is even less common, especially when a pronominal suffix (here /-eman/) is involved.

⁴¹ See Lazard (p. 81, n. 12 above), 18; and V. S. Rastorgueva, *A short sketch of the grammar of Persian*, translated by S. P. Hill, ed. by H. H. Paper (Bloomington, Indiana, 1964; published also as *International Journal of American Linguistics*, xxx, 1, Pt. II, 1964), 8.

⁴² V. S. Rastorgueva, loc. cit.

most experienced linguistic field-worker sometimes 'hears things', only to find out later that he had heard the foreign language with his ears tuned wrongly, as it were. And, it is possible to assume that the statements and examples quoted are not based on thorough, systematic, field-work on Persian phonology. All of this is not to say that these sources are to be ignored. It is best, however, at least for the time being, to regard the scanty evidence they offer with considerable scepticism at the very best.

4.7. Finally, we might mention the gradual spread of simplicity in style; decrease (though by no means disappearance) of elaborate honorifics and of complicated labyrinthine sentences; virtual disappearance of long strings of meaningless adjectives and adjectival phrases in addressing, or referring to, even the most ordinary of people, but especially men (and women) of high rank. These developments reflect in part the tremendous changes in the cultural conditions in general, without relation to linguistic changes properly considered. On the other hand, however, a very important factor in bringing about the stylistic changes has been the ever-increasing number of translations of Western publications, representing the linguistic materials (as well as the stylistic features) of the languages of the original. Direct and extensive personal dealings with speakers of Western languages, and the resulting communication—oral and written—with them has also played a part.

5.1. The extent to which the Western element in contemporary Persian has become integrated in the language will have to be dealt with at some length elsewhere. It may, however, be pointed out here that by no means all the Western loan-words are certain to stay. As in the rest of the language, these loan-words are not necessarily 'immortal'. Some of them, in fact, have already fallen into disuse, if they were ever in common use at all, as an examination of publications more than three or four decades old will show. Such an examination will indicate a higher 'mortality rate' for these recent Western loans than for the more established parts of the language. It may be added that somewhat the same state of affairs has existed involving Arabic (and Turkic) loan-words. Many a Persian-speaking writer has in centuries past helped himself to unlimited numbers of words from Arabic dictionaries, but the percentage of such words that have become part and parcel of the Persian language has been extremely small.

5.2. Another question that often comes up is whether, or to what extent, the linguistic loans discussed reflect cultural innovations. This problem is perhaps even more complex than the preceding one. It is possible to say, however, even on the basis of limited data, that not all linguistic loans symbolize cultural (i.e. nonlinguistic) innovations. Many do, as the majority of the examples cited indicate, but there are others that do not. What any and all linguistic loans do reflect is cultural influence on a large scale.

MBABARAM: A DYING AUSTRALIAN LANGUAGE

By ROBERT M. W. DIXON

Between October 1963 and August 1964 the writer was engaged in linguistic field-work in the Cairns Rain Forest of North Queensland, while employed as Research Officer by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies. Intensive studies were made of the Dyrbal, Giramay, and Mamu languages, and linguistic descriptions of these languages are at present being prepared for publication.

In 1942 Tindale had mentioned a language that he called 'Barbaram', spoken on top of the Dividing Range about 70 miles inland from Cairns. Entirely on the basis of the 11 words Tindale quoted,¹ it seems, Mbabaram acquired a reputation of mystery, and has been singled out as one of the two Australian languages which seem least able to be fitted into the linguistic pattern of the continent.² Recent work by Hale on 30 Cape York languages seemed to emphasize the possible uniqueness of Mbabaram.³

In view of the interest surrounding Mbabaram, the writer made serious attempts to locate speakers of this language. It took four months to locate an informant, and after that a delayed wet season curtailed visits that could be made to him. The Mbabaram tribe was in August 1964 represented by three half-caste aborigines, aged about 75, 70, and 65 respectively; of these only the youngest was suitable as informant. The language had not been actively spoken for 10 or 15 years, and it took considerable persistence and depth probing to persuade the speaker to remember fragments. The first visit produced only 28 words; five months later about 250 words and 300 short sentences had been elicited. In view of the possible pivotal position of Mbabaram, normal field-work requirements—that an informant should speak the language concerned *most* of the time—were completely relaxed. Whatever validity the material has is due to the fact that the informant was probably more intelligent than any other the writer worked with in Australia; he was also extremely honest, not at all obsequious, and, at the end, friendly and interested.⁴

A statement of Mbabaram phonology will be published separately. The first

¹ *South Australian Museum Records*, VII, 1942, 7.

² S. A. Wurm, 'The present state of New Guinea (non-Melanesian or Papuan) and Australian historical and comparative linguistics', *Proceedings of the ninth International Congress of Linguists*, The Hague, 1964, 579.

³ K. Hale, 'Vocabularies and cognation judgments for 30 Cape York Peninsula languages' (unpublished).

⁴ The writer's major debt is to the Mbabaram informant, Albert Bennett. Mention must also be made of Jimmy Taylor and Mick Burns (Mbabaram), Mitchell Dodd and Jack Brumby (Wagaman), Willie Richards (Dyangun), Mrs. D. M. McGrath (of Petford), Jack Doolan (for assistance on Palm Island Aboriginal Settlement), Douglas Seaton (of Cairns), and others who assisted in various ways. Major acknowledgement must be made to F. D. McCarthy and the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, for their great co-operation and encouragement throughout and beyond the writer's stay in Australia. And to A. Capell, S. A. Wurm, K. Hale, and La Mont West, Jr. Also, M. A. K. Halliday and R. D. Huddleston read a draft of this article and made some useful suggestions for improvement. Thanks are also due to M. Young of the Department of Geography, University College, London, for his expert drawing of the map.

section of the present paper discusses Mbabaram grammar. Then follow tentative remarks relating Mbabaram to some surrounding languages. Thirdly, Tindale's remarks about the languages and people of the Cairns region are commented upon. The paper ends with a lexicon.

1

1.0. A language only has significance with relation to the cultural situations in which it is used. We can consider the meaning of a language pattern to be the sum of the correlations we can recognize between it and other language patterns (calling this the internal component of the meaning) and the correlations between it and general situational, behavioural, and mental patterns (the external component). Linguistics can conveniently set up different levels to describe different sorts of meaning—in one theory, a level of 'form' to deal with internal meaning, and a level of 'context' to deal with external meaning. Then, form and context are each considered with respect to the other: a contextual difference must correlate with each formal contrast, and vice versa.⁵

Where a description is wholly based on bilingual elicitation, only internal meanings can be described. And in this case the formal description is not with respect to a contextual description of the same language, but—rather unsatisfactorily—by translation equivalence, with respect to intuitive semantic notions in a second language. In the present case the writer kept in mind as much as possible the contextual categories he had set up for Dyirbal, Giramay, and Mamu, and tried to rely more on semantic intuitions based on a working knowledge of these languages, than on intuitions based on his use of English. The formal remarks that follow are, then, relative to English through translation, and to Dyirbal, Giramay, and Mamu through form-context analogy. They have not been related to spontaneous occurrence of Mbabaram patterns in everyday situations (and could not be, since such occurrence no longer takes place).

A formal description naturally resolves itself into two parts—a largely qualitative grammatical statement, and a mainly quantitative lexical statement. Since lexis—which deals with the potentialities of mutual co-occurrence of different lexical items, and so on—requires vast textual samples, only the grammatical component of a formal description can be put forward for Mbabaram. Again, only rather small utterances can be obtained through elicitation. So that just four grammatical units—called 'clause', 'group', 'word', and 'morpheme'—will be set up here. But it is extremely likely that at least one higher unit could be postulated in addition if textual material were available.

The grammatical remarks that follow are within the framework of the 'scale-and-category' general theory.⁶

⁵ cf. the writer's *What IS language? A new approach to linguistic description*, London, 1965.

⁶ cf. M. A. K. Halliday, 'Categories of the theory of grammar', *Word*, xvii, 3, 1961, 241-92; R. M. W. Dixon, 'A logical statement of grammatical theory', *Language*, xxxix, 4, 1963, 654-68.

1.1. Typical simple clauses in Mbabaram are :

- | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------|
| (1) <i>yʃ andʷáb</i> | I'll come |
| (2) <i>lí andʷáb</i> | He/she'll come |
| (3) <i>múg andʷáb</i> | The man'll come |
| (4) <i>dayáři andʷáb</i> | The horse'll come |

and, bearing in mind that at this degree of simplicity word sequence is quite free :

- | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------|
| (5) <i>yʃ ɳʃnʷ ndáb</i> | I'll kick him/her |
| (6) <i>lí ndáb ná</i> | He/she'll kick me |

The reader with an Indo-European background would expect to infer from this that

- (7) *múgul dayáři ndáb*

should be translated ' the horse'll kick the man ' . In fact (7) should be translated as ' the man'll kick the horse ' . ' The horse'll kick the man ' is a translation of

- (8) *múg dayářił ndáb*

Other examples are :

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| (9) <i>yʃ ndáb ɳʃnʷ múg</i> | I'll kick that man |
| (10) <i>yʃ yářił ɳʃnʷ gúb</i> | I'll hit him/her with the spear |
| (11) <i>yʃ yáři níb</i> | I'll take the spear |
| (12) <i>lí múgul ná gúb</i> | That man'll hit me |

Roughly (and in terms of Indo-European semantic categories) we can say that both actor of an intransitive clause and goal of a transitive clause can be exponenced by the uninflected form of a noun, but that actor of a transitive clause is exponenced by an inflected form of a noun. And that actor of both intransitive and transitive clauses is exponenced by what we can call the uninflected form of a pronoun, whilst goal of a transitive clause is exponenced by an inflected pronoun.⁷

The last paragraph spans the ranks of clause, group, and word. We can best describe the data by setting up nuclear ⁸ clause structures :

- (i) A_1B_1 and (ii) $A_2A_3B_2$

(i) describing clauses (1)–(4) above, and (ii) (5)–(12). Here B_1 is exponenced by intransitive verbal group class, B_2 by transitive verbal group class, and A_1 , A_2 , and A_3 by different nominal group classes.

Full clause structures involve two optional elements, C and D. Typical clauses, with structural descriptions :

- | | | |
|----------------|--------------------------|--|
| (13) A_1B_1D | <i>ndʃ anʷág ɳɳinʷ</i> | You sit down there ! |
| (14) A_1B_1C | <i>gúg aɳámuy dʷʃndu</i> | It's raining on me (' the water's falling on me ') |

⁷ In traditional terms, pronoun constructions are of the nominative type, and noun constructions are of the ' ergative ' type (see, for example, W. K. Matthews, ' The ergative construction in modern Indo-Aryan ', *Lingua*, III, 4, 1953, 391–406).

⁸ cf. R. E. Longacre, *Grammar discovery procedures*, The Hague, 1964.

- | | | | |
|------|--------------|---|------------------------------|
| (15) | A_1B_1DC | <i>yé andváb ngín^v d^vugúndu</i> | I'll go across that creek |
| (16) | A_2B_2C | <i>múgul mbánu d^véndu</i> | He told me |
| (17) | $A_2A_3B_2D$ | <i>ndé aní d^véng ngín^v</i> | You make a fire there! |
| (18) | $A_2B_2A_3D$ | <i>ndé d^véng améy argím</i> | Now you cook the kangaroo! |
| (19) | $A_2A_3B_2C$ | <i>lí gúg yáru d^véndu</i> | He gave me water |
| (20) | A_2B_2D | <i>aménga níru ngál</i> | Granny took [it] up the hill |
| (21) | B_2C | <i>níg abéndu</i> | Give [it] to grandfather! |

Element C in clause (14) is identified with C in (15) with reference to structural similarities at the next lower unit. Element D in (17) is identified with D in (18) on distributional grounds. There are strong intuitive semantic reasons for conflating the elements C and D at primary delicacy (and giving clause (15) a three-element description, for instance). However, this would considerably complicate the grammatical description, and make correlation between delicacies at different ranks difficult. At increased delicacy we can recognize two elements, D_{01} and D_{02} , corresponding to the primary element D—according, roughly, as the adjunct can be given 'time' or 'place reference' semantic qualification. Structures involving two D elements were not elicited but seem highly probable. At increased delicacy we can also recognize elements A_{11} and A_{12} ; A_{21} and A_{22} ; B_{11} and B_{12} ; B_{21} and B_{22} .

We can now state clause structure more perspicuously, in terms of the scale of delicacy. In all clause structures the elements are unordered, and written in arbitrary sequence (corresponding, since all else is equal, roughly to majority textual sequence).⁹ Parentheses indicate that an element is optional, and an integer superscript that it can occur up to that many times in a structure.

Primary structure : $A(A)B(C)(D^2)$

Secondary structures : $A_1B_1(C)(D^2)$; $A_2A_3B_2(C)(D^2)$

Tertiary structures : $A_{11}B_{11}(C)(D_{01})(D_{02})$ and $A_{12}B_{12}(C)(D_{01})(D_{02})$;
 $A_{21}A_3B_{21}(C)(D_{01})(D_{02})$ and $A_{22}A_3B_{22}(C)(D_{01})(D_{02})$

In fact, not every clause need necessarily include a full quota of A and B elements—but to clarify exactly what must be obligatory and under what conditions we would have to be able to refer to a higher unit.

1.2. We can recognize three primary group classes: I, nominal group; II, verbal group; and III, locational group.

Primary class I exponences elements A and C, and has associated with it *primary system* 'I'; this system has four terms: I.1, exponencing element A_1 ; I.2, exponencing A_2 ; I.3, exponencing A_3 ; and I.4, exponencing C. *Secondary system* 'I.1/2' is associated with the classes exponencing A_1 and A_2 . In the case of I.1 the system has terms I.11, exponencing A_{11} ; and I.12, ex-

⁹ See Dixon, 'Mbabaram phonology' (to appear in *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1965), section 5.5; and compare M. A. K. Halliday, 'Categories of the theory of grammar', *Word*, xvii, 3, 1961, 254-5; J. R. Firth, 'A synopsis of linguistic theory, 1930-1955', *Studies in linguistic analysis*, Oxford, 1957, 5, 17; F. R. Palmer, "'Sequence" and "order"', *Report of the 15th Annual Round Table Meeting on Linguistic and Language Studies*, Georgetown, 1964.

ponencing A_{12} . For I.2 the terms are I.21, exponencing A_{21} , and I.22, exponencing A_{22} . (These and other classes, structures, and systems set up are shown diagrammatically, arranged as to delicacy, on pp. 118-21.)

Primary class II exponences B and has associated with it a two-term *primary system*, 'II', whose terms are II.1 and II.2, exponencing B_1 and B_2 respectively. A two-term *secondary system* cuts across the primary system and is associated with both II.1 and II.2; the terms II.11, II.12; II.21, II.22 exponence B_{11} , B_{12} ; B_{21} , B_{22} respectively.

Primary class III exponences D and has associated with it a two-term *secondary system* 'III.0', whose terms III.01 and III.02 exponence D_{01} and D_{02} respectively.

1.3. At the rank of group, primary class I is exponenced by :

primary structure : $|((E)E)(F^n)|$

Secondary classes I.1; I.2; I.3; I.4 are exponenced by :

secondary structures : $|((E_1)E_1)(F_1^n)|$; $|((E_1)E_1)(F_2^n)|$;
 $|((E_2)E_2)(F_1^n)|$; $|((E_3)E_3)(F_3^n)|$

respectively. More delicately, classes I.11; I.12; I.21; I.22; I.3; I.4 are exponenced by :

tertiary structures : $E_{11}E_{12}(F_1^n)$ and $|E_{13}(F_1^n)|$; $|E_{14}(F_1^n)|$;
 $E_{11}E_{13}(F_2^n)$ and $|E_{13}(F_2^n)|$; $|E_{14}(F_2^n)|$;
 $E_{21}E_{22}(F_1^n)$ and $|E_{23}(F_1^n)|$; $E_{31}E_{32}(F_3^n)$ and $|E_{33}(F_3^n)|$

Vertical lines, | |, in structures denote that *at least one* of the optional elements or sets of elements within the lines must be present; so that $|x(y)|$ is an abbreviation for x, y, xy, and $|x(y(z))|$ abbreviates xt, yt, yzt, xyt, xyzt.

Some examples, with clause structure and nominal group structures (given in sequence of clause structure nominal elements) :

- (22) $D_{01}A_{22}B_{22}A_3$; E_{14} , F_1F_1
argim ndx d'v'g alm'ag am'xy Now you cook the kangaroo meat !
- (23) $A_3D_{02}B_{22}$; F_1F_1
alm'ag ngin' yag alb'an Give [me] that piece of meat !
- (24) $A_{21}B_{21}C$; E_{13} , $E_{33}F_3$
y' y'aru n'v'ndu n'ulmbundu I gave [it] to the little child
- (25) $A_{11}B_{11}D_{02}$; $E_{12}E_{11}$
ndx li and'ab ng'al Let's you and me both go up the hill
- (26) $A_{12}B_{12}D_{02}$; F_1E_{14}
n'ulmbu ndx ad'nu'g ngin' You, little one over there, join in the crying !
- (27) $A_{11}B_{11}$; F_1F_1
m'ug alb'n arg'nu'g Lots of men are dancing
- (28) $A_{22}CA_3B_{22}$; E_{14} , E_{33} , F_1
ndx d'v'ndu gurg'ara nig You bring that billy-can to me !

1.4. Substantial exponents of E elements can be tabulated in part as follows (with semantic gloss in English) :

	E ₁	E ₂	E ₃	(x)	
(i)	yʃ	ná	dʋʃndu	dʋʃ	I
(ii)	ndʃ		nʋʃndu		you
(iii)	lú	ɲʃnʋ	ɲʃndu		him/her/it
(iv)	lí	línʋ	línđu	línɲ	I and someone else

The first three columns give exponents of E₁, E₂, and E₃. For each E_i, the fourth entry in the ith column exponentes E_{1i}, the second entry exponentes E₁₄, the second and third entries exponente E₁₃, and all the entries exponente E₁₃. It will be seen that the table is far from complete: it should almost certainly have more rows, and the gaps should be filled in. The last column indicates 'possessives'—these could only once be elicited within a verbal clause, and so cannot properly be placed within the grammatical description:

- (29) yáʃi dʋʃ That's my spear
 (30) alhá dʋʃ That's my home
 (31) amí dʋʃ línđu My granny died

1.5. We can recognize two primary word classes—IV, pronoun class, and V, nominal word class—that exponente elements in nominal group structure.

Primary class IV exponentes element E, and has associated with it a three-term *primary system*; cutting across the primary system is a four-term *secondary system*, associated with the first term of the primary system, and a three-term *secondary system* (whose terms correspond to three of the terms in the four-term system), associated with each of the other two terms of the primary system. In this case delicacy in nominal group structure, and in word classes and systems, are at each point in one-one correspondence.

Primary class V exponentes element F, and has associated with it a three-term primary system (analogous to the primary system for class IV), whose terms—V.1, V.2, and V.3—exponente F₁, F₂, and F₃ respectively.

1.6. At the rank of word, primary class V is exponented by:
primary structure: K(L)

Secondary classes V.1, V.2, and V.3 are exponented by:
secondary structures: K; KL₁ and KL₂
 respectively.

L is exponented by a two-member morpheme class which has associated with it a two-term system; the terms exponente L₁ and L₂ respectively and have each one formal item exponent. K is exponented by an open morpheme class.

L₁ and L₂ have several alternate phonological exponents. Enough data are not available to attempt an exhaustive statement; the following are all the examples obtained:

K	KL ₁	KL ₂	
amí	amínɲa		granny
abʃ		abʃndu	grandfather
gúg	gúgúl		water

K	KL ₁	KL ₂	
<i>múg</i>	<i>múgul</i>		man
<i>yáři</i>	<i>yáril</i>		spear
<i>dayáři</i>	<i>dayáril</i>		horse (coinage)
<i>yaramán</i>	<i>yaramánda</i>		horse (loan)
<i>n'úlmbu</i>		<i>n'úlmbundu</i>	small (thing, child, etc.)
<i>b'rr</i>	<i>b'ril</i>		emu
<i>d'ugín</i>		<i>d'ugíndu</i>	creek
<i>náb</i>	<i>nánga</i>	<i>nándu</i>	who

The small number of examples indicates the sparseness of the corpus from which this description is abstracted. But in nominal word structure, as in many other things, there are very strong similarities between Mbabaram and Dyirbal, Giramay, and Mamu.

It will be noted that *náb* 'who' has to be considered with class V rather than with class IV. For example:

- (32) *náb and'áruŋ* Who's that coming ?
 (33) *yargúl nánga níru* Who brought the woman ?
 (34) *nánga gúru ngín' yargúl* Who killed that woman ?
 (35) *ndš nándu yáb* Who will you give that to ?
 (36) *náb múg ngín'* Who's that man ?

nd'ándu, with structure KL₂, has a common root with *nd'áb*, *nd'ádam*, *nd'ág*, and *nd'ám* (see section 1.7 below):

- (37) *ndš nd'ándu yáru* Where did you leave it ?
 (38) *ndš nd'ándu almbúnu* Where were you born ?

With more data it would probably be necessary to set up another structure, KL₃, where L₃ could be semantically qualified as 'possessive suffix' (again there are formal-substantial analogies with Dyirbal):

- (39) *albá nán ngín'* Whose camp is that ?
 (40) *abšŋ dayáři* Grandfather's horse

Pronominal words can be allocated word structures in a similar way. The available data were tabulated in section 1.4.

1.7. No primary structure at the rank of group typically exponences primary class III. Tertiary class III.02 is exponenced by:

primary structure: |(I)(J)|

Tertiary class III.01 cannot be allocated any (non-trivial) group structure and must be referred directly to its formal item exponents:

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| <i>argím</i> | now |
| <i>anmšn</i> | to-morrow (? , or earlier on to-day ?) |
| <i>anú</i> | to-night |
| <i>nd'áb</i> | when |
| (41) <i>nd'áb and'áb lí</i> | When's he coming ? |
| (42) <i>yš argím gúru</i> | I killed [it] just now |
| (43) <i>anmšn and'áb</i> | [He's] coming to-morrow |

This class will certainly have further members, in addition to the four that have been abstracted from the present limited corpus.

We can recognize primary word classes VIII and IX, exponencing elements I and J respectively. Class VIII has no word structure, and must be referred to its formal item exponents :

<i>ngín^v</i>	there
<i>agáŋ</i>	here
<i>ngál</i>	up
<i>alngida</i>	down

and probably others.

- (44) *lú ngál an^vánun* She's standing on top of the hill
 (45) *nd^v argíg ngín^v* You dance there !
 (46) *nd^v aŋí níg agáŋ* You bring the wood here !

Class IX is exponenced by primary word structure :

Q(R)

where, roughly, Q denotes a locational root, with typical exponents *albúd* 'Dimbulah' or *wú* 'west', and R denotes a directional suffix, such as 'from' (exponenced by *-um* or *-m*, as in *albúdum* 'from Dimbulah', and *wúm* 'from the west'). Class IX is only poorly documented, and its structure is best indicated by examples :

- | | |
|---|--|
| (47) <i>nd^vám and^várun</i> | Where's [he] from ? |
| (48) <i>nd^vág and^várun</i> | Where's [he] going to ? |
| (49) <i>múg ngín^v nd^vádam and^várun</i> | Where's that man there just come
from ? |
| (50) <i>múg ngín^v albúdum and^várun</i> | He's from Dimbulah |
| (51) <i>abírú and^várun</i> | [I've] just come from the south |
| (52) <i>gám and^várun</i> | [I've] just come from the east |
| (53) <i>aŋí níg gá</i> | Take the wood to the east ! |
| (54) <i>nd^v nd^vádam and^várun</i> | Where have you come from ? |
| (55) <i>y^v arí and^váru albúd</i> | I've never been to Dimbulah |

1.8. At the rank of group, primary class II is exponenced by :

primary structure : (G)H

Secondary classes II.1 and II.2 are exponenced by :

secondary structures : (G)H₁ and (G)H₂

respectively. Tertiary classes II.11 ; II.12 ; and II.21 ; II.22 are exponenced by :

tertiary structures : (G₀₁)H₁₁ ; (G₀₂)H₁₂ ; and (G₀₁)H₂₁ ; (G₀₂)H₂₂

Element G is exponenced by word class VI of verbal modifiers. The corpus yields two formal item exponents :

<i>arí</i>	not
<i>wáy</i>	don't

Class VI has associated with it a two-term secondary system ; term VI.01 has *arí* as sole formal item exponent and term VI.02 has *wáy* :

- (56) *yš arí andʷáb* I shan't go
 (57) *wáy andʷág* Don't go!
 (58) *ɳʷndu wáy andʷág* Don't go near him!
 (59) *ndš wáy aɳág ɳɳínʷ* Don't fall down there!
 (60) *dʷʷndu arí yáb* [He] won't give [it] to me

1.9. Element H of verbal group structure is exponenced by word class VII. This class is in turn exponenced by *primary word structure* :

$M|(N)(P)|$

Increasing delicacy, secondary classes VII.1 and VII.2, exponencing H_1 and H_2 respectively, are exponenced by :

secondary structures : $M_1|(N)(P)|$ and $M_2|(N)(P)|$

respectively. And then classes VII.11 ; VII.12 ; and VII.21 ; VII.22, exponencing elements H_{11} ; H_{12} ; and H_{21} ; H_{22} , are exponenced by :

tertiary structures : $M_1|(N)(P_1)|$; $M_1(N)P_2$; and $M_2|(N)(P_1)|$; $M_2(N)P_2$

M is exponenced by a class, at morpheme rank, of verbal roots. Associated with this class is a two-term system ; one term exponences M_1 and yields a class of ' intransitive ' verbal roots, with typical formal item exponents :

<i>andá-</i>	talk
<i>andʷá-</i>	come, go
<i>aɳá-</i>	fall down
<i>agá-</i>	laugh

whilst the other term exponences M_2 and yields a class of ' transitive ' verbal roots, with formal item exponents :

<i>gú-</i>	hit, kill
<i>yá-</i>	give
<i>gá-</i>	pick up, get
<i>ndá-</i>	spear, shoot, kick
<i>dʷš-</i>	burn, cook, make a fire

amongst others.

Element N has a single formal item exponent, which can be semantically interpreted as indicating ' action initiated and, unless otherwise indicated, completed in the past '. It has alternate phonological exponents *-ɽu-* or *-nu-* :

- (61) *yš aɳánu* I fell down
 (62) *yš yšnu* I've eaten
 (63) *ndʷág andʷáɽu* Where's he gone to ?
 (64) *lú gúɽu yargúl* He's killed [his] woman

Element P is exponenced by a morpheme class ; associated with the class is a two-term system—the first term exponences P_1 and the second P_2 . Semantically, the first term can be interpreted as having an implication of ' future time ', the second term as having an implication of ' commanding ' ; the statement of clause structure indicated selection by a ' commanding ' verbal group of a nominal group involving pronominal element *ndš* ' you '.

So that structure M_1P_1 ($i = 1$ or 2) can be interpreted in terms of ' intention '

or 'expectation', M_1P_2 in terms of simple 'commanding', M_1N in terms of completed action, M_1NP_1 in terms of action started some time ago but continuing at least up to the present, M_1NP_2 in terms of a command to continue some action, or else to join in an action others are engaged in. Phonologically, P_2 is expounded by $-g$; and P_1 by $-b$ in structures M_1P_1 and by $-\eta$ in structures M_1NP_1 . For example :

- | | | |
|------|------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (65) | <i>ké ndáb ηsnv</i> | Let's [you and me] spear him |
| (66) | <i>nds ndág yáŕil yargúl</i> | You spear the woman with the spear! |
| (67) | <i>ys ηsnv ndáru múg</i> | I speared that fellow |
| (68) | <i>nds ndáruŕug</i> | You carry on spearing! |
| (69) | <i>múgul ná ndáruŕuŕ</i> | This fellow's spearing me |

It should be noted that all the word structures given above are strictly ordered, the ordering being expounded by sequence. None of the structures of higher units are ordered; in fact, strings are sequence free between word and clause ranks, in material of the simplicity represented here.

1.10. A handful of more complex examples were elicited :

- | | | |
|------|--|-----------------------------|
| (70) | <i>nds and'ág ηŕin'v / aŕi gáruŕug</i> | You go there, and get wood! |
| | $A_{12} \quad B_{12} \quad D_{02}$ | |
| | $A_{22} \quad A_{23} \quad B_{22}$ | |

In this two-clause sentence *nds* expounds both the A_1 element in the first clause and the A_2 element in the second. Similarly :

- | | | |
|------|--|-------------------------------|
| (71) | <i>nds and'ág ηŕŕy / yargúl ndág yáŕil</i> | You go there, spear the woman |
| | $A_{12} \quad B_{12} \quad D_{02}$ | with a spear! |
| | $A_{22} \quad A_3 \quad B_{22} \quad A_{22}$ | |

where *nds* is sole exponent of the A_1 element, and part (with *yáŕil*) of the exponent of the A_2 element.¹⁰ A straightforward two-clause sentence :

- | | | |
|------|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| (72) | <i>ké arí gúb ηsnv / lú gúb línv</i> | He'll kill us if we don't kill him |
|------|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|

A more complex example :

- | | | |
|------|--------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| (73) | <i>ys and'áb ηŕndu / mbánu ηŕndu</i> | I told him I'd come (to him) |
| | $A_{11} \quad B_{11} \quad C$ | |
| | $A_{21} \quad B_{21} \quad C$ | |

The whole first clause might be looked upon as ' A_3 ' element in the *mbánu* clause; but more corroborative data would be needed before such an analysis could be put forward with confidence.

1.11. For additional illustration, amongst other clauses elicited were :

- | | | |
|------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| (74) | <i>yáŕi mbád'v</i> | [There are] no spears |
| (75) | <i>nd'íl mbád'v</i> | [There's] no food |
| (76) | <i>ys aŕŕw'áŕŕ</i> | I'm hungry |
| (77) | <i>nág nds</i> | You stand up! |

¹⁰ The exact status of *ηŕŕy* is doubtful. This 'word' occurred three times in the corpus; in (112) and in (113) *aŕi níŕ ηŕŕy gá*, with gloss 'take it over there to the east'. It may differ from *ηŕŕin'v* in implying a different order of distance ('a long way over there', rather than 'just over there', say).

(78) <i>yʃ nánun</i>	I'm standing up already
(79) <i>gurgára búg ɣínʋ</i>	Empty out the billy-can !
(80) <i>múru lím</i>	It smells good
(81) <i>ndʃ múg ɣínʋ almág</i>	You smell that beef !
(82) <i>bʃrɪl ndáb ná</i>	The emu'll kick me
(83) <i>yargúl mbúl andáruŋ</i>	Those two women are talking
(84) <i>ndʃ yáɾi dʋág</i>	You put that spear down !
(85) <i>ndʃ gág ɣínʋ yáɾi</i>	You pick that spear up !
(86) <i>yʃ gáru</i>	I have picked it up
(87) <i>lú gúg yáru dʋʃndu</i>	He gave me some water
(88) <i>yʃ gúb ɣʃnʋ yargúl</i>	I'm going to fight that woman
(89) <i>múgul ndáru ná</i>	That man just shot me
(90) <i>dayáɾil ndáru ná</i>	The horse kicked me
(91) <i>yaramánda ndáru abʃ</i>	The horse kicked grandfather
(92) <i>ndʃ ndúg amʃy</i>	Cut up the kangaroo !
(93) <i>amʃy ndúru ɣínʋ</i>	[I've] cut up that kangaroo
(94) <i>yʃ argím yʃnu gúg</i>	I've just drunk some water
(95) <i>gungág bánun</i>	The jackass is laughing
(96) <i>argídʋ argídʋ bánun</i>	Willy wagtail's singing out
(97) <i>arbáy bánun</i>	The locust is making a noise
(98) <i>lúnú lú</i>	He's dead
(99) <i>yʃ búnu</i>	I had a bathe
(100) <i>ndʃ agán / dʋʃndu</i>	You come over here, to me !

1.12. On being asked 'What's he going for ?' the informant mentioned the word *nʋʃb*, but then and at other times used *nʋʃbug* in clauses :

(101) <i>nʋʃbug andáruŋ</i>	What's [he] going for ?
(102) <i>ɣínʋ nʋʃbug</i>	What's that for ?
(103) <i>yargúl nʋʃbug adínun</i>	What's the woman crying for ?

Other clauses that cannot be placed in the grammatical description through lack of corroborative material are :

(104) <i>yʃ andʋáb gúgun</i>	I'm going down to the water
(105) <i>yʃ andʋáb albán</i>	I'm going home
(106) <i>ndʃ andʋág gúgul búg</i>	You go and have a bathe in the water !
(107) <i>gúgul búg ndʃ</i>	You bathe in the water !
(108) <i>yʃ arí búbnu / gúg muɾál</i>	I'm not going to bathe, the water's too cold
(109) <i>yʃ gúgun andʋáb búbnu / gúgul búbnu</i>	I'll go down to bathe in the water
(110) <i>yʃ lúbnu</i>	I'm going to die
(111) <i>yʃ andʋáb núbnu</i>	I'll go [there] to sleep
(112) <i>lí andʋáb ɣʃy argínbu lí</i>	Let's go there and dance

2.0. The Mbabaram language was spoken by a tribe bearing the same name, that lived at about latitude 17° 20' S, longitude 145° E. The tribal area was

bordered on the north by the Walsh River and included the present settlements of Irvinebank, Petford, and Lappa. It did not extend as far as Almaden, Mount Garnet, or Mareeba. The tribes with whom the Mbabaram seem to have had most contact were the Dyangun to the north and the Wagaman people (speaking the Agwamin language) to the east. Albert Bennett, the writer's Mbabaram informant, stated that Agwamin was most similar to Mbabaram, although in fact no language was very close to it.

In this region of north Queensland, as in most or all of Australia, each tribe's language is generally to some degree mutually intelligible with those of surrounding tribes. Mbabaram appears to have been an exception. Because of the difficulty of the language for aborigines of other tribes, the writer was told that Mbabaram people would tend to learn the neighbours' languages, rather than the other way round. Speakers of Muluridyi, Agwamin, and Dyangun languages were encountered who said they could understand Mbabaram but not speak it. Undoubtedly, the relative difficulty of the language for speakers of other languages has aided its premature near-disappearance.

Geographically, Mbabaram is seen in the map (p. 109) to be enclosed within a broken circular continuum of mutual intelligibility. Taken in order round the circle, the tribal languages are Agwamin, Dyangun, Muluridyi, Dyabugay, Yidin, Dadyan, Mamu, Dyirbal, Giramay, and Waruṅu. Each language is mutually intelligible with (at least) the ones immediately next to it; Waruṅu does not appear to be very similar to Agwamin. Mbabaram is not mutually intelligible with any of the other languages.

Thus, Mbabaram appears on the surface to be linguistically distinct from surrounding languages. This is mainly because of large phonetic and some phonological differences; grammatically, the language has quite great similarities with, for instance, Dyirbal.¹¹ On closer inspection, Mbabaram can be related fairly satisfactorily to the general linguistic pattern of the Cape York Peninsula.

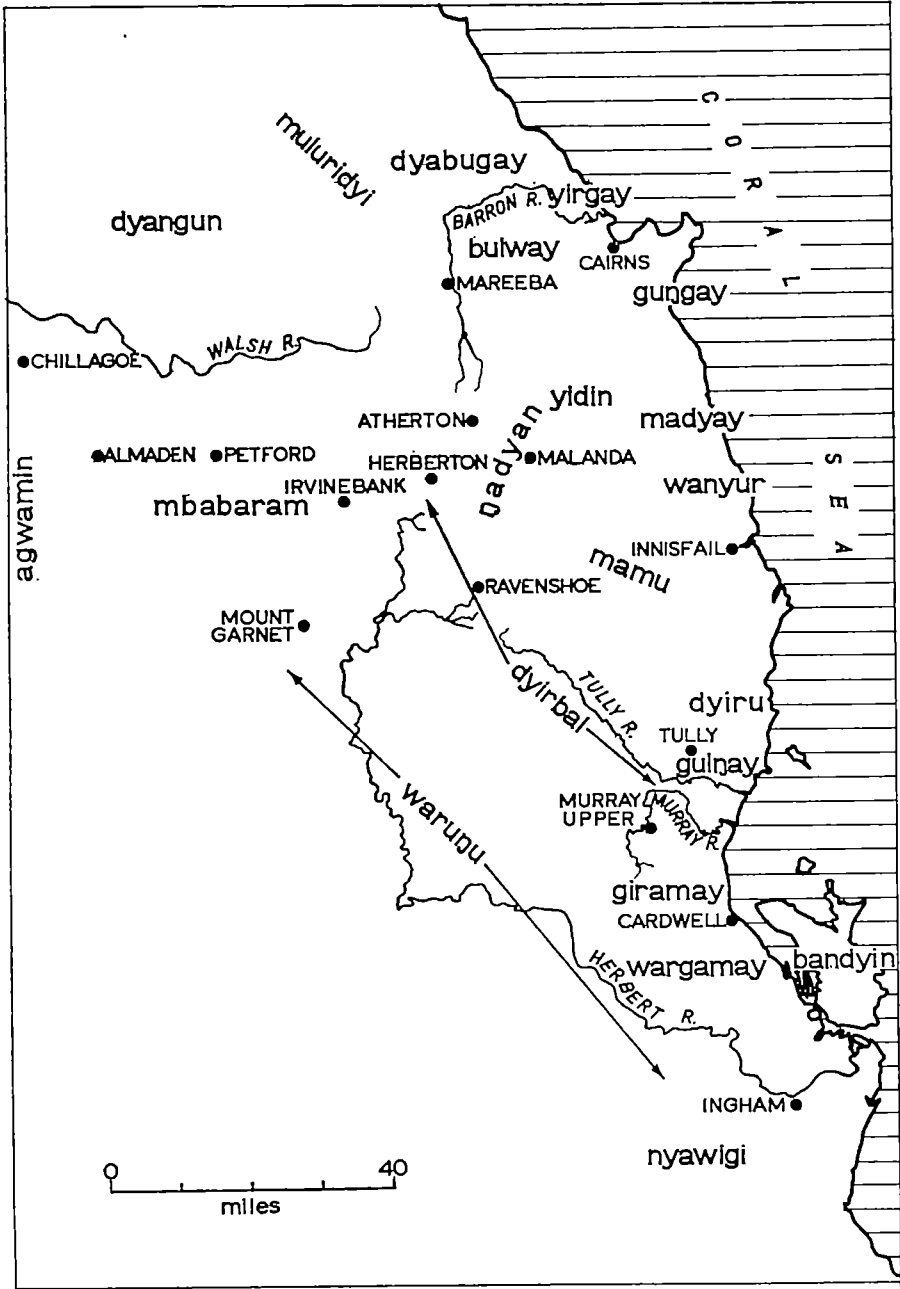
The writer is not a comparativist, and has insufficient data to attempt a systematic comparison of Mbabaram with other languages of its region. What follows should be taken in the spirit of rather random remarks indicating how Mbabaram quite certainly could be placed within the general scheme of Cape York languages.

2.1. A phonological description of Mbabaram will be published separately. This posits three structures at the rank of phonological word: ¹²

- (i) TS(Sⁿ) (ii) RS(Sⁿ) (iii) S(Sⁿ)

¹¹ Although, whereas languages from Mamu down to Dyirbal and Giramay have four noun classes, Mbabaram makes no grammatical distinctions of this sort. A grammatical comparison of Mbabaram with Dyirbal will be included in a projected full description of the Giramay, Dyirbal, and Mamu languages.

¹² This is a quite different unit from grammatical word, lexical word, and graphological or graphetic word, and is set up with regard paid mainly to purely phonological distributional considerations.



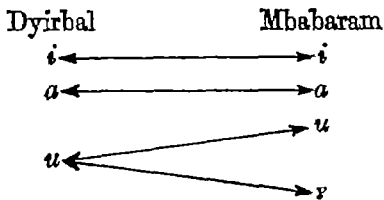
Examples of words with TS-type structures are *bigín*, *dargv̄y*, *manár*, *yawúl*, *lángal*; of RS-type are *argíd^v*, *ag^vú*, *amv̄y*, *almóv̄r*, *arwóy*, *ayí*; of S-type are *bí*, *ndúg*, *ng^vár*, *mbv̄l*, *gúg*, *wír*. Restricting ourselves to nuclear structures, conflating units of phonological word and syllable, and using C to denote consonantal phonematic unit and V for vowel phonematic unit, these three structures can be written roughly:

$$(i) C_1V_1(C_2)C_3V_2(C_4) \quad (ii) A(C_5)C_3V_2(C_4) \quad (iii) C_3V_2(C_4)$$

where each distinct structural symbol is exponentiated by a different system of phonematic units. Now in Dyirbal, and in most or perhaps all of the other surrounding languages, we have just to set up one compatible structure (in general form similar to TS):

$$(i') C_1^iV^i(C_3^i)C_3^iV^i(C_4^i)$$

Systems exponentiating correspondent elements in (i) and (i') are compatible. In Dyirbal, C_1^i is exponentiated by an 11-term system; in Mbabaram C_1 is exponentiated by a 12-term system. Moreover these two systems can, when regarded phonetically, be said to have 10 common terms (roughly: *b*, *d*, *d^v*, *g*, *m*, *n*, *n^v*, *ŋ*, *y*, *w*; the first system also has term *r*, and the second *g^w* and *l*). Similarly for the other consonantal elements. There is more difference in the vowel systems, Dyirbal (and most or all of the other languages surrounding Mbabaram) having just one three-term system, and Mbabaram a one-term system at A, a three-term system at V_1 , and one with four terms at V_2 . Orthographically, we can use *u*, *i*, *a* for the terms in the Dyirbal system, and *u*, *r*, *i*, *a* for the terms in the main Mbabaram vowel system (also using orthographic *a* for the single exponent of Mbabaram element A and *u*, *i*, *a* for the exponents of V_1). Phonetically the two systems can be identified as follows:



where the correspondences are only majority ones, since the phonetic exponents do not (and would not be likely to) coincide absolutely.¹³

2.2. Some words are effectively identical in Mbabaram and neighbouring languages:

¹³ We can usefully think of the phonetic exponent of a term in these phonological vowel systems as a 'volume' in three-dimensional phonetic space, where the dimensions are defined by 'close/open', 'front/back', 'rounded/unrounded'. Then we are saying that the *r*-volume for Mbabaram does not fall completely within the *u*-volume for Dyirbal. In fact, most of both the *u*-volume and the *r*-volume for Mbabaram fall within the *u*-volume for Dyirbal; but a small part of the *r*-volume falls within Dyirbal's *i*-volume. In each instance, the 'point' within a particular volume that is 'chosen' (i.e. that describes the articulation in this instance) is determined partly by environmental and partly by structural considerations. (Cf. Daniel Jones, *The phoneme*, Cambridge, 1962, especially pp. 92-8.)

Mbabaram <i>bárŋan</i>	Dyangun <i>bárŋan</i> (or <i>bárŋun</i> ?)	kangaroo-rat
	(Dyirbal <i>bárŋan</i>)	
Mbabaram <i>búmba</i>	Agwamin, Dyirbal <i>búmba</i>	ashes
Mbabaram <i>gurgáŋa</i>	Dyirbal <i>gúrgaŋa</i>	billy-can
	(Dyangun <i>gúrgaŋu</i> ?)	
Mbabaram <i>dayáŋi</i>	Agwamin <i>dáyáŋi</i>	horse

And Mbabaram has accepted some of the same loan-words via English as other languages of North Queensland :

Mbabaram <i>yaramán</i>	Neighbouring languages <i>yáraman</i>	horse
Mbabaram <i>miŋúlu</i>	Neighbouring languages <i>miŋulu</i>	white man

Another close correspondence is :

Mbabaram <i>wáŋgu</i>	Agwamin <i>wáŋgu</i>	small guana
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2.3. In other cases we can identify a TS-type structure in another language with either an RS-type or an S-type structure in Mbabaram. Examples of the correspondence TS to RS :

RS		TS	
Mbabaram <i>arí</i>	Dyangun, Agwamin	<i>gári</i>	no
„ <i>amí</i>	„ „	<i>gámi</i>	granny
„ <i>andʷá</i>	„ „	<i>ŋándʷan</i> ¹⁴	father
„ <i>aŋál</i>	Dyirbal	<i>wáŋal</i>	boomerang
	(Agwamin <i>wáŋara</i> ; Dyangun <i>wáŋi</i>)		
„ <i>ardʷɤ</i>	Dyangun, Agwamin	<i>gúrdʷu</i>	three

In the third example Dyangun and Agwamin have a final consonant where Mbabaram has none. In the last line *u* in the first syllable of the Dyangun/Agwamin word corresponds to initial *a* in the Mbabaram word.

Examples of the correspondence TS to S are :

S		TS	
Mbabaram <i>gá</i>	Dyangun, Agwamin	<i>nága</i>	east
„ <i>yú</i>	„ „	<i>gúyu</i>	fish
„ <i>gɤ</i>	„ „	<i>dʷúgu</i>	tree
		(Dyirbal <i>yúgu</i>)	
„ <i>ŋgɤ</i>	Dyangun, Agwamin, Dyirbal	<i>búŋgu</i>	knee
„ <i>mbúl</i>	Agwamin	<i>dʷámbul</i>	two
„ <i>ndʷá-</i>	Dyirbal	<i>wúndʷa-</i>	where
„ <i>mbá</i>	„	<i>bámba</i>	belly
„ <i>ŋgʷár</i>	Dyangun, Agwamin	<i>gúŋgar</i>	north
		(Dyirbal <i>gúŋgari</i>)	

The orthography should not be allowed to mislead. The correspondence between *yú* and *gúyu* is exactly the same as that between *gɤ* and *dʷúgu* (and that between *ardʷɤ* and *gúrdʷu* as far as the last syllables are concerned, and so on): it was mentioned above that the two terms *u* and *ɤ* in the main

¹⁴ One Agwamin informant said *ŋándʷan*, the other (now living several hundred miles away) *ŋándʷa* ; the sole Dyangun informant said *ŋándʷan*.

Mbabaram vowel system can be identified phonetically with the single term *u* in the Dyirbal system.¹⁵ Similarly, the two terms *ŋg* and *ŋg^w*, in the Mbabaram system exponents element C₃, correspond phonetically to two 'allophones' of the single term *ŋg* in the Dyirbal system exponents element C₃¹. The correspondence TS to S is thus complete in each of the first seven examples quoted above; in the eighth line there is non-correspondence between *r* and *ɾ*.¹⁶

There is one example where a longer word of structure TSSS corresponds to a Mbabaram word of structure RS :

	RS		TSSS	
Mbabaram	<i>aɾú</i>	Agwamin	<i>wáɾumugu</i>	wallaroo

2.4. A number of weaker correspondences are also worth mentioning. A TS-RS correspondence where there is vowel non-correspondence between S syllables :

Mbabaram	<i>alɥú</i>	Dyangun, Agwamin	<i>gálɥa</i>	uncle
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In other putative correspondences, an initial, single *a* syllable in Mbabaram has no correspondent in the neighbouring language :

Mbabaram	<i>aramán</i>	Dyangun, Agwamin	<i>ráman</i>	woomera	
„	<i>abú</i>	„	„	<i>búɾa</i>	ground
„	<i>abí</i>	„	„	<i>bína</i>	ear
„	<i>abá</i>	Agwamin	<i>báma</i>	body	

In the last three examples, Mbabaram has no third syllable corresponding to the second syllable of the word in the neighbouring language (we can represent the first correspondence RSS-SS, and the last three RS-SS). It may be coincidental that the final vowels in the right-hand list are identical with the initial vowels in the left-hand list.

In other cases we can establish correspondences where there is no final vowel in Mbabaram corresponding to one in a neighbouring language :

Mbabaram	<i>bíb</i>	Muluridyí	<i>bíbi</i>	breast
„	<i>gungág</i>	Dyirbal	<i>gúngaga</i>	laughing jackass
„	<i>gayámbal</i>	„	<i>gáyambula</i>	white cockatoo
„	<i>gúg</i>	Agwamin ¹⁷	<i>gúgu</i>	water

the third example also involving vowel non-correspondence.

In three instances, vowels appear to have been reversed :

¹⁵ At the level of phonology only systems can be compared, and those only through their phonetic exponents. In order to set up system-system correspondences examples should be given involving all or almost all the terms in each system, showing their correspondents in the other system (and dealing with all kinds of possible structural environment). It can be seen that here the examples given are quite inadequate for the comparisons to have full scientific validity. Similarly, grammatical comparison can only be of systems, and only through the systems' contextual and situational exponents.

¹⁶ Roughly, *r* is further forward than *ɾ*. For more detailed phonetic remarks reference should be made to the writer's forthcoming account of Dyirbal.

¹⁷ One informant gave two words for water: *gúgu* and *bána*; the other only gave *bána*. *bána* is very common, as the word for water, in languages of this area.

Mbabaram	<i>ayúr</i>	Agwamin	<i>wín̄ar</i>	sun
		(Dyangun	<i>wín̄a</i>)	
,,	<i>abír</i>	Dyangun, Agwamin	<i>d'ívar</i>	south
,,	<i>wí</i>	,,	<i>gúwa</i>	west

2.5. The examples above are all that the writer has collected. It must be realized that the data for Mbabaram are scanty, and for Dyangun, Agwamin, and Muluridyi even more so—a word list was gone through in a couple of hours solely to look for superficial word correspondences with Mbabaram. But the correspondences that have been postulated indicate that it would not be difficult fully to relate Mbabaram to the neighbouring languages in terms of phonological/lexical correspondences.

3

Tindale theorized in 1942 that in the eastern coastal and mountain region near Cairns existed 'several small tribes of a people characterized by a high incidence of relatively and absolutely small stature, crisp curly hair, and a tendency toward yellowish-brown skin colour. All of the tribes appear to be mixed in greater or lesser degree with the Australian aboriginal type, but preserve in their mixed condition characters recognizable as belonging to the Tasmanian aborigines'.¹⁸ He mentioned that 'there is a central bloc of a dozen small tribes of the Tasmanoid people occupying an area one hundred miles wide (from Cape Grafton in the east to Lappa Junction in the west) and 180 miles long (from the headwaters of the Annan River in the north to near Cardwell and Ravenshoe in the south)'.¹⁹ Tindale listed as 'Tasmanoid' the Ngatjan, Mamu, Wanjuru, Tjapukai, Barbaram, Idindji, Kongkandji, Buluwai, Djiru, Djirubal, Gulngai, and Keramai tribes. He also mentioned that 'grouped in a half-circle, and enclosing the area, except along the sea front, are other more mixed peoples, who include some pygmoids. They form a transitional type between the nucleus of Tasmanoid tribes and the more normal Australian ones',²⁰ and listed the 'transitional' tribes as Bandjin, Newegi, Agwamin, Wakaman, Muluridji, Djankun, and Irukandji. Tindale's short section on 'language' will be quoted in full.

'Comparative vocabularies indicate that, while the peripheral and intermediate zones of pygmoid peoples have languages allied to those of their taller neighbours, there is a central area where the languages appear to be nuclear and to have been strongly isolated. Barbaram seems best to represent this archaic type: Wakaman and Agwamin, which adjoin, show marked influences from the west. The northern and north-eastern Tasmanoid tribes reveal the influence of northern languages of the Koko Imudji type (Koko-yimidir of Roth). In Tjapukai, for example, the original Barbaram elements have been obscured and overlaid, surviving only in modified form.

¹⁸ N. B. Tindale and J. B. Birdsell, 'Tasmanoid tribes in North Queensland', *South Australian Museum Records*, VII, 1942, 1.

¹⁹ *ibid.*, 2.

²⁰ *ibid.*, 3.

Barbaram, which is regarded in this preliminary statement as most typical of the area of isolation, is characterized among other things by many monosyllabic words with consonantal endings: ['kan] tree, ['mok] man, ['kok] water. In words of two or more syllables, principal stress is often placed on the second syllable: [a'ro] a species of kangaroo, [a'runda] head, [a:tja] three, [n'ka:la] leg, [al'ma:k] meat, [a'bo] ground, [a'wa] mother, [m'be:ra] grass basket.

A glottal stop [ʔ] is evident in some words, and in others this is so marked that it seems to have almost the effect of a click, as in [n'gara].

Terminal vowels are often indeterminate, and the voice may be raised a tone [nd^h], [atj^h], [k^h], [k^h]. The last-named word is an example in which the terminal vowel is very short.

Short texts and grammatical notes have been obtained from two of the tribes in this area, and parallel vocabularies from each of them. They will be the subject of a more detailed separate study.²¹

In actual fact, all the languages but Mbabaram fit perfectly well into the pattern of Australian linguistics. Mbabaram has some superficial phonetic and phonological eccentricities (which made learning it difficult) but is grammatically not too unusual and, as was indicated above, can with a little dexterity easily be related to its neighbours. Mbabaram is not typical of the other 11 languages Tindale mentioned as centrally Tasmanoid, but is a little nearer Dyangu and Agwamin. Tindale's statement concerning the 'original Barbaram elements' having been overlaid and obscured in Dyabugay cannot be commented on in the absence of explicit specification of the 'original Barbaram elements'. But such a genetic-type statement, based on parallel vocabularies and texts in only two (unspecified) languages, seems a little speculative. The evidence available does not really yield any genetic judgments. If one were forced into one, it would seem far more reasonable to say that Mbabaram had in some ways diverged a little more than is usual from the common linguistic pattern of that region, but that it is still very recognizably of that region.

In fact consonantal endings are not uncommon in this area (to the south and east, non-plosive consonants often end words—only in Agwamin is it unusual to end a word in a consonant). What is unusual to Mbabaram is the presence of final stops—often glottalized (but, as in near-by languages, glottalization is a phonetic feature that is not phonologically significant). Stress peculiarity, and the presence of monosyllabic words and words beginning with a vowel, give Mbabaram most of its phonetic peculiarity. On the last two points (no surrounding language allows either) reference can be made to the TS-RS and TS-S correspondences set up in the last section. Unstressed terminal vowels in Mbabaram are often short and difficult to determine at first; similarly, in Dadyan, terminal consonants are often long—neither of these observations has any great linguistic significance.

Capell commented²² that to uphold Tindale's Tasmanoid thesis on linguistic

²¹ *ibid.*, 7; no further study has appeared in the intervening 24 years.

²² A. Capell, *A new approach to Australian linguistics* (Oceania Linguistic Monographs, No. 1), Sydney, 1962, 111.

grounds 'one or both of the following facts would have to appear—(a) that the Rain Forest languages are not Australian; (b) that they are linked with Tasmanian'. With reference to the first fact, the Rain Forest languages (Tindale's central dozen) are almost all obviously Australian. Bulway appears to have died out, and the writer could gather no material on it; the indications are that it was fairly similar to Dyabugay. Mbabaram was a little eccentric phonetically and phonologically, and was certainly not typical of the nuclear Rain Forest region: but little ingenuity is required to show that it is Australian. And, linguistically, there is little apparent reason specifically to separate out the central 'Tasmanoid' languages from the 'transitional' ones. Thus the first fact cannot be upheld.

4

The most attested 90% of the writer's Mbabaram lexicon is written out below. First, exponents of element M_1 in verbal word structure (with, for each stem, a specification of whether it selects *-ru-* or *-nu-* as exponent of element N):

<i>adí-</i> (-nu)	cry	<i>andá-</i> (-ru)	talk
<i>agá-</i> (-nu)	laugh	<i>an^vá-</i> (-nu)	stay, sit
<i>argí-</i> (-nu)	dance	<i>and^vá-</i> (-ru)	come, go
<i>almbú-</i> (-nu)	grow up	<i>añá-</i> (-nu)	fall down

Exponents of element M_2 :

<i>bá-</i> (-nu)	(bird or insect) making [a noise]	<i>mbá-</i> (-nu)	tell
<i>bú-</i> (-nu)	bathe, immerse	<i>ní-</i> (-ru)	take, bring
<i>d^vá-</i> (-ru)	put down	<i>nú-</i> (-nu-?)	sleep
<i>d^vs-</i> (-ru)	burn, cook, make a fire	<i>ndá-</i> (-ru)	shoot, spear, kick
<i>gá-</i> (-ru)	pick up, get	<i>ndú-</i> (-ru)	cut up
<i>gú-</i> (-ru)	hit, kill	<i>yá-</i> (-ru)	give
<i>mú-</i> (-ru)	smell	<i>ys-</i> (-nu)	eat (drink?)
		<i>lú-</i> (-nu)	die

In addition *ná-* (-nu-) is probably another exponent of M_1 and, even less well attested, *muñá-* (-ru-) an exponent of M_2 ; the former can be given gloss 'stand up' and the latter 'plant (?)'.

Elements K and Q include, amongst one or both of their classes of exponents:

<i>abá</i>	body	<i>albin</i>	track
<i>abál</i>	tobacco	<i>albír</i>	beard
<i>albá</i>	camp, home	<i>abú</i>	ground
<i>albán</i>	lump	<i>albí</i>	egg
<i>arbáy</i>	brown locust	<i>albud</i>	Dimbulah
<i>abí</i>	ear	<i>ab^s</i>	grandfather
<i>abír</i>	south	<i>alb^s</i>	grey

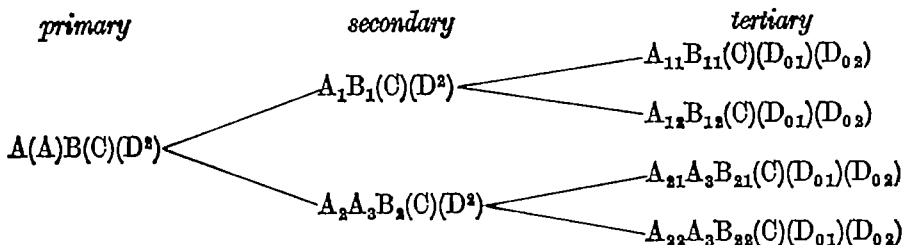
<i>albɛn</i>	a lot	<i>baybɛn</i>	tail
<i>adɪl</i>	ring-tail possum	<i>barrɛn</i>	kangaroo-rat
<i>adɪɹ</i>	sore (e.g. eye, nose, belly)	<i>balɛn</i>	moon
<i>adɪɹɪl</i>	Petford	<i>bára</i>	big
<i>ardʷɛ</i>	three	<i>bɪ</i>	liver
<i>agɪr</i>	(any) snake	<i>bɪb</i>	breast
<i>argɪdʷ</i>	willy wagtail	<i>bigɪn</i>	shield
<i>algú</i>	grass	<i>birɹil</i>	frost
<i>argúɹ</i>	emu's neck	<i>binɪŋ</i>	Boonmoo pinnacle
<i>agʷámin</i>	language spoken to the west	<i>birɹga</i>	old man
<i>algʷár</i>	sky, cloud	<i>búgɪn</i>	armpit
<i>agʷɪy</i>	smoke	<i>búm̩ba</i>	ashes
<i>agʷú</i>	black native bee	<i>búndi</i>	a kind of grass
<i>anmár</i>	sore (e.g. knee)	<i>búy</i>	ghost
<i>almág</i>	meat	<i>búl</i>	carpet-snake
<i>amí</i>	granny	<i>bɛr</i>	emu
<i>almɪn</i>	forehead, face	<i>dábu</i>	baby
<i>amɛy</i>	(any) kangaroo	<i>dargɛy</i>	wild turkey
<i>armbár</i>	bone	<i>dambú</i>	short (e.g. man)
<i>almbɛr</i>	ricket-bush	<i>dambún</i>	borer
<i>anú</i>	night	<i>dayáɹi</i>	horse
<i>anúb</i>	green	<i>dúlbu</i>	match
<i>alndá</i>	big possum	<i>dúg</i>	dog, dingo
<i>andʷá</i>	father	<i>dún</i>	stone
<i>anúl</i>	boomerang	<i>dúl</i>	son
<i>anɪ</i>	fire, wood (for fire)	<i>dʷáŋgun</i>	language spoken to the north
<i>anɹɪn</i>	black	<i>dʷáŋga</i>	black yam
<i>anúɹ</i>	sun, daytime	<i>dʷɪbú</i>	no good (e.g. man)
<i>alɹú</i>	uncle	<i>dʷɪgɛy</i>	white-tail rat
<i>anɹɹɪn</i>	leaf	<i>dʷugún</i>	creek
<i>alɹgɛ</i>	neck	<i>gá</i>	east
<i>anɹgʷáɹɪr</i>	hungry	<i>gawɪr</i>	tomahawk (i.e. hatchet)
<i>alɹgʷɪn</i>	foot	<i>gayámbal</i>	white cockatoo
<i>alɹgʷúɹi</i>	white	<i>gáɹa</i>	bread
<i>aramán</i>	woomera	<i>gáɹúg</i>	bandicoot
<i>arɪn</i>	a thin tree	<i>gáɹúl</i>	wild yam
<i>arɪb</i>	head	<i>gúg</i>	water
<i>aɹɪb</i>	close	<i>gurgáɹa</i>	billy-can
<i>aɹú</i>	wallaroo	<i>gungág</i>	laughing jackass
<i>aɹún</i>	gum tree	<i>gúr</i>	nulla nulla
<i>awá</i>	mother	<i>gɛ</i>	tree
<i>arwɛy</i>	lice	<i>gɛr</i>	elbow
<i>báybu</i>	pipe	<i>gʷándʷɪl</i>	frilly lizard

<i>g^wud^vin</i>	no good	<i>ɲaw^vɲy</i>	hot weather
<i>malgád^vɲɪʔ,</i> <i>malgár</i>	big	<i>ɲárabulgán</i>	Mount Mulligan
<i>máni</i>	stone	<i>ɲgár</i>	leg
<i>maɲár</i>	grey kangaroo	<i>ɲg^v</i>	knee, kneecap
<i>migúlu</i>	white man	<i>ɲg^wár</i>	north
<i>mír</i>	thirsty	<i>wagáy</i>	big sword
<i>mír</i>	spirit	<i>walg^vɲy</i>	brown snake
<i>múg</i>	man	<i>warmág</i>	Dyangun corroboree
<i>múga</i>	auntie	<i>walɲá</i>	teenage girl
<i>muʔál</i>	cold, cold weather	<i>wáɲgu</i>	tree-guana
<i>mbá</i>	belly	<i>wáy</i>	river sand
<i>mbábaram</i>	name of language	<i>wí</i>	mouth
<i>mbád^v</i>	none	<i>wír</i>	head-hair
<i>mbú</i>	bottom (anat.)	<i>wú</i>	west
<i>mbúl</i>	two	<i>wurgún</i>	young boy
<i>mb^vd^v</i>	frilled lizard (another name)	<i>wumbún</i>	Boonmoo pinnacle (another name)
<i>mb^vl</i>	back (anat.)	<i>wúnda</i>	not sweet
<i>nambúr</i>	big brown snake	<i>wungál</i>	tall
<i>numb^v</i>	big red wallaroo	<i>yargúl</i>	woman
<i>ɲ^vwiy</i>	larrikin	<i>yawúl</i>	blood
<i>ndám</i>	arm	<i>yaramán</i>	horse
<i>ndír</i>	chest	<i>yáɲi</i>	spear
<i>ndúy</i>	rock-wallaby	<i>yígír</i>	itchy
<i>nduyír</i>	cheeky, dangerous	<i>yú</i>	(any) fish
<i>n^vumáyig</i>	cheeky	<i>lábálába</i>	Lappa Junction
<i>n^vúlmbu</i>	small	<i>lángal</i>	a light
<i>nd^víl</i>	food (vegetables and fruit)	<i>libúr</i>	eye
<i>nd^vɲy</i>	nose	<i>lím</i>	good
		<i>lúgul</i>	a long way
		<i>lúr</i>	whip-tail kangaroo

DIAGRAMMATIC SKETCH OF THE MAIN FEATURES OF MRABARAM GRAMMAR
 ↘ is to be read 'exponences'

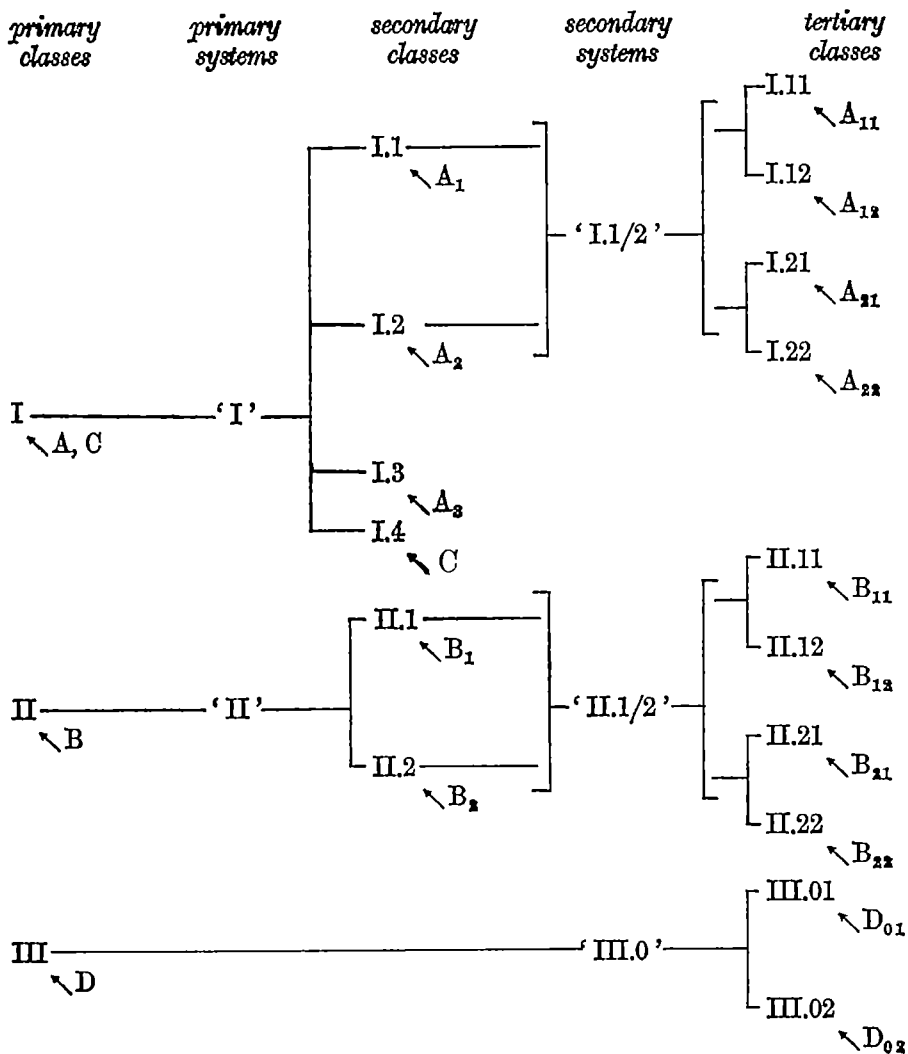
UNIT: CLAUSE

CLAUSE STRUCTURES

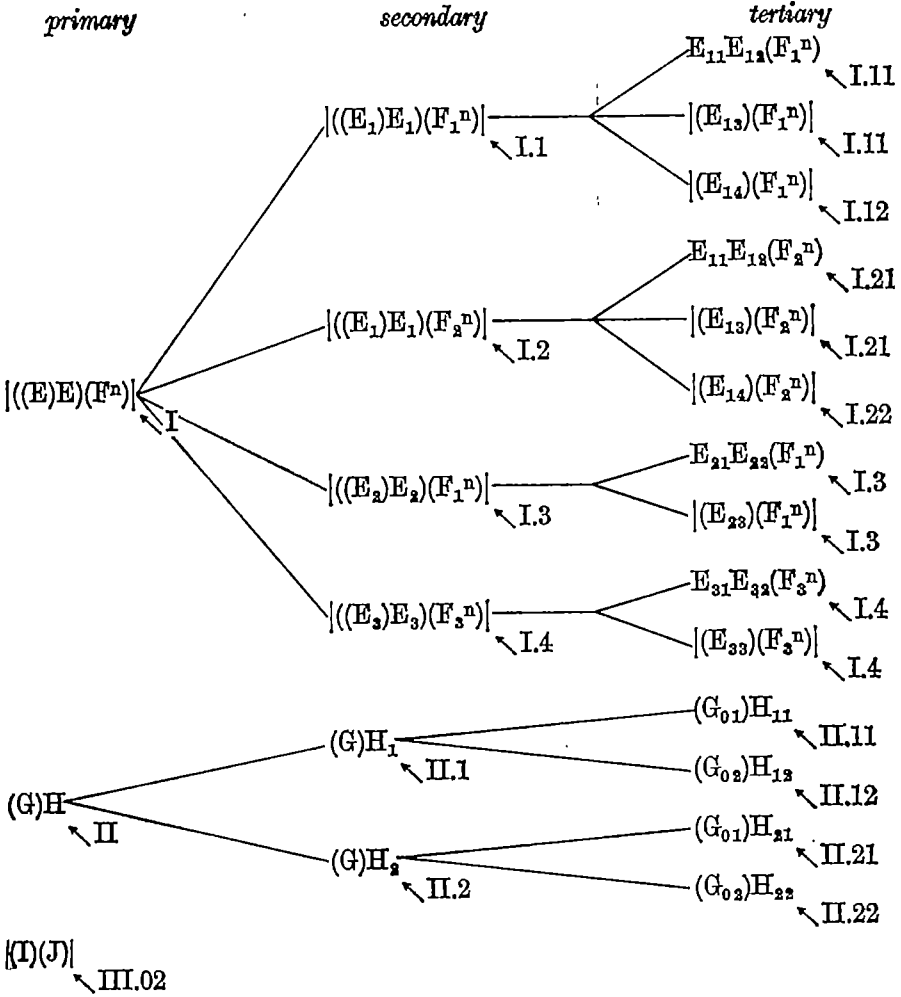


UNIT: GROUP

GROUP CLASSES AND SYSTEMS

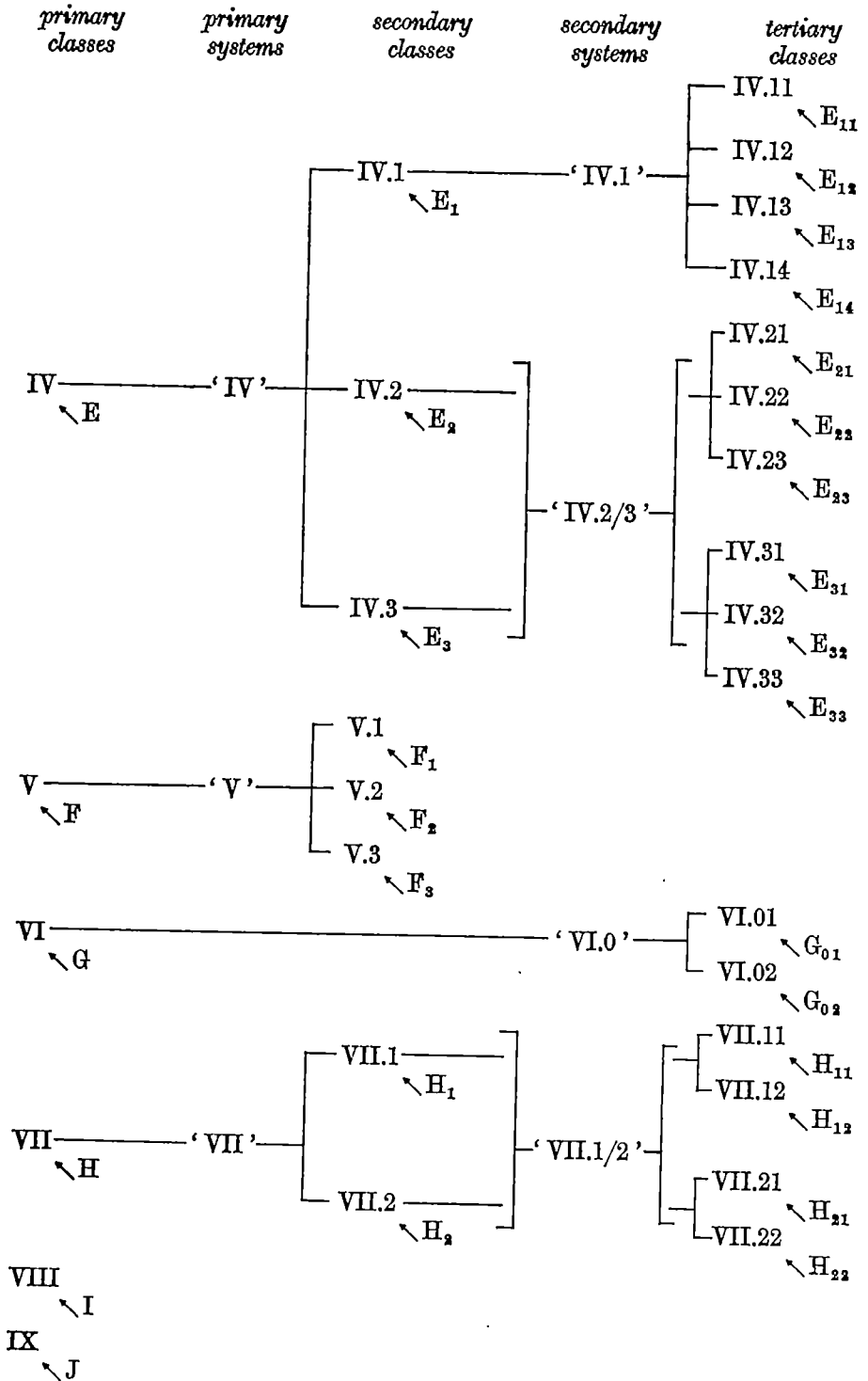


GROUP STRUCTURES

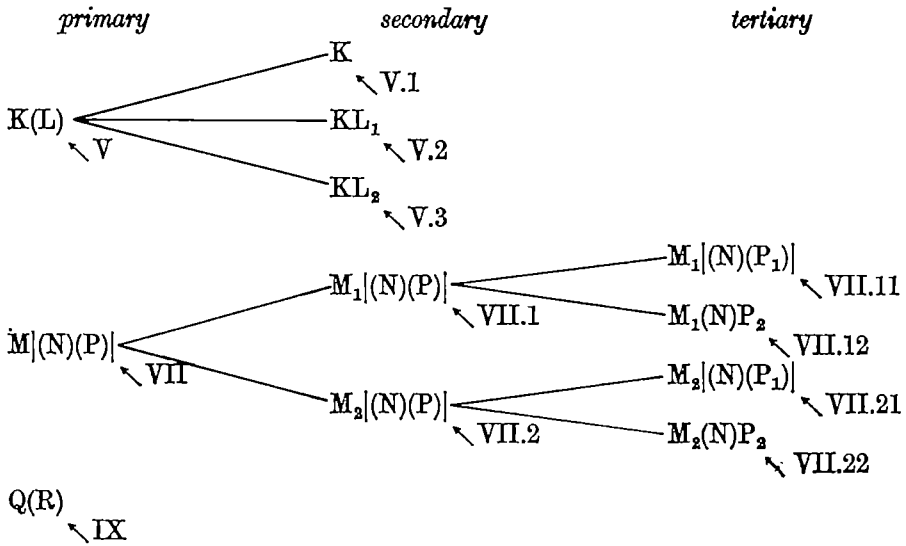


UNIT: WORD

WORD CLASSES AND SYSTEMS



WORD STRUCTURES



Graphic representation of other classes, systems, and structures (including morpheme classes and systems) can easily be provided by inspection of the data.

MATERIALS RELATING TO THE COWRY CURRENCY OF THE WESTERN SUDAN—I

A LATE NINETEENTH-CENTURY SCHEDULE OF INHERITANCE FROM KANO

By M. HISKETT

INTRODUCTION

The following schedule of an inheritance was discovered by me in 1962 when, by courtesy of the Kano Native Authority, I was carrying out a survey of manuscripts contained in the Library of the Shahuci Judicial School, Kano. In the course of my searches I unearthed from the back of a cupboard a bundle of miscellaneous papers. On examination these proved to consist largely of single folios of Arabic, Fula, and Hausa MSS displaced from their contexts. Scattered among them, however, were a number of sheets which appeared to be taxation returns; lists of booty; household accounts of the palace; fragments of prayers, *wirids*, Qur'anic charms and the like. Among them was this incomplete schedule of an estate.

The MS is written on coarse brown paper of a type common in Northern Nigeria, and bears no watermark. It is written in a large square hand typical of the Kano scribal tradition. It is, however, a fluent and not unlearned hand of a quality better than that usually associated with the *ajami* MSS of the Hausa tradition. It is written in common black vegetable ink. The text is mainly Arabic, but with numerous Hausa terms occurring throughout. These Hausa terms are rendered according to the normal practice of the *ajami* scribe. Nothing was known of the schedule or of the papers among which it was found except that they were thought to have been acquired as part of the library of the late Alkalin Kano, Malam Ibrahim, said to have died 'about twenty years ago'.

The identity of the scribe is not stated; nor is the deceased identified other than as *Madaki*, a title which is normally that of a high official of the Kano Court. The schedule is not dated. Among the other fragments found with it were several which mentioned the names of the Emirs of Kano Abdullahi (1854–81); Muhamman Bello (1881–92); Tukur (1892–3) and Aliyu (1893–1903). Thus, although it is not possible to date the schedule precisely, it is clear that it relates to the last half of the nineteenth century.

It seemed to me that this document contained a great deal of detailed information on cowry prices, and that it was therefore of value as a source of reference for the economic history of the period with which it was concerned. It also contains a list of textiles, imported and local, which will be of interest to Hausaists and historians alike. Finally, it provides information on the method of accounting in a cowry currency.

In the course of preparing this MS for publication I became impressed with the importance of the cowry in the economic and cultural history of our area. I thus decided to attempt to present the *Madaki's* very substantial estate within the whole historical context of the cowry in the Sahara and the Western Sudan, and to examine those theories which have hitherto been advanced concerning its provenance. The text and translation of the MS are given here; 'Reflections on the provenance and diffusion of the cowry in the Sahara and the Sudan' will appear in 'Materials relating to the cowry currency of the Western Sudan—II', *BSOAS*, xxix, 2, 1966.

TEXT

الحمد لله الحسيب الحفيظ f. 1
الوارث من في الارض و [ال] سماء
فهذا تقييد متروك مداكى
من الخدام . . . وغيرهم وقيمتهم¹
والتواريث على الشريعة المحمدية
الاول من الخدام
عفيرو . . . فقيمتها² مائة وخمسون الفا
حببية . . . مائة وستون الفا
اسيرى . . . مائة وستون الفا
غنب . . . مائة وستون الفا
ارمكلى . . . مائة وستون الفا
ان . . . مائة وعشرون الفا
واكابودى . . . ستون الفا
غارى . . . ثمانون الفا f. 2
اركت . . . ثمانون الفا
زينب . . . مائة وعشرون الفا
الددى . . . مائة الف

¹ *Sic*, read قيمتهم. It is apparent that this MS is a scribe's jottings, for his own use and not for public display. There are a few gross errors which I have corrected as indicated. There are in addition, as one might expect in a text where Arabic and Hausa are mixed, certain minor inconsistencies, such as for instance in the agreement of Arabic adjectives with Hausa words and loan-words. I have not attempted to correct these, but have left the MS as the scribe wrote it. I have also preserved his layout as far as the exigencies of printing permit, together with certain idiosyncratic spellings of a type common among the *ajami* scribes.

² *Sic*, read قيمتها.

- ارزقى . . . اربعون الفا
 حبيبة اخرى . . . مائة الف
 غودى . . . ستون الفا
 ارزقى اخرى . . . اربعون الفا
 عيسى . . . مائة وخمسون الفا
 اتيجم . . . ثمانون الفا
 حاجرى . . . ستون الفا
 فنت . . . اربعون الفا
 ان فان . . . اربعون الفا
 روك . . . مع بنتها زينب مائة وخمسون الفا f. 3
 نغم د سو . . . مائة الف
 كر . . . مائة الف
 ميسكاى . . . ثمانون الفا
 ميرو . . . مائة وعشرون الفا⁸
 غودى اخرى . . . ستون الفا
 ترا . . . مع ابنتها ميمونة مائة وخمسون الفا

فجملة ثمن الاماء مائة واحد واربعون
 حصيرا

-
- عبد الله . . . ثمانون الفا
 سوب . . . مائة الف
 كب . . . سبعون الفا
 موسى . . . مائة الف
 سلى . . . مائة الف
 ساعى . . . ثمانون الفا f. 4
 سعيد . . . ستون الفا
 بكر . . . مائة الف
 احمد . . . ثمانون الفا
 دت . . . اربعون الفا
 مئد . . . مائة الف

⁸ A marginal insertion : طاد مائة الف .

ماسو . . . سبعون الفا

جاعى . . . مائة الف

مادغو . . . ثمانون الفا

نومو . . . مائة الف

ملا . . . ثمانون الفا

فجلمة ثمن العبيد سبعة وستون حصيرا

f. 5 فهذا ذكر قيمة الماشية

ست بقرات ذوات اولاد . . . قيمتهم ستمائة الف

ست بقرات . . . ثلاثمائة الف

ثلاث بقرات . . . خمسون الفا

اثننا بقرة . . . سبعمائة الف

ثمانية من الثور . . . اربعمائة الف

خمسة من الثور . . . مائة الف

عجل . . . على عشرة الاف

فرس . . . اكل ستون الفا

ثلاثة افراس . . . مائة وعشرون الفا

احد عشر كبشا . . . على اربعين الفا

سته من المعز . . . على خمسة عشر الفا

فالجملة مائة وثمانية احصر

f. 6 فرسان . . . مائة الف

فرس . . . اربعون الفا

سرج طلح مع لبد وجرناو ثمانون الفا

بغريى عشرون الفا

لجام مع بموى احد عشر الفا

طلح اخرى عشرون الاف

طلح اخرى ثلاثه الاف

سرج التوارك بخمسة الاف

البعير . . . مائة الف

فالجملة ثلاثون حصيرا وثمانية الاف

f. 7 فهذا ذكر قيمة المتروك . . . فى يوم السبت

قيصان اسودان مع غفت على خمسة وعشرون الفا

سروال سامندادو . . . خمسة عشر الفا

بنونو اثنان مع طنليلي سبعة عشر الفا

قبيص اسود (عارى) مع واوا . . . ثمانية الاف
 مائة واثنان وتسعون ريالا على ثلاثمائة الف واربعة وثمانون الفا
 اجناس الاوقية . . . خالية على الف
 ولور ثلاثة الاف

غركى ساكى اثنان . . . وجركى طامى . . . تسعون الفا
 احد عشر غارر عادة . . . خمسة وخمسون الفا
 كلاسمد مع تنجمه . . . عشرون الفا
 برغ ابيض وجوه . . . عشرة الاف

f. 8 غازر سبع بيض وثلاث سود . . . خمسة وخمسون الفا
 كورى . . . عشرة الاف . . . صندوق . . . على الف
 ليني . . . مع جملة ما فيه على الف
 بندغ اثنان على عشرة الاف

جبه اسود . . . مع برونوس القلس وكاكت ابيض عشرون الفا
 برمة العسل على النى ودعة . . . صندوقان اربعة الاف
 برمة العسل الكمل على عشرة الاف

ثلاث من برمة العسل غير الكمل . . . على النى ودعة
 ثمانية حصائر . . . من دخن ثمانية الاف
 الارز . . . ظهر الحمير خمسة عشرون الفا

ثلاثة حصائر من الارز . . . على ثلاثة الاف
 ووجد احد وعشرون حصيرا . . . فى البيت

فالجملة ستون حصيرا وستة

الف واربعمأة وسبعون ودعة

اثنا عشر الفا واربعمأة وسبعون ودعة
 ثمن البس

f. 9 قيمة ذكر الاثواب . . . وغيره . . . الاول القرعان . . . عشرون الفا

سروال ملنى اسود . . . عشرة الاف

سروال سامزادو عشرة الاف

سروال سامزادو عشرة الاف

سروال كاتف اربعون الفا سروال ساكى عشرة الاف

سروال ابيض . . . عشرة الاف

سروال اصفر خمسة الاف سروال يامن بخمسة الاف

- سروال احمر خمسة الاف
 سروال . . . النى ودعة سامزادو
 سروال . . . عشرة الاف اى اسود
 سروال دوم . . . عشرون الفا
 قميص غارى ساكى عشرون الفا
 سروال اطلس . . . اصفر باربعين الفا
 غركى سامزادو . . . عشرون الفا f. 10
 غركى ذى القراب ثلاثون الفا
 كاكت ساكى عشرة الاف
 غركى سامزادو عشرون الفا
 غركى ساكى . . . ستون الفا
 قميص يامن عشرون الفا
 قميص غارى اسود عشرون الفا
 قميص غارى سوداء عشرون الفا
 غركى كرمى . . . عشرون الفا
 غركى سامزادو . . . عشرون الفا
 قميص اطلس اصفر . . . ثمانون الفا⁴
 غارى زابك عشرون الفا
 غركى شاتا . . . ثلاثون الفا
 غركى ننى . . . ابيض اربعون الفا⁵ f. 11
 قميص اطلس محلوپ باحمر . . . ثمانون الفا
 غركى ننى ابيض . . . ثلاثون الفا
 غاكي . . . بلسم خمسة عشر الفا
 غارى . . . ابيض عشرة الاف
 غركى ننى ثلاثة بتسعين الفا
 غركى ساكى . . . اربعون الفا
 بزوس شونى نصف لباس عشرة الاف

⁴ A marginal insertion : غارى ساكى بعشرين الفا .

⁵ An extensive marginal insertion : قميصان غارن ننى ساكى مع غارى بستين الفا : غارن اثنتان عشرة الاف

اربع من غارن بلم اخرى بنى ثمانون الفا

- برنوس احمر عشرون الفا⁶
 برنوس السبت خمسون الفا
 برنوس حمراء خمسون الفا
 برنوس اصفر . . . ثلاثون الفا
 برنوس . . . حمراء اربعون الفا
 f. 12 برنوس . . . حمراء اربعون الفا مع غد بالفى ودعة
 جراش . . . عشرون الفا
 برنوس اسود . . . ثلاثون الفا
 برنوس اسود عشرون الفا
 برنوس اصفر . . . عشرون الفا
 جبة شوى . . . عشرة الاف
 جبة صفراء اربعون الفا
 جوه حمراء خمسة الاف
 غارى ننى ذات الغس . . . ثلاثون الفا
 غارى عادة ستة بثلاثين الفا . . . مع الكنلى بالفى ودعة
 برنوس شوى مزينة بنحاس بشانين الفا
 f. 13 بكن زنى . . . خمسة الاف
 مبرد وحص اثنان باحد عشر الفا⁷
 مقطعان من الذوات ثلاثون الفا
 فراش فيها تصوير الذيب عشرة الاف
 برغن اثنان الصغير والكبير خمسة وثلاثون الفا
 برغن ثلاث باثنى عشر الفا
 لور . . . خمسة الاف
 جاول والعل وبقية الحلاوة . . . بالف ودعة
 مقطعان من اكوط عشرون الفا
 جبه . . . حمراء عشرة الاف
 ثلاث سراويل حمر بستين الفا
 برقعان مع قطعة اطلس اثنان وعشرون الفا

⁶ A marginal insertion : برنوس ابيض عشرون الفا .

⁷ A marginal insertion : حص اخرى بثلاثة الاف .

- f. 14 قتيّف اربع بشانين الفا
 كليسى اثنان مع مربوطهما احد واربعون الفا
 ثلاث من زنو آخر ساكى ثمانية الاف
 غركى النوات عشرون الفا
 ثلاث من زنو ساكى بخمسة⁸
 زنو ثلاث طنليلى تسعة الاف
 مقاطيع سندن خمسة بالف ودعة
 شونى ورور . . اربعون عقيدة بخمسة الاف
 كاكب . . بخمسة الاف
 جاول مع العلى . . بثلاثة الاف
 دتقى ساكى . . دتقى ابيض . . دتقى شونى بستة الاف
 ثلاثة عشرة قلنسوة درى . . اربعون الفا
- f. 15 محالط روم . . بخمسة وعشرون الفا
 خمس من تابوت الحلاوة بخمسة الاف
 لبة سكر مع حلاوة وعنب . . وثت . . ثمانية الاف
 ستة من مثقال جيد مع حولا بستة الاف وخمسة
 ساكى مع غند . . بثلاثة الاف
 ملحف مطرز باحمر . . بالنى ودعة⁹
 اربع لبنات . . اثنا عشر الفا
 غد مع لور بثلاثة الاف مع قيص بالف ودعة
 اكغار مع النعل بثلاثة الاف . . وصابون بخمسة
 بلم . . خمسة عشر الفا وعمام بخمسة الاف
 اربع قمصاء سود . . على اربعين الفا
 التمر مع العلى بالف ودعة
- f. 16 بوكى . . عشرة الاف
 بنذ فى وعاء على النى ودعة
 حلاو . . مع سكر وجاول بثلاثة الاف
 لابوجى ثمانية عشر مع طنبول بثلاثة الاف

⁸ A marginal insertion : واور بالنى ودعة.

⁹ A marginal insertion : مثقال الورد بالنى ودعة اربع مثقال اربعة الاف ثم اخرباف.

- حلاو . . . ثلاثة ابطال بتسعة الاف
 ابيض الحرير خمسون عقيدة مع سن الجراد . . . ثلاثة الاف
 خمس ريال . . . خمسة وعشرون الفا
 تركدى كرمى على النى ودعة
 ثلاث مئاقيل الورد . . . بثلاثة الاف
 جملة الاوقية خلية غيرها بالنى ودعة
 تاناك اثنان . . . بخمسة ودعة
 منو العسل عشرة الاف ودعة
 ابالة الرصاص مع وقية بالف ودعة¹⁰
 f. 17 دردوم . . . بالنى ودعة
 زغ سرج مع لبدو وكيمى . . . عشرة الاف
 شاشمى ستة مئاقيل على ستة الاف
 الورد اربعة مئاقيل على اربعة الاف
 الورد الصغير عشرة مئاقيل عشرة الاف
 تاناك و وقية خالية مع وقتين بالف ودعة¹¹
 سفران من كتاب البخار . . . مع دلائل
 اشفاء سفران . . . مع جزء اشفاء
 الاول مختصر مع الرسالة . . . على ثمانية الاف
 عشرة من ريال . . . على اربعين الفا
 غركى طامى . . . عشرون الفا
 غركى ساكى . . . عشرون الفا
 غارى نقى نصف لباس عشرة الاف
 f. 18 قيص شد . . . بعشرين الفا
 غركى نقى بعشرين الفا
 تغو سامدادو . . . خمسة الاف
 تغو اطلس بعشرة الاف
 غارى ساكى الحرير . . . عشرة الاف
 قيص اطلس ابيض . . . خمسة عشر الفا

¹⁰ A marginal insertion : السبت بالف .

¹¹ A marginal insertion : ووقية لونت .

كفت اطلس احمر بعشرة الاف
 سروال شدّ . . عشرة الاف براغى شد
 تركد دّ امس محتلط ببيض وسود عشرة الاف
 برنوس احمر . . ثمانون الفا
 برنوس صفراء ثمانون الفا
 برنوس شونى ثمانون الفا
 f. 19 برنوس . . سوداء بثلاثين الفا
 كاكث ابيض . . ثلاثون الفا
 غارر اسود . . عشرون الفا
 لور اثنان عشرة الاف
 خمسة عمائم . . خمسة عشر الفا
 وآخران نصف لباس ثلاثة الاف
 وآخران . . آخر اسود خمسة الاف
 آخر اسود بخمسة الاف
 قطعتان قرفى اكال والنوات . . ثلاثة الاف
 مقطعان سامدادو . . خمسة عشر الفا
 بنونو ثلاث . . بثلاثين الفا
 تركدى بثلاثة الاف
 كسكس اثنان اربعة عشر الفا
 f. 20 فجملة المجموع خمسمائة
 وتسعة وتسعون حصيرا
 وللميت ورثة ذكران وثلاث
 اناث اسماء الذكرين محمد
 وعبد القادر واسماء الاناث
 رقية رابعة خديجة
 ثم اخرج الاجرة تسعة¹² وستون حصيرا
 فالباقي خمسمائة واحد وثلاثون حصيرا
 موزعة بين الذكرين وثلاث بنات
 فورث كل واحد من الذكرين

¹² A marginal insertion under what appears to be a mark of insertion : غير النى ودعة .

مأة¹³ وخمسين حصيرا والفا ومامان
 وست وثمانين ودعة
 f. 21 و ورثت كل واحدة من ثلاث بنات
 سبعة وسبعين حصيرا والفا ومأة وثلاثة واربعين ودعة

TRANSLATION

- f. 1 Praise be to God, the Noble, the Preserver, He who becomes the Heir to all who are in the earth and heaven. This is the account of the estate of Madākī, of domestic servants and other property, and the value thereof, and the designating of heirs, according to the Muḥammadan *sharī'a*.

Firstly, domestic servants,

'Afiruwa : her value is one hundred and fifty thousand

Ḥabībah : one hundred and sixty thousand

Asīrī : one hundred and sixty thousand

Ḡhanbu : one hundred and sixty thousand

Irmakullā : one hundred and sixty thousand

Inna : one hundred and twenty thousand

Wakābūday : sixty thousand

- f. 2 Ḡhārī : eighty thousand

Irkutu : eighty thousand

Zaynab : one hundred and twenty thousand

Alladadī : one hundred thousand

Arzuqī : forty thousand

Another Habībah : one hundred thousand

Ḡhūday : sixty thousand

Another Arzuqī : forty thousand

'Aysā : one hundred and fifty thousand

Atījam : eighty thousand

Ḥājarā : sixty thousand

Fanta : forty thousand

Anfāna : forty thousand

- f. 3 Rūka,¹⁴ together with her daughter Zaynab : one hundred and fifty thousand

¹³ A word is here entirely blocked out, and under a mark of insertion in the margin appears :
 واربعة.

¹⁴ The full form of this name is 'NaroKa'. The custom of giving slaves these obliquely allusive names is known in Hausa as *habaici* 'innuendo'. The master calls the slave by name, in this case 'NaroKa' (*Na roka* 'I beseech') and the slave caps her name with her reply, in this case *Allah ya ba ni* 'May God grant me'. Sometimes the intention is simply a pious one, to bring good fortune to the household. Sometimes, however, it is employed as a means of confounding enemies and evil-wishers, as in n. 16. and 16, below, and p. 133, n. 18.

Nufimmudasū¹⁵ : one hundred thousand

Kuru : one hundred thousand

Maysukāyi¹⁶ : eighty thousand

Mayrū : one hundred and twenty thousand¹⁷

Another Ghūday : sixty thousand

Tarā, together with her daughter Maymūnah : one hundred and fifty thousand. And the total of the price of the female servants is one hundred and forty-one mats.

'Abdullāh : eighty thousand

Sūba : one hundred thousand

Kibu : seventy thousand

Mūsa : one hundred thousand

Sulay : one hundred thousand

f. 4 Sā'ayyi¹⁸ : eighty thousand

Sa'id : sixty thousand

Bukar : one hundred thousand

Aḥmad : eighty thousand

Dati : forty thousand

Mathhidu : one hundred thousand

Māsaw : seventy thousand

Jā'ay : one hundred thousand

Mādughū : eighty thousand

Nawmaw : one hundred thousand

Malā : eighty thousand. And the total of the price of the male servants is sixty-seven mats.

f. 5 And this is the record of the value of the quadrupeds

Six cows with calves : value six hundred thousand

Six cows : three hundred thousand

Three cows : fifty thousand

Two cows : seven hundred thousand

Eight bulls : four hundred thousand

Five bulls : one hundred thousand

A calf : at ten thousand

An *akawal*¹⁹ horse : sixty thousand

Three horses : one hundred and twenty thousand

Eleven rams : at forty-four thousand

¹⁵ *Nufimmu da su* 'Our intention towards them' (i.e. the master's enemies and rivals), to which the slave replies *Anniya ta gari* 'The intention is good'.

¹⁶ *Me sūka yi?* 'What have they done?' The slave replies *Ba su yi dad'i ba* 'They have not done good'.

¹⁷ A marginal insertion: *Tsada* : one thousand.

¹⁸ *Sa a yi* 'Cause one to do', to which the slave replies *Ba don su so ba* 'Not so that they may like it!'

¹⁹ A breed of black horse.

Six goats : at fifteen thousand. And the total is one hundred and eight mats.

- f. 6 Two horses : one hundred thousand
 One horse : forty thousand
*Talaha*²⁰ saddle with *lifidi*²¹ and *jirnavi*²² stirrup : eighty thousand
*Bagariye*²³ saddle : twenty thousand
 Bridle with *bammomi*²⁴ : eleven thousand
 Another *talaha* saddle : ten thousand
 Another *talaha* saddle : three thousand
 Toureg saddle : five thousand
 The camel : one hundred thousand. And the total is thirty mats and eight thousand cowries.
- f. 7 This is the record of the value of the inheritance on Saturday :
 Two black gowns with *gifto*²⁵ : at twenty-five thousand
 Trousers in *samazadawa*²⁶ patterned stuff : fifteen thousand
 Two *bunu*²⁷ cloths with some *dantele*²⁸ cloth : seventeen thousand
 Black *gare*²⁹ gown with *wawa*³⁰ : eight thousand
 One hundred and ninety-two dollars : at three hundred thousand and eighty-four thousand
 Various perfume phials, empty : one hundred thousand
 Three *luru*³¹ cloths : one thousand.
 Two *girke*³² gowns of *saki*³³ material, and one *girke* gown of *tsamiya*³⁴ cloth : ninety thousand
 Eleven ordinary *garura*³⁵ caps : fifty-five thousand
 A *kilasamadu*³⁶ with *tinjima*³⁷ : twenty thousand
 A white blanket and a *jauha*³⁸ gown : ten thousand

²⁰ A North African decorated saddle.

²¹ Arabic *libd*. Felt covering to protect horse in battle.

²² An alternative form of *zirnavi*, a flat iron stirrup.

²³ A Bornu saddle with a curvedommel.

²⁴ White metal ornaments for a harness.

²⁵ An alternative form of *gyawto*, a type of woman's cloth.

²⁶ A type of cloth with linear pattern.

²⁷ A woman's cloth of black and blue pattern.

²⁸ Cloth made up of *gwanda* and *saki* material.

²⁹ A type of gown.

³⁰ A type of black cloth for covering the head and shoulders.

³¹ Black and white striped cloth.

³² A type of gown.

³³ Cotton material with a black and blue check pattern.

³⁴ Locally made white silk produced from the worms which feed on the tamarind (*tsamiya*) tree.

³⁵ A type of cap which Abraham (*Dictionary*, s.v.) describes as 'cap of imported cotton material with pattern bitten in by Hausas'.

³⁶ A bit strap.

³⁷ This may be an alternative form of *binjima*—a sleeveless shirt. Malam Isa Kurawa thinks it is a type of *jatala*—embroidered saddle-cover.

³⁸ Described by Abraham (op. cit.) as 'Close-fitting, thick gown with wide tinsel-adorned sleeves'.

- f. 8 *Garura* caps : seven white and three black : fifty-five thousand
*Kore*³⁹ gown : ten thousand ; a box at one thousand
 A *lefe*⁴⁰ basket with contents : at one thousand
 Two muskets : at ten thousand
 A *jibba*⁴¹ gown with *barnūs al-qals*,⁴² and a white *kacakuata*⁴³ gown :
 twenty thousand
 A stone pot of honey at two thousand cowries : two boxes, four thousand
 A stone pot of honey in fine condition at ten thousand
 Three pots of spoiled honey : at two thousand cowries
 Eight mats of millet : eight thousand
 Rice : five donkey-loads : twenty thousand
 Three mats of rice : at three thousand. And there are twenty-one mats in
 the house : twelve thousand, four hundred and seventy cowries.
 And the total is sixty mats and six thousand, four hundred and seventy
 cowries.

The price of the garments

- f. 9 Value of the schedule of the garments and other things : the first the
 Qur'ān : twenty thousand
 Trousers of black *mulufi*⁴⁴ material : ten thousand
 Trousers of *samazadawa* patterned cloth : ten thousand
 Trousers of *samazadawa* patterned cloth : ten thousand
*Kātif*⁴⁵ trousers : forty thousand : trousers of *saki* material : ten
 thousand
 White trousers : ten thousand
 Yellow trousers : five thousand : trousers of *yaminu*⁴⁶ stuff : five
 thousand
 Red trousers : five thousand
 Trousers : two thousand cowries—*samazadawa* patterned stuff
 Trousers : ten thousand—that is, black
*Duma*⁴⁷ trousers : twenty thousand
Gare shirt of *saki* material : twenty thousand
 Yellow satin trousers : at forty thousand
- f. 10 *Girke* gown of *samazadawa* patterned stuff : twenty thousand
Girke gown of the same stuff : thirty thousand .

³⁹ An indigo-dyed gown.

⁴⁰ A basket woven of palm fronds.

⁴¹ Abraham gives this as ' type of sleeveless gown '. In fact, however, it is the Arabic *jubbah* which is a gown for the upper part of the body with very full sleeves.

⁴² A *barnūs* (burnous) is a type of long flowing mantle worn by the Arabs ; *al-qals* I cannot identify, but think it to be a type of felt.

⁴³ A type of gown with a neck opening, lined sleeves, and a wide skirt.

⁴⁴ A kind of flannel or serge.

⁴⁵ The word *katifa* means mattress, in Hausa, and the root *k.t.f.* means ' broad ' in Arabic. This is clearly a reference to some kind of trouser material, but I have not been able to trace it.

⁴⁶ Yemeni stuff—yellow striped material from the Yemen. Cf. Arabic *yummaḥ*.

⁴⁷ This is clearly a type of material, but I have not been able to trace it.

- Kwakwata* gown of *saki* material : ten thousand
Girke gown of *samazadawa* patterned stuff : twenty thousand
Girke gown of *saki* material : sixty thousand
 Gown of *yaminu* stuff : twenty thousand
 Black *gare* gown : twenty thousand
 Black *gare* gown : twenty thousand
Kurmī ⁴⁸ *girke* gown : twenty thousand
Girke of *samazadawa* patterned stuff : twenty thousand
 Yellow velvet gown : eighty thousand ⁴⁹
Gare of *zabako* ⁵⁰ cloth : twenty thousand
Girke in *shata* ⁵¹ material : thirty thousand
 f. 11 White Nupe *girke* : forty thousand ⁵²
 Velvet gown shot with red : eighty thousand
 White Nupe *girke* : thirty thousand ⁵³
Gare of *bullam* ⁵⁴ : fifteen thousand
 White *gare* : ten thousand
 Three Nupe *gare* gowns : ninety thousand
Gare of *saki* material : forty thousand
Barnūs of indigo dyed stuff, part made-up : ten thousand
 Red *barnūs* : twenty thousand ⁵⁵
 A *barnūs* of *al-s.b.t.* ⁵⁶ : fifty thousand
 A red *barnūs* : fifty thousand
 A yellow *barnūs* : thirty thousand
 f. 12 A red *barnūs* : forty thousand
 A red *barnūs* : forty thousand : with *gicado* ⁵⁷ : at two thousand
 Mattress : twenty thousand

⁴⁸ The Hausa word *kurmī* means 'thickly-wooded country, thicket', etc., and *Kurmī* is the title of the Chief Prison Warder. I have not been able to trace this as a type of gown.

⁴⁹ Marginal insertion : *Gare* of *saki* material : twenty thousand.

⁵⁰ A poor type of cloth, resembling *saki*.

⁵¹ A cloth of open-work weave.

⁵² An extensive marginal insertion : Nupe *garuma* gown of *saki* material with *gare* : at sixty thousand. Two *garuma* (gowns ?) : ten thousand. Four *garuma* (gowns ?) with another *bullam* of Nupe stuff : eighty thousand.

⁵³ Dr. A. D. H. Bivar has kindly shown me a fine Maghribī MS of *Itqān wa 'l-ahkam fi tuhfat al-huktām*, copied in A.H. 1070, and belonging to the Emir of Yauri's collection, which bears the following note of sale in a typical *jihādī* hand recorded at the end of it :

شري فقضا فقضاه بقميص ابيض نوفي المشتري بثلاثين الفا

'The one sold it, and the other bought it, and he paid for it with a white Nupe gown which had been purchased for thirty thousand (cowries)'.
 It thus appears that 30,000 was a standard price for this article.

⁵⁴ Locally woven material made up into narrow strips.

⁵⁵ Marginal insertion : A white *barnūs* : twenty thousand.

⁵⁶ I have been quite unable to trace the meaning of this word. I cannot find it in Hausa. In Arabic it of course means 'the Sabbath', 'Saturday', and it has many other meanings none of which, however, appear to fit here, except possibly *al-sibi* 'tanned hide'. But this seems an unlikely material out of which to make a burnous.

⁵⁷ A type of locally woven cloth resembling *banu*.

- A black *barnūs* : thirty thousand
 A black *barnūs* : twenty thousand
 A yellow *barnūs* : twenty thousand
Jibba gown of indigo dyed stuff : ten thousand
 A yellow *jibba* gown : forty thousand
 A red *jaruha* gown : five thousand
 Nupe *gare* gown of *algasa* ⁵⁸ stuff : thirty thousand
 Six ordinary *garura* ⁵⁹ caps : at thirty thousand, with *arkilla* ⁶⁰ cloth :
 two thousand cowries
 A *barnūs* in indigo dyed stuff decorated with copper wire : eighty
 thousand cowries
- f. 13 Black *zane* ⁶¹ cloth : five thousand
 Two *mubarad* ⁶² turbans and *hassa* ⁶³ turban : at eleven thousand ⁶⁴
 Two pieces of *zawwati* ⁶⁵ calico : thirty thousand
 A carpet in which is the representation of a wolf : ten thousand
 Two blankets, one small, one large : thirty-five thousand
 Three blankets : at twelve thousand
Luru stuff : five thousand
 Gum resin, jasmine, and the remainder of the sweetmeats : one thousand
 cowries
 Two pieces of *akoko* ⁶⁶ stuff : twenty thousand
 A red *jibba* gown : ten thousand
 Three pairs of red trousers : at sixty thousand
 Two face veils with a piece of velvet : twenty-two thousand
- f. 14 Four mattresses : at eighty thousand
 Two *kalishi* ⁶⁷ rugs with their cords : forty-one thousand
 Three body-cloths of *zane* material ; another of *saki* : eighty thousand

⁵⁸ Described by Abraham as a bridal gown, but apparently also used to signify a type of white material. The word appears to be from the Arabic root *gh-sh-ā* 'to veil, to cover'.

⁵⁹ Described by Abraham as 'cap of imported cotton material with pattern bitten in by Hausas'.

⁶⁰ A type of locally woven black and white cloth.

⁶¹ *Zane* is basically a woman's body-cloth, but there are many varieties of this garment, a number of which have been listed by Barth, *Travels*, second ed., London, 1857, II, 125, for instance 'zenne daffowa' which is light blue ; 'fessagida' which has a broad line of silk interwoven ; 'hammakuku' with less silk ; 'mailemu', an interesting word which makes it clear that the Hausa *lemu* is derived directly from the Arabic *laimūn* and not from the English word 'lemon' ; 'zelluwami' with a silk border ; 'dankatanga' with red, black, and white silk interwoven ; 'albassan kwara' with three stripes of mixed colours ; 'godo' with a thick white and black thread ; 'alkilla' with white and black chequer pattern ; 'keki', half indigo, half *saki* ; and most charming of all, a gay cloth known as 'bini da gani' 'Follow and see me !'.

⁶² Turban presumably made from the cloth known in Arabic as *burā*.

⁶³ White muslin material used for making turbans. This is clearly an Arabic loan-word, although I have not been able to trace this material in the Arabic dictionaries. It may be a material peculiar to North Africa.

⁶⁴ A marginal insertion : another *hassa* turban : at three thousand.

⁶⁵ A kind of soft calico.

⁶⁶ Grey baft.

⁶⁷ A type of wool rug.

- Girke* of *zawwari* calico : twenty thousand
 Three *saki* body-cloths : fifteen thousand ⁶⁸
 Three body-cloths of *danlele* ⁶⁹ : nine thousand
 Five pieces of *sanda* ⁷⁰ cloth : one thousand
 Forty skeins of indigo *war-war* ⁷¹ : at five thousand
Kakibi ⁷² : five thousand
 Gum resin with jasmine : at three thousand
 Embroidered trouser ankle-bands of *saki* : white embroidered trouser
 ankle-bands : indigo-dyed embroidered trouser ankle-bands : six
 thousand
 Thirteen *galansūt* ⁷³ fez caps : forty thousand
 f. 15 Assorted threads of various colours : at twenty-five thousand
 Five wooden boxes of sweetmeats : at five thousand
 A donkey-load of sugar with sweetmeats and grapes : and peppers :
 eight thousand, five hundred
 Six *miskali* of musk with *huwalā* ⁷⁴ : six thousand, five hundred
Saki material with *gwanda* ⁷⁵ cloth : at three thousand
 A waist-wrapper embroidered in red : two thousand cowries ⁷⁶
 Four cream cheeses : twelve thousand ⁷⁷
Gwado cloth with *luru* cloth : at three thousand ; with a gown : at one
 thousand
Akuwaru ⁷⁸ cloth with sandal : at three thousand : and soap : at five
 hundred
Bullam : fifteen thousand ; and a black turban : at five thousand
 Four black gowns : at forty thousand
 Dried dates with jasmine : one thousand cowries
 f. 16 Chain-mail helmet : ten thousand
 Azben salt ⁷⁹ in a jar : at two thousand cowries

⁶⁸ A marginal insertion : *Wawa* : at two thousand cowries.

⁶⁹ Cloth of mixed *gwanda* and *saki*.

⁷⁰ Patterned cotton cloth.

⁷¹ Wound silk thread.

⁷² *Kakibe*, sometimes *kakide*, means in Hausa 'beef or mutton dripping'. This is a possible though unlikely meaning for the word in this context. My opinion is that it refers to a type of material which I have not traced.

⁷³ Arabic *galansūt*, a type of cap.

⁷⁴ I have been unable to trace this form as it appears in the MS. I suspect, however, that it is a corruption for *halāwa*—sweetmeats, or possibly *halū*'—collyrium eyesalve.

⁷⁵ A type of locally woven cloth with a white edge.

⁷⁶ A marginal insertion : A *miskali* of rose-water at two thousand cowries ; four *miskalis* : four thousand : then another at one thousand.

⁷⁷ I am informed by Malam Isa Kurawa that cheeses are brought from Damagaram and Bornu and are bought up by wealthy persons.

⁷⁸ Described by Abraham as 'check-matting cloth'.

⁷⁹ *Beza* is given by Abraham as 'yellowish salt from Azben, Taudeni, etc.'. P.-L. Monteil, *De Saint-Louis à Tripoli par le lac Tchad*, Paris, 1895, 290-1, describes the caravans which set out each September from Azben and Air, picked up salt at Bilma, and proceeded from there to Hausaland.

- Sweets with sugar and gum resin : at three thousand
 Eighteen *labuje*⁸⁰ kola-nuts with *danbrulu*⁸¹ : at three thousand
 Sweets : three *rothls* : at nine thousand
 Fifty twists of white silk with teasing comb : three thousand
 Five dollars : twenty-five thousand
*Kurmā turkudī*⁸² : at two thousand
 Three *miskali* of rose-water : three thousand
 A collection of perfume phials, empty and otherwise : at two thousand
 cowries
 Two metal perfume containers : at five hundred cowries
 Ten *minwā*⁸³ of honey : one thousand cowries
*Ibālah*⁸⁴ of cartridges with perfume phial : one thousand cowries :
*al-s.b.t.*⁸⁵ : at one thousand cowries⁸⁶
 f. 17 *Darduma*⁸⁷ blanket : two thousand cowries
 Saddle-cloth with *lifidi* and spur : ten thousand
 Six *miskali* of *shashimi*⁸⁸ perfume : at six thousand
 Rose-water four *miskali* : at four thousand
 Second quality rose-water⁸⁹ ten *miskali* : ten thousand
 Metal perfume container and empty perfume phial with two (full ?) phials :
 at a thousand cowries⁹⁰
 Two volumes of al-Bukhārī⁹¹ with *Dalā'il Ash-fa'*,⁹² two volumes: with one
 part of *Ash-fa'*, the first part of the *Mukhtaṣar*⁹³ with *al-Risālah*⁹⁴: eight
 thousand

⁸⁰ Nupe kola-nuts. These are considered to be the best type.

⁸¹ Another variety of kola-nut.

⁸² A *turkudī* is described by Barth, op. cit., II, 25, as 'a large cotton cloth of dark green colour'. Abraham describes it as 'cloth consisting of 12 or 16 *kamu* of *fari*-cloth sewn together, dyed with indigo, beaten glossy and wrapped in paper'. From Barth's account it appears that this article, which was a Kano manufacture, was highly valued elsewhere in the Sudan, and was sometimes employed as a form of currency, see e.g. II, 502.

⁸³ Arabic *manā*—a weight equal to two *rothls*.

⁸⁴ I have not been able to trace this word, either in Hausa or in Arabic.

⁸⁵ See p. 136, n. 56.

⁸⁶ A marginal insertion : *al-s.b.t.* : at one thousand.

⁸⁷ A coarse woollen blanket.

⁸⁸ A kind of perfume with a non-oily base.

⁸⁹ There are two qualities of rose-water known to the Hausa, and they are termed *babban wardi* (first quality rose-water) and *karamin wardi* (second quality rose-water). Barth, op. cit., II, 141, says that rose-water is imported and describes it as a 'very dear article' very little disposed of in general trade, but passing privately to princes and great men.

⁹⁰ A marginal insertion : and one phial of *lawanti*. *Lawanti* is a kind of perfume, also with a non-oily base.

⁹¹ The well-known *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī. See article 'al-Bukhārī' in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second ed.

⁹² *Sic.* Probably *al-Shifā'* by Abu 'l-Faḍl 'Iyāḍ b. Mūsā al-Yahṣibi, which, of course, is well known in Northern Nigeria ; see W. E. N. Kensdale, *A catalogue of the Arabic MSS preserved in the University Library, Ibadan, Nigeria*, Ibadan, 1955-8, p. 13.

⁹³ Of al-Khālil. A standard work on Islamic law. See article 'al-Khālil' in *EI*, first ed.

⁹⁴ Of Ibn Abī Zayd. Also a standard legal text.

- Ten dollars : at forty thousand
Girke gown of *tsamiya* material : twenty thousand
Girke gown of *saki* cloth : twenty thousand
 Nupe *gari* gown, part made-up : ten thousand
 f. 18 Gown of *shadda* ⁹⁶ material : twenty thousand
 Nupe *girke* : at twenty thousand
Taguwa ⁹⁶ gown of *samazadawa* patterned stuff : five thousand
Taguwa gown of velvet : ten thousand
Gare of *saki* silk : ten thousand
 A white velvet gown : fifteen thousand
 A red velvet *kufi* ⁹⁷ : ten thousand
 Trousers of *shadda* material : ten thousand, (with ?) *barage* ⁹⁸ and *shadda* material
 A *dāmisa* ⁹⁹ *turkudī* shot with white and black : ten thousand
 A red *barnūs* : eighty thousand
 A yellow *barnūs* : eighty thousand
 An indigo-dyed *barnūs* : eighty thousand
 f. 19 A black *barnūs* : thirty thousand
 A white *kwakwata* gown : thirty thousand
 A black *garura* cap : twenty thousand
 Two *luru* cloths : ten thousand
 Five turbans : fifteen thousand
 And two others, part made-up : three thousand
 And two others, and one other black : five thousand
 Another black : five thousand
 Two pieces of *karfi*,¹⁰⁰ *atsala*,¹⁰¹ and *zawwati* calico : three thousand
 Two pieces of *samazadawa* patterned stuff : fifteen thousand
 Three *bunu* cloths : at thirty thousand
Turkudī : at three thousand
 Two white patterned turbans : fourteen thousand
 f. 20 And the grand total is five hundred and ninety-nine mats.
 And the deceased has two male heirs and three female. The names of the two males are Muḥammad and ‘Abd al-Qādir; the names of the females are Raḳiyah, Rābi‘ah, Khadījah. Then deduct the fee ¹⁰² : sixty-nine mats, and the remainder is five hundred and thirty-one mats to be

⁹⁶ Described by Abraham as ‘a type of European silk-fabric’.

⁹⁸ A type of gown with a circular neck and narrow sleeves.

⁹⁷ A short embroidered gown.

⁹⁹ A locally woven cloth of red, white, and black weave.

⁹⁸ The word means ‘leopard’ in Hausa. This is probably a type of patterned cloth called thus because of its resemblance to a leopard’s skin. I have not, however, been able to trace the term.

¹⁰⁰ Possibly ‘yar *karfi*, the cotton material called *gwandi* or *bagwandi*.

¹⁰¹ Possibly the material known as *tsalala*—‘the bride’s white cloth’ (Abraham).

¹⁰² A marginal insertion : less two thousand.

divided among two male (heirs) and three daughters. Each one of the males inherits one hundred and fifty-four¹⁰³ mats and two thousand, two hundred and eighty-six cowries, and each one of the three daughters f. 21 inherits seventy-seven mats, and one thousand, one hundred and forty-three cowries.

SELECT LIST OF ITEMS VALUED IN THE SCHEDULE

- akawal*, horse, f. 5
akoko stuff, f. 13
akugwaru cloth, f. 15
algasa stuff, f. 12
 ankle-bands, f. 14
arkilla cloth, f. 12
- Bagariye* saddle, f. 6
bammomi, f. 6
barage, f. 18
barnās, f. 8, 11, 12, 18, 19
 blanket, f. 7, 13, 17
 Bukhārī, al-, *Ṣaḥīḥ* of, f. 17
 bull, f. 5
bullam stuff, f. 11, 15
bunu cloth, f. 7, 19
- calf, f. 5
 camel, f. 6
 carpet, f. 13
 cartridges, f. 16
 cheese, f. 15
 cow, f. 5
- Dalā' il (al-)Aḥḥ fa' (al-)Shifā' ?*, f. 17
dāmisa iurkuḍi, f. 18
danbulu kola-nuts, f. 16
dantele cloth, f. 7, 14
darduma blanket, f. 17
 dates, f. 15
 dollars, f. 7, 16, 17
duma trousers, f. 9
- face veils, f. 13
- gare*, f. 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 17, 18
garuma gown, f. 11, n. 52
garura cap, f. 7, 8, 12, 19
gifto, f. 7
girke, f. 7, 10, 11, 14, 17, 18
 goat, f. 5
 gown, f. 15
 grapes, f. 15
 gum resin, f. 13, 14
gwado cloth, f. 12, 15
gwanda cloth, f. 15
- hassa* turban, f. 13
 helmet, f. 16
 honey, f. 8, 16
 horse, f. 5, 6
huwalā, f. 15
- ibālah*, f. 16
- jasmine, f. 13, 14, 15
jauha gown, f. 7, 12
jibba gown, f. 8, 12, 13
jirnawi stirrup, f. 6
- kākibi*, f. 14
karfi, f. 19
kātif trousers, f. 9
kilasomadu (bit strap), f. 7
kilishi rug, f. 14
kore gown, f. 8
kufta gown, f. 18
kurmi gown, f. 10, 16
kwakwata gown, f. 8, 10, 19
- labuje* kola-nuts, f. 16
lawanti perfume, f. 17, n. 90
lefe basket, f. 8
lifidi, f. 6, 17
luru cloth, f. 7, 13, 15, 19
- mattress, f. 12, 14
 millet, f. 8
mubarad turban, f. 13
Mukhtaṣar, (al-), f. 17
muḥuṣi stuff, f. 9
 musk, f. 15
 musket, f. 8
- Nupe manufactures, f. 11, 12, 17
- phials, perfume, f. 16, 17
- qalansūt* fez cap, f. 15
Qur'an, f. 9
- ram, f. 5
 rice, f. 8
Risālah, al-, f. 17
 rose-water, f. 16, 17
- saddle, f. 6 (see also *talaha*, *Bagariye*, and Toureg)
 saddle-cloth, f. 17
saki cloth, f. 7, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 17, 18
 salt, f. 16
samazadawa, f. 7, 9, 10, 18, 19
sanda cloth, f. 14
 sandal, f. 15
s.b.t., al-, f. 11, 16
shadda material, f. 18
shashimi perfume, f. 17
shata material, f. 10
 silk, f. 16

¹⁰³ The text reads 'fifty' but a following word has been erased and 'four' inserted in the margin. See Arabic text, p. 132, n. 13.

spur, f. 17
 sugar, f. 15, 16
 sweetmeats, f. 13, 15, 16

taguwa gown, f. 18
talaha saddle, f. 6
 teasing comb, f. 16
 thread, f. 15
tinjima, f. 7
 Toureg saddle, f. 6
 trousers, f. 7, 9, 13, 18
tsalala (?), f. 19
tsamiya cloth, f. 7, 17
 turbans, f. 19
turkudi, f. 16, 18, 19

velvet gown, f. 11, 18
 velvet material, f. 13

waist-wrapper, f. 15
war-war, f. 14
wawa, f. 7

yaminu stuff, f. 10

zabako cloth, f. 10
zane cloth, f. 13, 14
zawwati calico, f. 13, 14, 19
zirnawi stirrup, see *jirnawi*

NOTES AND COMMUNICATIONS

A NINETEENTH-CENTURY LINK BETWEEN CHINESE AND AFRICAN LANGUAGE STUDIES

In a recent paper on tone-marking systems employed during the last hundred years in African language studies, Professor Tucker has referred incidentally to parallel developments in Chinese language studies.¹ The present note, offered as a footnote to Professor Tucker's paper, documents recognition, early in the nineteenth century, that Chinese and a number of African languages have in common the feature of semantic tone.

The earliest definite reference to tone in West African languages² appears to be one in Bowdich's *Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee* (London, 1819). The reference—to tone in Akan—is limited to a single sentence, but this includes a passing mention of tone in Chinese: 'They frequently are obliged to vary the tone, in pronouncing a word, which has more than one meaning, as the Chinese do'. Professor Tucker has noted that, whereas European scholars could learn about tone in Chinese from Chinese scholars, in African languages the first clue often came from the African use of 'talking' musical instruments. At another point in his book, Bowdich describes such instruments—'the natives declare they can converse by means of their flutes', and again, 'all the superior captains have peculiar flourishes to their horns, adopted to short sentences, which are always recognisable . . . though at a distance to be scarcely audible'.³ But the context does not specifically relate 'talking' instruments to the tonality of the language, and it is uncertain whether Bowdich had grasped the connexion.

As Christaller, the first European to give full recognition to the place of tone in West African language studies, pointed out in 1893,⁴ the earliest tone-marking in West African languages was carried out by two native speakers, the Yoruba Crowther and the mulatto Gold Coaster Hanson, both in the 1840's. Hanson's work does not concern us here. Crowther's first publication, a vocabulary of Yoruba in 1843, while it did not systematically pronounce on tonality or indicate tone fully, did in its introduction suggest a method of marking certain obvious tones: 'h at the end of a word points out that the word or syllable should be pronounced with an elevation of the voice . . . on the contrary hh or rh at the end of words should be pronounced with a great depression of voice'.⁵

¹ A. N. Tucker, 'Systems of tone-marking African languages', *BSOAS*, xxvii, 3, 1964, 594–611.

² It would be of interest to know whether those who first detected semantic tone in Bantu, e.g. de Couto in 1661, the Protestant missionaries in South Africa in the early nineteenth century, thought of the comparison with Chinese. They could certainly have known about Chinese tonality since this was first recognized by European missionary-linguists around 1600. But there is no mention of a comparison in C. M. Doke and D. T. Cole, *Contributions to the history of Bantu linguistics*, Johannesburg, 1961.

³ T. E. Bowdich, *Mission . . . to Ashantee*, 229, 359, 361.

⁴ J. G. Christaller, *Die Töne der Neger-Sprachen und ihre Bezeichnung*, Basel, [1893], 1–5.

⁵ S. Crowther, *Vocabulary of the Yoruba language*, London, 1843, 2.

Thus, 'a contemporary movement in Chinese tonetic study . . . whereby unwanted letters of the roman alphabet are attached to the end of syllables to indicate their tonal values'⁶ would seem to have had a forerunner in West African linguistics over a century ago.

In his 1852 grammar, Crowther was able to pay more attention to tone, and he described his revised method of tone-marking in the following terms: 'The acute and grave accents are simply marks of intonation—i.e. of the rise or fall of the voice—often, as in the Chinese language, affecting the signification'.⁷ Crowther's awareness of the tonality of Chinese almost certainly arose through contacts within the mission he served, the Church Missionary Society of London. One of Crowther's European mission colleagues in West Africa, S. W. Koelle, was in London in 1853 and attended a meeting, called by the Secretary of the CMS, at which problems of tone-marking in Chinese were discussed.⁸ (Protestant missionaries in China, including some members of the CMS, were beginning to prepare material in roman characters for Chinese readers, and this had produced many different views on tone-marking.⁹) It is possible that the Secretary, Henry Venn, who was personally interested in the linguistic problems of the society's missionaries, had at an earlier date referred Crowther to the literature on Chinese tonality. Problems relating to tone-marking also arose in CMS circles in connexion with the formation of a 'universal orthography'. First suggested by Venn in the 1840's, one was prepared at his request by Richard Lepsius in 1852: when a second edition of this *Standard alphabet* appeared in 1863, Lepsius listed tone-marked material in West African languages by Crowther and by others, and commented that 'we find here in a smaller extent the same principle of intonation as in the Chinese'.¹⁰ In discussions with Lepsius, it is not unlikely that the CMS had submitted evidence on tone-marking which covered both Chinese and African languages.

However, despite this opportunity to learn more about tonality from the relatively well-studied example of Chinese, it cannot be said that tonal study of West African languages was taken very seriously during the remainder of the nineteenth century. Crowther had only limited success in convincing his European colleagues that tone-marking was essential for many African languages. His friend, J. F. Schön, took account of tone in his Ibo grammar of 1861, but the same scholar's Hausa material lacked tones when it appeared in print—'a very great mistake from whatever cause it was done', complained Crowther in 1864.¹¹ Koelle ignored tone in Kanuri and Vai in publications of 1853–4. The studies of the German missionaries on the Gold Coast showed more

⁶ Tucker, *op. cit.*, 602.

⁷ S. Crowther, *A grammar and vocabulary of the Yoruba language*, London, 1852, unnumbered page and p. 2.

⁸ E. Stook, *History of the CMS*, London, 1899, II, 102–3.

⁹ J. DeFrancis, 'A missionary contribution to Chinese nationalism', *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, LXXXIII, 1948, 1–34.

¹⁰ C. R. Lepsius, *Standard alphabet. Second edition*, London, 1863, 276, 277.

¹¹ S. Crowther, *A grammar and vocabulary of the Nupe language*, London, 1864, p. iii.

interest in tone and culminated in Christaller's *magnum opus*, his tone-marked dictionary. But the majority of writings in this period, even those on highly tonal languages, ignored tone ; and partly as a result general studies of tonality in African languages were also lacking. Comparison, in both theoretical and practical aspects, between West African languages and Chinese was therefore not pursued ; and we have not so far come across any references to Chinese in nineteenth-century West African language studies later than those already quoted.

P. E. H. HAIR

[*Editorial note.* We are indebted to Professor Malcolm Guthrie for drawing our attention to *A grammar of the Mpongwe language with vocabularies, by the Missionaries of the A.B.C.F.M. Gaboon Mission, Western Africa, New York, 1847.* In this language differences in tone alone distinguish positive from negative in certain verb tenses. Intonation in the negative is indicated in the *Grammar* by the use of italic vowel letters (when the rest of the word is in roman fount) and by roman vowel letters (when the rest of the word is in italic fount).]

REVIEWS

SABATINO MOSCATI (ed.): *An introduction to the comparative grammar of the Semitic languages: phonology and morphology*. By Sabatino Moscati, Anton Spitaler, Edward Ullendorff, Wolfram von Soden. (Porta Linguarum Orientalium, Neue Serie, VI.) viii, 185 pp. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1964. DM. 28.

Professor Moscati explains in the preface the purpose of the book and the way in which it was written. It is 'intended primarily as a textbook and limited in its scope so as to serve for a beginners' course'. The editor began by preparing a draft and sending it to his collaborators for their comments; then, in the light of their suggestions, he revised his work and wrote the book in its present form. The preface reveals his awareness of the difficulties that faced him in selecting material in a subject of such complexity and in seeking to present it in a form comprehensible to the beginner; it also expresses his dissatisfaction with what he has achieved. Despite his misgivings, however, readers of the book will admire the skill with which the task has been accomplished.

The book begins with a description and classification of the ancient Semitic languages and a discussion of some general questions; then follow chapters on phonology and morphology, and finally a bibliography. Little comment is needed on the arrangement of the book, though it may be noted that no attempt is made to classify North-West Semitic languages into Canaanite and Aramaic families before the first millennium B.C. and that Arabic and South Arabian are grouped together on a geographical principle. Throughout, the discussion is balanced and judicious and obviously draws on a profound and extensive knowledge of the subject. It is, in general, highly successful in presenting the material in a simple form without distorting the picture, and the reader can find in the bibliography references to fuller treatments of particular questions. The English in which the work is written is good and idiomatic, and awkward sentences, such as the one at the bottom of p. 23 and the top of p. 24, are rare.

It would have been impossible to write a book of this kind without making some questionable statements, and there is no point in listing them in a review. Attention may, however, be drawn to a few minor points: p. 38 f.: although this section is right in rejecting Růžička's theory that *ghain* is not a Proto-Semitic consonant but a secondary

development in Arabic, it does less than justice to the theory by failing to mention the phonetic argument advanced in its favour. The existence of *ghain* in Proto-Semitic can be maintained only if the consonant coalesced with 'ain in certain languages; Růžička, however, argued on phonetic grounds that such a change is improbable.

p. 95: it is pointed out that the Hebrew *he locale* 'is regarded by some scholars as ... a survival' of a case-ending. This opinion has certainly been held, but reference should have been made to the existence in Ugaritic of a similar directive ending *-h* which is distinct from the accusative case-ending.

p. 121: the table of prepositions is misleading, since it attaches to the Ugaritic prepositions *b*, *l*, and *m* only the meanings 'in, by', 'to', and 'with', respectively, and might suggest that the language was unable to express the meaning 'from' by means of a preposition.

pp. 171 ff.: while it would be unreasonable to expect the bibliography to be complete, there is at least one serious omission: G. R. Driver, *Canaanite myths and legends* (Edinburgh, 1956). Incidentally, the same writer's essay 'Gender in Hebrew numbers', *Journal of Jewish Studies*, I, 2, 1948, 90-104—one of his many articles—might also have been mentioned.

p. 184: for 'Muss-Arnold' read 'Muss-Arnolt', and for 'Margoliouth, G.P.' read 'Margoliouth, J.P.'.

Apart from such details, two more substantial criticisms may be made. In the first place, it may be doubted whether the book is everywhere easily comprehensible to the beginner for whom it is intended. Such a reader is, for example, unlikely to know what is meant by 'glottalized ejectives' or by 'velarization' (p. 23), and he would have been helped by a page or two explaining such technical terms. Similarly, a reader may have some difficulty in understanding the character of the sound of the Ethiopic vowel *ə* (p. 53 f.). Secondly, although the book lists the phenomena of Semitic languages clearly and accurately, it is less successful in helping the reader to understand them. Admittedly, explanation is more hazardous than listing and is often liable to be charged with being subjective and open to question. Caution must therefore be used in offering explanations in an elementary work, and the writer may be excused for not trying to explain, for instance, the connexion between third person pronouns beginning with *h* or an unemphatic unvoiced sibilant and causative themes of the verb introduced by the same consonants—though it would have been

helpful to draw attention to the probability that some connexion exists. But the charge of rash speculation could less easily be brought against an attempt to explain the origin of the Hebrew relative *'āšer* (p. 113), or of the Syriac preformative *n-* used with the third person of the imperfect (p. 143 f.).

In the preface, Professor Moscati describes the preparation of this book as 'a thankless task whose accomplishment is, after all, indispensable for the common good', and it would be both ungrateful and unjust to suggest that the criticisms offered above seriously detract from the value of the work. The problems inherent in such an undertaking have been overcome with admirable success, and teachers and students of Semitic languages have been provided with a serviceable tool that they have long needed. Professor Moscati and his colleagues have earned our gratitude.

J. A. EMERTON

J. AISTLEITNER (tr.): *Die mythologischen und kultischen Texte aus Ras Schamra. Zweite Auflage.* (Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica, VIII.) 113 pp. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1964. \$3.50.

When the first edition of this book appeared, since it was furnished with neither commentary nor glossary, the paths by which Aistleitner had arrived at many of his translations were difficult to trace. The few notes at the back were of extremely restricted scope. Scholars familiar with Aistleitner's previous contributions to Ugaritology might recognize the reappearance of some of his suggestions in many of the renderings and much of the material was, of course, based on the efforts of other workers in the field. Not a little of the translation, however, was dependent on material published by Aistleitner some time ago in journals more or less difficult of access, or, indeed, on ideas which had not as yet seen print. The publication of his *Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache* largely remedied this situation by making available the 'rough working' on which most of the proffered solutions were based, though it also showed that the author had abandoned some etymologies previously proposed in support of translations which appeared in the *Texte* (without, however, abandoning those translations!).

On the appearance of the second edition of the *Texte*, it might be useful to discuss some of the unfamiliar renderings together with the material upon which they are based, as given by the *Wörterbuch*. It is doubtful whether many of these renderings will gain any degree of acceptance. Serious objections may be

brought against most of them, but one or two may commend themselves.

At I* AB I 4 (Aistleitner's text reference) *ttkš* is translated 'würdest du getroffen werden' on the basis of Syr. *'eškā* 'finden'. The proposed rendering has but a tenuous connexion with the sense of the word invoked to support it and this is the case with many of Aistleitner's suggestions. Thus at I* AB II 5 *hrr* is translated 'zur Reife kommen' since a root-morpheme of these consonants bears the meaning 'burn' and the like in some Semitic words. 'Kümmerlich' is proposed for *l* at I AB II 25 on the strength of Arab. *la'a* 'unglücklich sein' (Aistleitner seems to have been changing his mind on this point: in the *Wörterbuch* he also mentions the more favoured etymology *la'la'a* 'glühen'). For *ššr* at III Rp B 11 'mit Netz... einfing' is offered on the strength of Arab. *satarā* 'bedecken'. 'Gewässerten *ṭmk*-Wein' at III Rp B 17 is hardly justified by Arab. *marāṭa* 'erweichen, in Wasser auflösen'.

There are further cases where highly derivative meanings of Arabic words are treated as primary and posited for allegedly cognate Ugaritic roots. Thus *mr* at I* AB VI 13 is rendered 'Erdkrumen' with the support of Arab. *'a/imārat*, 'bearbeitete Erde', which is surely derived from the primary notion of *'amara*, i.e. 'settle, cultivate'. Similarly the sense of Arab. *nuzl*, 'Speise... für den Gast... reserviert', invoked to explain *lhm d nzl*, I K 69, 162, appears to be derived ultimately from the meaning 'alight' which the ancient West Semitic *nzl* does not share with Arab. *nazala*, whatever genetic affinities may exist.

Some of Aistleitner's suggestions are inappropriate to their context and some yield very awkward Ugaritic. At I AB VI 16 *š' n kgmrm* should, to judge by the parallel phrases which follow, describe animals in combat. The translation, albeit tentative, 'Sie prallten aneinander wie Kieselsteine' is bizarre and the reference to Arab. *ta'ta'a* 'einen schütteln' and *ḡamr* 'Kieselstein', gratuitous. The rendering of *šf l šf*, II AB III 21, by 'gab es eine Schmach, worüber geklatscht wurde', where Heb. *bāpā(h)* 'unbesonnen reden' is invoked, posits a clumsy turn of phrase. Often Aistleitner retains or proposes solutions inferior to others which have already some currency. There was no need to conjecture 'ragen' as the meaning of *šns* on the strength of Akk. *šanāšu* 'hineinstecken' at V AB B 12, since the Heb. *šinnēs* yields the appropriate meaning 'gird' as already recognized.

The proposed explanations of *qš'ū*, translated 'Schliesswaffe', II D V 3, on the strength of Eth. *qaš'a* 'krümmen' ('Vgl. deutsch: biegen-Bogen') and of *m'nš šdm*, I D 210,

translated 'wohlbekannten Felder'—'D part s f. (wohl bekannt mit den Feldern)', exhibit elements of eccentricity.

At III AB B 19 'Axt' is offered for *pš₂*, Arab. *fa's* and Akk. *pāšu* being compared. In the *Wörterbuch* Aistleitner adds 'andere vgl. hb. *paz* : Gold'. The latter is evidently correct since the phrase *š₂rim pš₂h* here has a parallel at V AB D 44 *š₂iri hrš* etc. These parallel passages incidentally, strengthen Ullendorff's case (*JSS*, VII, 2, 1962, 348 ff.) for regarding the sign here transcribed *š₂*, as originally representative of the phoneme *š* before the shift *š*—*d*.

One or two of Aistleitner's proposals are more attractive. 'Er zerkratze die Haut mit Stein' for *gr b₂bn jđš*, I* AB VI 17, is suitable to its context and the association of *jđš* with Arab. *wađū* is sound. 'Der jene vertreibt, die seine Nachtruhe stören' is tempting as a rendering of *grš d š₂ lnh*, II D I, 30 and the equation of *š₂* with Akk. *esū* may be correct. The suggestion that *bbr* is the Ugaritic reflex of Akk. *huburu* 'Tongefäß', SS 76, is not unacceptable and the meaning would then be appropriate to a context which seems to contain words for 'wine' and 'filling'. If *šrh* is cognate with Akk. *šerū*, as suggested, in the phrase *šrh lš₂rs brqm*, II AB IV—V 71, it should perhaps be construed as an 'infinitive absolute' as used in a familiar Hebrew construction and the entire passage might then be translated 'Baal will give forth his voice from the clouds, hurling the lightning to earth'. This would seem preferable to taking *šrh* as a construct to *brqm* with *lš₂rs* intervening between them ('... des Schleuderns der Blitze zur Erde') and posits a smoother syntax than that required by other translations.

The examples discussed are representative of the translation as a whole and of Aistleitner's treatment in general. His introductions to the various texts and summaries of the subject-matter of the various sections contain some interesting comments but the ideas behind them are not adequately developed and often depend on too undisciplined an interpretation. The idiosyncrasies of this book mar its value both for the general reader and for the specialist.

T. L. FENTON

RICHARD HAUSCHILD: *Die indo-germanischen Völker und Sprachen Kleasiens*. (Sitzungsberichte der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-historische Klasse, Bd. 109, Ht. 1.) 119 pp. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1964. DM. 7.40.

A sense of the fascinating variety of peoples and languages involved in the history of Asia

Minor is happily conveyed by the author of this interesting survey, although it is restricted in principle to speakers of Indo-European languages.

The usefulness of this book is considerably diminished by the absence of any kind of index or even a table of contents. If, for example, one wishes to know about the Pisidian language, one can find the appropriate remarks and bibliography only by reading through the book till one comes across it. The main peoples and languages discussed are (with page-numbers): Armenian, 81–91; Carian, 52–3; Celts, 101–6; Etruscan, 64 ff.; Germans, 107–9; Hieroglyphic Hittite, 44–6; Hittite, 14 ff. (language, 32–4); Iranians, 91–101; Kassites, 59–60; Luwian, 42–4; Lycian, 48–9; Lydian, 49–51; Milyan, 52; Mitanni, 56–9; Palaic, 46–7; Pelasgian, 54–6; Philistines, 70; Phrygians, 72–5, 79–81; Pisidian, 53–4; Thracians, 71–2, 77–9.

The author often fails to bring out the great uncertainty that surrounds most of the problems connected with many of these languages, especially those of which very little is known. Thus he accepts readily (p. 66) a recent attempt to identify Etruscan as a continuation of Hittite without mentioning the fact that for many years excellent scholars have tried in vain to connect Etruscan with known languages. Likewise, on p. 93, n.1, in accordance with the author's practice of giving etymologies for the names of peoples discussed, we are given the one etymology for the Sakas as 'die (Jung-)Hunde' without any reference to other suggestions, which some may prefer, such as that of H. W. Bailey (< **sak-* 'be powerful') or that of O. Szemerényi (< **sak-* 'pass to and fro', hence 'nomads').

Many references are made to the 'beech-line'. Although on p. 11, n. 1, the article by W. Eilers and M. Mayrhofer on 'Kurdisch *būz* und die indogermanische "Buchen"-Sippe' is mentioned, the author does not discuss the implication of the elimination of one group of the Indo-European languages from the problem. See now W. B. Henning, 'The Kurdish elm', *Asia Major*, NS, x, 1, 1963, 68–72.

It should be noted that the observation on the removal of speakers of Indo-European languages from Asia Minor (p. 109) not only disregards the Kurds but also ignores altogether the Armenians, and the Tāti in Azerbaijan. We now have a description of the language of the Tāti by A. L. Gryunberg, *Yazyk severoazerbajdzhanskikh Tator*, Leningrad, 1963. The mention of the Scythians on p. 94 might have provided an opportunity to refer to the IE-speaking Ossetes, who still speak their Scythian language in two dialects in the Caucasus near-by. Although native to the Soviet side of the

Black Sea and so strictly speaking outside the scope of the present work, mention might perhaps also have been made, when dealing with Germanic, of the Crimean Goths interviewed by Ghiselin de Busbecq in the sixteenth century.

Minor misprints are frequent. More serious for the general reader are: *Jahrhunderts* on p. 56 for *Jahrtausends*; and $\phi\omega\gamma\eta$ for $\phi\omega\nu\eta$ on p. 87.

R. E. EDMERICK

W. S. McCULLOUGH (ed.): *The seed of wisdom: essays in honour of T. J. Meek*. xi, 200 pp. [Toronto]: University of Toronto Press, [1964]. (Distributed in G.B. by Oxford University Press. 44s.)

This volume consists, with two exceptions, of papers read to the Oriental Club of Toronto which was founded in 1962 soon after the retirement of Professor Meek who is here honoured as its first President. The brief summary of Professor Meek's life and the selected list of some 70 of his writings, dated between 1910 and 1963, show the width of his own interests in the field of Semitic studies, with emphasis on Hebrew and Akkadian. The contributions reflect the even wider interests of the orientalist, classicists, and medievalists within the Club.

Theological studies are represented by several articles. W. G. Lambert discusses the reign of Nebuchadrezzar I (c. 1124 B.C.) as a turning-point in the history of ancient Mesopotamian religion (pp. 1-13). The deity Marduk was at this time first attested as 'king of the gods', a fact which may result from the primacy of the city of Babylon, and thus of its god, following the victory over Elam. Since there are few texts extant from this Middle, as opposed to the Old or New, Babylonian period only further evidence can confirm or confute this interesting theory. D. K. Andrews writes on the use, origin, and significance for post-Exilic Judaism of the title *'elohé haššamayim* 'God of the heavens' as applied to Yahweh. He examines the theories which would consider this an ancient Israelite title, the Hebrew counterpart to the epithet of the Phoenician Ba'al or the influence of Persian religion (pp. 45-57). F. W. Beare details the manifold identifications of Zeus in the Hellenistic age with oriental deities of most diverse origin and character. There appears to be no unifying element. Evidence is drawn from Egypt, Syria, and Asia Minor (pp. 92-113). M. E. Marmura discusses Avicenna's theory of prophecy in the light of Ash'arite theology (pp. 159-78); while C. C. Shih offers a brief study of ancestor

worship in ancient China in Shang and Chou times (pp. 179-90).

Textual and literary criticism is the subject of a number of papers. R. J. Williams shows from texts composed to bolster the position of such kings as Merikarō', Amenemhet, Senwosret, and Ramesses IV that the ancient Egyptians used literature for propaganda purposes. When a predecessor, especially a deceased god-king known for his 'wisdom', communicated, then a word reinforced by the authority of antiquity was indeed potent (pp. 14-30). R. A. F. Mackenzie outlines the formal aspect of ancient Near Eastern law showing the combination of both casuistic and apodictic forms in Mesopotamian and Hebrew case-law (pp. 31-44). J. W. Wevers reviews proto-Septuagint studies with particular criticism of Kahle's hypothesis that the New Testament writers had the actual Greek text of the Old Testament before them from which they quoted verbatim (pp. 58-77). E. J. Sherry writes on the life and works of the prolific Nestorian writer Joseph Hazzaya (pp. 78-91) and J. M. Riak re-examines the literary fraud assigned to St. Denis—Dionysius the Areopagite—and now attributed to a Neoplatonist, possibly a student of Damascius (pp. 118-40). History is represented (pp. 140-58) by the glimpse of Mamluk Egypt 'at the eleventh hour' afforded by the quotations from the journal of Ibn Iyās for the year 921/1515.

It rests with G. Bagnani to touch on Old Testament studies, which was the subject nearest to Professor Meek's heart. Since his interpretation of the form and capacity of the 'molten sea' which stood before Solomon's temple requires the jettisoning of one main measurement given in the text, it is tempting to wonder whether the veteran translator of the Hebrew text, to whom the article is dedicated, would agree with the methodology. Withal this volume pays true honour to a distinguished scholar.

D. J. WISEMAN

CLAUDE CAHEN: *Jean Sauvaget's Introduction to the history of the Muslim East: a bibliographical guide*. Based on the second edition as recast by Claude Cahen. xxi, 252 pp. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1965. \$6.95. (English agents: Cambridge University Press. 56s.)

There is no respect in which this book is not superior to the French edition of 1961. This reviewer is gratified, as others must be, to note that suggestions made in reviews have been

so generously incorporated into the English edition (see *BSOAS*, xxv, 2, 1962, 357-8). The edition is more than simply a translation into English and has been acknowledged as such by Professor Cahen in his preface (pp. vii-viii). The scope of the work (see pp. 3-7), which was discussed in my review of the French edition cited above, is reasonable (despite criticism of the title by some readers) and requires no further comment. The organization of material remains the same as in the French edition, except that the two indexes have been contracted into one, as in the earlier editions of 1943 and 1946. Because of the book's general excellence and high degree of practicability it seems almost petty to include a list of corrections and additions. But because, on the other hand, it is bound to remain for many years the best handbook available to students of Muslim history, such a list might prove helpful in producing a future edition.

To begin with, the English translation, though generally reliable, is misleading in a few places: e.g. p. 162, l. 12, which ought to read 'that distinguish it from the Maghrib, which remained for a long time,'; p. 227, l. 16, read 'become increasingly important,'; p. 228, l. 18-19, read 'namely Italy [viz. Sicily] under the Norman régime and above all Spain'.

Second, while the numerous typographical errors of the French edition have for the most part been eliminated, new ones have crept in: e.g. p. 93, l. 4, read W. Heyd (who ought also to be restored to the index), of whose book incidentally there was a further reprint in 1959; p. 176, the chapter heading must surely read 'thirteenth to fifteenth century'; p. 201, l. 14, read 'K. Ritter (1822-1859)'; J. Waardenburg's book on European orientalisks appears neither on p. 229 (where it ought to, according to the index), nor on pp. 6-7 (where it would be more suitable).

Third, because a bibliography is in the nature of things dated at the time of its appearance it would seem superfluous in a review to list subsequent publications. But a few remarks on the data already included might be useful: e.g. p. 13, Fück's *'Arabiya* is not quite a description of the historical evolution of Arabic but rather of the evolution of the concept *'Arabiya*'; a more valuable work from an historical point of view is J. Blau's *The emergence and linguistic background of Judaeo-Arabic*, London, 1965; p. 18, for the Geniza see now S. Shaked, *A tentative bibliography of Geniza documents*, Paris, 1964; p. 37, l. 6 from bottom, see Levi della Vida, 'Il regno di Granata nel 1465-66 nei ricordi di un viaggiatore egiziano', in *Andalus*, I, 1933, 307-34; p. 73, in the expanded and improved list of periodicals, *WZKM* might be added to

the German ones; p. 96, l. 9, because this is an essentially critical bibliography it might be useful to point out that Haseček's book is not only unreliable but positively dangerous in the hands of all but the most experienced students of Muslim jurisprudence (see reviews in *Der Islam*, XIII, 1923, 144-9, and *OLZ*, XXVI, 1923, cols. 345-6, as well as Kruse, in *JPHS*, I, 2, 1953, 90-100); p. 99, l. 10, Nicholson's *The mystics of Islam* was reprinted in 1963; p. 100, l. 8, the English translation of T. de Boer was reprinted in 1961; p. 142, l. 16, the 1919 edition of C. van Arendonk's book was in Dutch, the 1960 edition is the French translation made by J. Ryckmans; p. 156, bottom, on the policy of the Seljūq *maḍrasas*, see the articles by G. Makdisi and A. Tibawi, *BSOAS*, XXIV, 1, 1961, 1-56, and *BSOAS*, XXV, 2, 1962, 225-38, resp.; p. 172, l. 7, Roemer's book is usually cited as *Staatschreiben der Timuridenzeit*; p. 185, l. 4, again, with regard to the critical function of this biography it could be useful to refer to Fekete's review of Busse's book in *Der Islam*, XXXVI, 1961, 289-96; p. 218, l. 5, a complete and corrected edition of the 'Mémoires d' 'Abdallah' was published by Lévi-Provençal in Cairo, 1955 (*Dhakhā'ir al-'Arab*, 18); p. 219, l. 6, for the *Trois traités hispaniques de hisba*, see also the annotated French translation of the other two parts by R. Arié, in *Hesperis-Tamuda*, I, 1960, 1-38, 199-214, 349-86; p. 220, l. 12, L. de Mas-Latrie's book was reprinted (but without *Supplément*) in New York (n.d., Burt Franklin Research and Source Works Series, No. 63), and it would not have been irrelevant to mention here Amari's *Diplomi arabi* (of which a new edition is being prepared); p. 223, l. 1, a fourth volume of Lévi-Provençal's *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, presumably the work of his students and successors, has been announced; and finally, on the previous page (222, middle) it might be worth mentioning that Reinaud's work on the Saracens in France and elsewhere was reprinted in 1964.

In addition to these almost exclusively technical matters there are three questions which I should like to raise relating to the total conception of the book as an introduction and guide to the study of Muslim history. First, with regard to the associated problems of disciplinary (here, history and its ancillary techniques) and philological training (see pp. 11-12) the statement 'Many translations by eminent linguists are inadequate for the historian, for a general literary knowledge of the language is not sufficient to determine the meaning of terms used in special technical contexts' requires, I think, some modification. If it is true that certain of the earlier translations have now been shown to be inadequate it ought not to mean that there can be more than

one standard for modern critical editions of any sort of Oriental text. Sound philological training has traditionally been founded upon familiarity with and competence in the entire body of literature in any given language. How indeed can one distinguish between 'philological' and 'historical' requirements in dealing for example with the early *Sīra* literature or with the highly diversified collection of source material for Umayyad history? The only plea, it seems to me, can be one for academic professionalism, which will in time perhaps discourage those without proper qualifications from entering this arena, which has long since had more than its share of entertaining but misguided amateurs.

Second, I still think that a section on *diplomatic* (thus, not *diplomacy*, is the accepted designation of this discipline and the heading used in the new edition of *EI*; see p. 21) would have been useful, though the chapter on archives (pp. 16-21) has been expanded and Professor Cahen has published an article on the subject in *JA*, OCL, 2, 1963, 211-25. I cannot quite agree that the absence of Islamic archives in the same quantity as those for corresponding periods of European history can be explained by 'the nature of the political institutions of Islam and in certain characteristics of its history' (p. 19). Professor Schacht has pointed out (*Introduction to Islamic law*, Oxford, 1964, 82-3; a book which ought to have been included here on either p. 41 or 88) the importance of documents in Islamic juridical practice; and it appears to me somewhat premature to pronounce upon the quality and quantity of archival material for the study of Muslim history.

Finally, the insistence (pp. 22 ff.) upon 'oral tradition' as the characteristic means of transmission and preservation of all kinds of record in the early Muslim community may be an exaggeration. Efforts to modify this view were undertaken by Goldziher (see *Muhammedanische Studien*, II, ch. vii) with regard to one kind of source material (a kind which, incidentally, permeated every other Muslim science), and were resumed some years later for historical literature by N. Abbott (*Studies in Arabic literary papyri*, I, Chicago, 1957). A reservation of this sort cannot of course add to or subtract from the corpus of early Islamic historical writing as it has been preserved. It can, however, serve as warning to students of Muslim history who might tend at the beginning of their studies to establish and/or adopt categories of thinking which could subsequently prove to be a cause of intellectual embarrassment. An example of this danger, I think, is to be found here, p. 26, l. 27: to speak of al-Ṭabarī's history as 'the work of a historian who was also a traditionalist

and a commentator on the Koran' could be misleading. A clearer understanding of his work can be obtained, I believe, if one remembers that he was first and foremost a *mufasssīr*, then a *muḥaddith*, and finally a *mu'arrikh*.

J. WANSBROUGH

JOSEPH CHELHOD: *Les structures du sacré chez les Arabes*. (Islam d'Hier et d'Aujourd'hui, Vol. XIII.) 288 pp. Paris: G.-P. Maisonneuve et Larose, [1965].

The thesis of this work is that Islam is the logical and necessary issue of the religious, social, and economic condition of Arabia towards the end of the sixth century, and it is argued that, despite Muhammad's opposition to nomadism and national institutions, his work bears the mark of the desert and of the caravan city where his education was completed. The aim is to discover the basic elements from which Islam draws its inspiration and has its development shaped. The author holds that by considering the differences of structure one can understand how two religions so near as Islam and Christianity can produce such distinct civilizations. These are due to the physical and social milieu in which Islam was born rather than to doctrine. The ethnologist has much material for his research, as he is dealing with a society which has a literature, and at the same time has maintained many ancient customs.

There are: a preface, an introduction on Islam and nomadism, and chapters on (1) the *ḥarām* or equivocal expression of the holy; (2) the anonymous holy: *jinn*, demons, angels; (3) the differentiated holy: Allah; (4) the structures of mythical thought; (5) the soul and the holy; (6) holy beings and objects; (7) holy space and time; and (8) a brief chapter containing conclusions.

The author disagrees with the view of W. Marçais and others that Islam is a town religion and that it was propagated by an extension of urban installations, arguing that the new religion was most profoundly marked by bedouin conceptions. Islam teaches a divine immanence which diffuses the holy in beings and objects without transforming them into divine receptacles, a development of pre-Islamic ideas. It keeps the tribal idea of chief, but extends the nature of the community. Caliph and shaikh alike have a *sunna* which they must observe. Islamic economic theory is more like the nomadic collectivism than the Meccan capitalism. Note is taken of the retention of blood sacrifice, a legacy of the pastoral life, and of the use of the lunar

calendar which suits bedouin custom. Islam suppresses the embryonic pagan Arab conception of clergy, institutes *ṭayammum*, suitable for desert wanderers, and does not insist on prayer in mosques. The practice of religion without a priestly intermediary suits nomadic life. The mosque, which is not strictly necessary, is not God's house, but simply a place where people gather for the ritual prayer. One may feel that this last statement is too strong, for although prayer may be conducted anywhere, mosques are looked on as sacred places. Authorities who have proposed removing even a very primitive mosque have experienced violent opposition.

The author feels that much work must still be done before one can come to a decision regarding the nature of the holy. He rejects Robertson Smith's confusion between the holy and the taboo, and considers that Otto's treatment of the holy is influenced by a preconceived idea of the divine. While the holy does inspire terror and awe, there are kindly elements. The wide use of the root *ḥrm* is pointed out, expressing not only something to be avoided or approached with caution, but also a source of *baraka*. The root also applies to an old man, a person of importance, or a woman.

There are some interesting details from the author's observation of Arabs in the Negev. For example, after saying that the pre-Islamic Arab did not sacrifice to a rock itself, the blood being destined for the *jinnīya* inhabiting the idol, he adds that the Arabs of the Negev believe that the blood is drunk by angels. He says that whenever they erect one of their primitive dwellings sacrifice is offered to the occupants of the land, i.e. the earth spirits which are the real owners. He tells that when retiring to perform ablution they ask permission of the *ṣāhib al-mahall*, adding that one who had neglected to do so was smitten with madness.

M. Chelhod argues that while Muḥammad did borrow from Judaism and Christianity, the influence of these religions was chiefly to open the way to monotheism; they had little influence on ritual. He goes farther and says that Muḥammad borrowed more than one rite from the ancient pagan culture, and came near to proclaiming in the Qur'an itself the national character of Islamic institutions and laws. He argues that Islam, in spite of its wide expansion, is basically Arab. But though insisting on the strong influence of the old Arab culture, he holds that this does not detract from Muḥammad's profound originality. He says also that if Islam is nationalist in its rites and laws, it is undeniably universalist in its doctrines and dogmas.

This work, which covers a wide field, is

carefully documented and interestingly presented. There is a large bibliography of Arab and Occidental sources, and also a useful index.

JAMES ROBSON

GÖSTA VITESTAM (ed.): *Kitāb ṭabaqāt al-fuqahā' as-Ṣāfi'iya: das Klassenbuch der gelehrten Ṣāfi'iten des Abū 'Asim Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-'Abbādī*. (Veröffentlichungen der 'De Goeje-Stiftung', Nr. XXI.) x, 61, 155, [3] pp., 8 plates. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1964. Guilders 75.

One instance of the Arabs' fondness for orderly enumeration is to be found in the number of lists preserved in their literature—of companions, reciters of tradition, doctors, or, in the case of the work reviewed here, Ṣāfi'ite *faqīhs*. For the specialist such lists have an obvious historical value, even though a large number of their details may be so unimportant as to be almost better forgotten. So it is with the present text. There are in it points of note for the study of the historical development of Islamic law, sandwiched between material that might charitably be called of antiquarian interest. For the non-specialist, however, who reads such works as representatives of a branch of literature, their attraction usually lies in the irrelevancies of biography and anecdote. In this context, the present work contains a fair proportion of what is readable in its store of sardonic legal oddities that tell, amongst other things, of when cannibalism is permitted and give the answer to the question, when a paralysed man carried on a blind man's back enters a store and they both steal something, whose hand should be cut off.

The edition has been carefully made and shows sound scholarship. It is well presented and is backed by an index and full and helpful notes dealing both with the text itself and its background. Not unnaturally there are a number of small points that can be criticized. Some of the editor's readings may be challenged. (For instance, I would doubt his change on p. 6, l. 13, where he runs counter to all his manuscripts.) *Shadda* and *hamza* at times appear and disappear on the same word in different contexts without apparent reason. But these are mere trivialities. In no degree do they diminish the value of the edition as a whole.

One larger point, not of criticism but of query, remains to be raised. In his apparatus critical the editor gives what are presumably all the variants of his five manuscripts. This

can mean that in extreme cases every second word of a line has a note attached to it. On the assumption that all the manuscript variants are significant, this unpleasantness would have to be accepted. As it is, though, a very high proportion of the variants represent obvious mistakes and as such they are directly important only for the history of the manuscript tradition and not for the text itself. It must be asked whether the reader who is not concerned with the minutiae of that tradition could be spared their presence, they themselves removed to an appendix and the apparatus left to readings of importance.

M. C. LYONS

'ABDALLĀH AL-ṬAYYIB (comp.): *al-Ḥamāsatu 'l-ṣuḡhrā. Glossary compiled by J. O. Hunwick.* [v], 326 pp. + 4 pp. errata. London: Oxford University Press, 1964. 18s.

Professor 'Abdallāh al-Ṭayyib has put into the hands of teachers of Arabic a new teaching aid of major importance. The 'Lesser *Ḥamāsah*', despite its name, does not invite comparison with the great *ḥamāsas* in respect of form and arrangement, but the very use of this name, as an indication of the tradition in which the work has been conceived, evokes a consciousness of the continuity of the stream of poetic activity in Arabic, which this present compilation itself must do much to inculcate. Nor does it invite comparison with the *Delectus* of Nöldeke, of which it carries many echoes, but from which it differs fundamentally in intent. Nöldeke's aim was to introduce mature European students to aspects of the poetry of a significant alien culture of the past. Professor al-Ṭayyib's object is to put youthful Arabic-speaking secondary schoolboys into direct contact with and possession of some of the treasures of their own living poetic heritage. His avowed aim is to revitalize the teaching of poetry in the schools by replacing the dull unimaginative schoolmasterly textbooks about poetry, which do so much to deaden forever the souls of our pupils, blinding them to the beauties of the verses reduced for syllabus purposes to the status of prescribed texts. He seeks, rather, to put the student into immediate contact with a poem, on the unexceptionable premise that there is no more eloquent testimony to the beauties of poetry than the voice of poetry itself. This principle he scrupulously adheres to throughout the plan of this very skilfully organized work. The time-scale of the book is enormous—from the fifth century to the 1960's—and it is arranged chronologically in six major sections: the pre-Islamic period (33 pieces); the coming of Islam and

the age of the Conquests (35 pieces); the love poets (the *ghazal*)—24 pieces; the three great Umayyad poets and some of their contemporaries (44 pieces); the 'Abbāsid period and the Middle Ages (140 pieces); and, finally the modern age (60 pieces).

Each section is preceded by a concise discourse in which the political and social conditions within which the poets lived and worked are delineated in a manner which provides the student with a continuing perspective, firmly linking the individual poets with the world of life and people, events and tastes, and thus supplies many clues to the understanding of the poets' choice of genre and style, and factors affecting even choice of vocabulary. This preparation serves to deepen the student's understanding and enjoyment of the pieces themselves. The poems are also accompanied throughout by a commentary whose express function, by supplying the necessary lexical and grammatical assistance, is to remove the final barriers to immediate contact with the poet's expression.

Each division of the book is followed by a discussion section designed to encourage the student to bring to bear directly upon the poems he has been introduced to, his own powers of perception and assessment, gradually eliciting from him simple value judgments, with the aim to awaken and gently extend his response, to train (but not to impose) taste, encouraging the employment of the gradually developing critical powers.

The work has a singular unity, being held together by Professor al-Ṭayyib's extensive erudition, and although it is inevitable in such a considerable range of poetic material that there should be unevenness in quality, the very key to the compiler's main purpose is provided in the excuse he offers for the inclusion of certain weaker verses, that a poem, despite weakness, may nevertheless give pleasure. Himself a practitioner, imbued with a profound and totally unpretentious love of poetry, he is solicitous as teacher to communicate the immense joy he derives from the reading of poetry.

Throughout the selection the pieces are deliberately kept short, to enable the student to commit to memory those which appeal to him—the surest way to gain lasting possession of poetry and to derive recurrent pleasure from its possession. Additional notes and explanatory material, of a kind appropriate to the difficulties experienced by primarily English-speaking students in Nigeria or Pakistan are supplied in English by Mr. Hunwick in an appendix. This seldom, however, adds anything to the Arabic commentary which, indeed, it frequently merely repeats. It might have been wiser, in catering for the needs of such

students, to have supplied an Arabic-English, or even an Arabic-Arabic glossary alphabetically arranged. If students have enough Arabic to work through this selection, they could, with such an aid, easily enjoy the use of Professor al-Tayyib's extensive Arabic commentary, thus incidentally training themselves in the use of the commentary, itself an indispensable skill for all students of Arabic. An index of the poets whose work figures in the selection would also be a useful addition.

Four pages of errata are included in this printing—but these are mostly minor irritants caused mainly by broken ligatures, or unclear pointing, and are too insignificant to spoil the considerable pleasures to be derived from the use of this excellent publication.

JOHN BURTON

GABRIEL BAER: *Egyptian guilds in modern times*. (Oriental Notes and Studies, No. 8.) xiii, 192 pp. Jerusalem: Israel Oriental Society, 1964. LL. 13.50, \$4.60.

Our understanding of modern Egyptian social history owes much to the researches of Professor Baer, and this study of the guilds displays those qualities of careful scholarship and lucid exposition to which we have become accustomed in his previous books and writings. It is concerned mainly with the organization, functions, and history of the guilds in the nineteenth century, for which period data are abundant. Professor Baer has been unable to deal fully with the development of the guilds in the earlier Ottoman period, for which information is much sparser. He is indeed able to give some account of the seventeenth century, for which he has two important sources, on which he bases his first chapter (pp. 1-15). One of these is an unpublished Arabic manuscript, *Kitāb al-dhakhā'ir wa 'l-tuḥaf fi bīr al-ṣanā'i' wa 'l-bīraf* (Gotha, Landesbibliothek; Arabische Handschrift No. 903); the other is Evliya Çelebi's account of the guilds in his *Seyahatname*, x (Istanbul, 1938), 358-86. The anonymous author of *Kitāb al-dhakhā'ir*, writing in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, looked back to the Mamluk sultanate as a golden age, and depicted an organization already in decline, as a consequence of the Ottoman conquest. The situation he reflects is one in which the guilds, formerly autonomous, were passing under governmental control. Later evidence would indicate that this was a continuing process, although there appears to be an almost complete lacuna in our information between the seventeenth and the nineteenth centuries. The history of the guilds in the nineteenth century is resumed in

Professor Baer's fifth (and final) chapter (pp. 127-49). In contrast to the generally received opinion, he demonstrates that the guilds did not disappear as a result of Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha's attempts to industrialize Egypt, but continued into the late nineteenth century and even beyond. He reaches the conclusion that they survived because the government was for long unable to create any new organization which would fulfil their functions. They came to an end, not suddenly, by a fiat of the ruler, but gradually, as the economic and administrative structure of Egypt changed, with the influx of foreign merchants and goods, the development of urbanization, and the growing efficiency of the governmental machine. The greater part of Professor Baer's monograph is concerned with the organization and functions of the guilds. His second chapter (pp. 16-48) begins with a discussion of nomenclature, in which he draws attention to pitfalls resulting from the different significances of terms such as *tā'ifa* and *shaykh*. He then examines the range of occupations organized in guilds, and their classification by social status, affinity, and means of administrative control. From this survey he concludes that 'the Egyptian guild system in the 19th century was not one of "craft guilds" in the narrow sense. It was a general system embracing almost all active town people permanently resident in Egypt, including even the lower ranks of government employees, such as scribes and tax-collectors' (p. 47). In the following chapter (pp. 49-76), he describes first the traditional guild structure, from data provided by the Gotha manuscript, and then indicates the changes which can be observed from nineteenth-century sources. The role of the guilds as an administrative link is examined in the fourth chapter (pp. 77-126), and Professor Baer notes that 'Like the shaykhs of Egyptian villages, the shaykhs of the guilds represented the authorities to the guilds rather than the guilds before the authorities' (p. 84). He goes on to consider in detail the functions of the guilds in connexion with taxation, the supply of services and labour, the fixing of wages and prices, the exercise of restriction and monopolies, the arbitration of disputes, and participation in public ceremonies. The appendixes (pp. 153-65) contain excerpts from *Kitāb al-dhakhā'ir* and Evliya Çelebi, and the text of two nineteenth-century documents. There is also a comprehensive list of the guilds (pp. 166-76). This systematic and detailed investigation is valuable contribution to a subject, the importance of which has long been recognized, but which has been involved in much obscurity and confusion.

P. M. HOLT

ABNER COHEN: *Arab border-villages in Israel: a study of continuity and change in social organization*. xiv, 194 pp. Manchester: Manchester University Press, [1965]. 30s.

This book is concerned with the social institutions of the Arab villagers of the 'Israeli Triangle' on the border with Jordan, whose traditional ties with their kith and kin across the frontier have been greatly attenuated with the rise of the Israeli state and attendant Arab-Israeli hostility. The analysis is based on Dr. Cohen's social anthropological field-work in this tense area in 1958-9 and strengthened by his earlier knowledge of it in the period 1949-56. The resulting monograph is of wide interest. It is to be commended first as an excellent political history of this segment of the Arab community in Israel; second, as a sociological analysis of what might be called the opportunist strategy of border situations; third, as an illustration of the depth of understanding which social anthropology can bring to oriental studies; and finally as an important case study in the dynamics of lineage and marriage organization.

The book is historical in the sense that the present social and political structure of the Triangle villages is examined in relation to their past with particular reference to crucial economic changes between the position early in the nineteenth century when Palestine was under the Ottomans, the mid-twentieth century Mandate period, and the ethnographic present (1959). The material, however, is not presented in a simple chronological sequence—for this is not a study of the unfolding of events, but of social processes and their consequences—and the author uses his historical data in different contexts to show how village institutions have changed in response to changing conditions, seeking to isolate the relevant variables in the course of his analysis. This being so, it must be admitted that the reader unfamiliar with Palestinian history would have been better prepared for the admirably tightly woven and integrated examination of institutional continuity and change which the author presents, had he been forearmed by a short straightforward chronological sketch of the main periods involved. Nevertheless with a wealth of data and sometimes poignant case material which makes exciting reading, Dr. Cohen successfully traces highly significant changes in village structure.

To-day villages of some 2,000 or so inhabitants are organized in groups of patrilineally based lineages (*hamulas*), each lineage forming an exclusive residential group with a high degree of endogamy (about 50%, of which 13% are marriages between a man and his father's

brother's daughter), and acting as a corporate group both in terms of payment and receipt of blood-compensation and in village council elections. In the early nineteenth century *hamula* identity was even more strikingly displayed since these units were then also land-holding groups. During the Mandate period, however, individual tenure developed and new economic conditions favoured the development of relatively large class and status differences within *hamulas*. Law and order were now also more effectively maintained by the central authorities than previously, thus reducing the need for collective *hamula* solidarity. In these conditions where the majority of many *hamula* members were landless peasants working as tenants for rich patrilineal kinsmen, class differences militated against the traditional practice of lineage endogamy. Rich married with rich, and this promoted the growth of strong ties between wealthy families of different *hamulas* and led to a reduction in *hamula* solidarity. This trend was further reinforced by the existence outside the villages of a strong Arab national movement which was opposed to *hamula* particularism and favoured wider allegiances. The subsequent incorporation of the Triangle villages in Israel, however, changed all this. There was now no effective Arab political organization outside the villages, and new possibilities of wage employment which did not require villagers to change their residence, and equal political opportunities for all in terms of voting rights, all combined to level class distinctions promoting a new egalitarianism and a revival of *hamula* identity in village affairs. Outside the village, by contrast, in relation to the affairs of the Israeli state in general, *hamulas* did not act corporately. This distinction which follows from the character of the wider social structure in which these villages were embedded emerges very clearly in Dr. Cohen's fascinating analysis of electoral behaviour in the municipal and national elections of 1959. At the same time, *hamula* endogamy expressed in the abhorrence with which agnates view the marriage of their sisters or daughters by outsiders was very strongly reasserted. Crucial to an understanding of these changes is the strong bond which exists between brother and sister and the cultural principle that marriage should be between social equals. To gain more wives than you give is prestigious, but to lose more wives than are received in return is a sign of weakness and a cause of shame.

Dr. Cohen repeatedly insists that lineage unity derives as much from endogamous marriage—whereby one's paternal and maternal kin are equated—as from patrilineal descent *per se*. Thus small intermarrying groups can in time develop into *hamulas*, just as

hamulas may lose their identity by exogamy. Yet the conjunction of endogamy and patriliney does not itself appear to be sufficient to produce an agnatic corporate group. Thus endogamous groups of landless agricultural labourers from Egypt attached to landowning *hamulas* in the pre-Mandate period have only become *hamulas* in the full sense by gaining political autonomy within the village. This suggests that something is missing from Dr. Cohen's analysis, or at least is not sufficiently stressed. This seems to me to be the fact that political unity is traditionally achieved and expressed in terms of solidarity in the blood-feud and in the payment and receipt of damages in concert (see e.g. pp. 138 ff.). And it is significant here that Dr. Cohen rejects the translation 'lineage' for his *hamula* as being likely to give rise to ambiguity. This insistence on the vernacular term seems to arise from a confusion between *form* and *function*. For whatever its changing functions, this unit is clearly a lineage in a formal sense in terms of its members' recognition of descent from a common patrilineal ancestor. There is no reason why the same morphological structure (here a lineage) should not fulfil different social functions in changing contexts. Nor is it very convincing to assert, as Dr. Cohen does, that, other things being equal, the *hamula* has greater potentiality for survival than many comparable exogamous groups. It seems indeed to be contradicted by his own data which show how these Triangle *hamulas* survived the shedding of their endogamy in the Mandate period to recover it again later. Here, as at some other points in the analysis, comparative reference to other studies of similar phenomena might have helped to clarify the argument.

These, however, are purely technical criticisms of a work which provides a great deal of highly topical fodder for the current descent-alliance debate in social anthropology. On more general grounds Dr. Cohen's study is equally welcome, and traditional Arabists certainly have much to learn from it.

I. M. LEWIS

ULRICH GEHRKE and GUSTAV KUHN : *Die Grenzen des Irak : historische und rechtliche Aspekte des irakischen Anspruchs auf Kuwait und des irakisch-persischen Streites um den Schatt al-Arab*. (Darstellungen zur Auswärtigen Politik, Bd. 2.) 2 vols. : [iii], ix, 352 pp., map ; [iii], 112 pp. Stuttgart : W. Kohlhammer GmbH, 1963. DM. 42.

The second of these two volumes gives the

documents relevant to the historical, political, and legal study set out in the first volume. Both are reproduced lithographically from typewritten copy. Despite the indications of the title Arabic and Persian names are given in transliteration. This is a welcome feature which is not often found in this kind of study.

The introduction (pp. 1-6) sets out clearly what the authors conceive as the background for both these territorial disputes. Whereas in the days of the Ottoman Empire there was thought to be some advantage in not fixing frontiers precisely, this is not true of the nationalist régimes which have replaced it. Thus Iraq wishes to benefit on the one side from the vagueness of the Ottoman frontier with Persia, and on the other from the even more ill-defined Ottoman suzerainty over Kuwait. Both these disputes accordingly arise from the acceptance by nationalist states of European frontier concepts.

After discussing (pp. 16-30) how Iraq fixed its frontiers with Turkey, Syria, Sa'ûdi Arabia, and Jordan, the book goes on to discuss historically the problem of the relation of Kuwait to the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century. From this it seems clear that Turkish suzerainty was purely nominal and was frequently repudiated by the Kuwaitis.

The first Iraqi claim to Kuwait in 1938-9 under the régime of Nûri al-Sa'îd (p. 93) would seem to have had some support in Kuwait, probably from the merchant class. This was no doubt a manoeuvre on their part to put political pressure on the ruler. After the war the intelligentsia would seem to have toyed with the idea of union with Iraq as a realization of nationalist aspirations. With increasing prosperity from oil and the disfavour in which Qâsim's régime was latterly held any such desires had altogether disappeared before the second, more ominous, claim in 1961. The Iraqi arguments were legalistic in the extreme and corresponded even less than in 1938 with political realities. It is clear that the Kuwaitis themselves, before the 1961 crisis, considered that the nebulous Ottoman suzerainty was abrogated in 1914 on the outbreak of the first World War. (Thus compare S. M. Shamlân, *Min târikh al-Kuwait*, Cairo, 1959, 136-7.)

Unlike the Kuwait crisis the Shaṭṭ al-'Arab dispute did not cease with the overthrow of the Qâsimite régime and some action was taken to obstruct shipping at the mouth of the Shaṭṭ al-'Arab in 1963 (cf. p. 284). After Persia's recognition of the new régime in the same year, however, the situation eased considerably.

There are a few points of detail which call for comment. Little use has been made of Arabic books and newspapers in the section on Kuwait. These could have thrown light on Kuwaiti attitudes to the Iraqi claims and on

other points of detail. Thus regarding p. 88, n. 167, Shamlān (p. 181) and M. B. Sinān, *al-Kuwait—zahrat al-khalij al-'arabi*, Beirut, 1956 (p. 49) both give 3 January 1916 as the date of the death of Shaikh Mubārak. On the other hand Persian sources have been quoted.

It is an exaggeration to refer to Bahrain as among 'den reichen Ölländern' (p. 101) when its oil revenues are in fact very modest. Finally the name given to the ruling house of Kuwait throughout is Šubbāh. Šubāh (or Šabāh) is more correct.

This is a careful and exact study of two complex and important border disputes and the two volumes together form a valuable source of useful reference data.

T. M. JOHNSTONE

KENNETH CRAGG: *Counsels in contemporary Islam*. (Islamic Surveys, 3.) xiv, 255 pp. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, [1965]. 21s.

This slim volume makes the reader work very hard indeed, and whilst it contains much that is admirable, especially the imagination and perception brought to the discussion of certain themes, as for example, exegesis, there is also serious ground for dissatisfaction. The author employs a curiously oblique mode of expression which produces a hieratic note, more appropriate to a work of persuasion, perhaps, than to one aimed at exposition. This is unfortunate, often distracting, and occasionally irritating the reader, and obscuring for him some penetrating observations.

The aim of the book is to provide educated readers and undergraduates with an account of the definitions of 'Islam' proposed by individual contemporary Muslims, who have attempted to take stock of the spiritual and social resources left by 14 centuries of tradition at the disposal of Muslim peoples now constructing nation-states on the sites of retreating empires. Judgment must, therefore, depend upon the range of topics selected for review, as upon the quality of their discussion. On both these aspects of the book there are questions to be asked.

What ought to be borne in mind, in any such appraisal of the 'bricks and mortar' of 'Islam', is that the various voices competing to be heard above the clamour of the modern nationalisms represent, generally, one or other of two principal and irreconcilable notions of what is meant by 'Islam'. That they are really irreconcilable explains why there is a crisis, which, as Dr. Cragg rightly perceives, is 'not so much a crisis of Islam, as of Muslims'.

This crisis affecting Muslims, in so far as it

differs from the crisis affecting anyone else trying to fit into the world of the twentieth century, springs from the relatively sudden clash between two opposing views of human society, resting in turn upon mutually unintelligible readings of history. One view, realistic, pragmatic, is largely imported; the other, romantic, escapist, is indigenous, and this distinction it is which serves to emphasize the advisability of avoiding any kind of terminology which might tend to obscure this essential dichotomy.

Is history the record of fallible human endeavour to devise workable instruments for the regulation of the social order, at the successive stages of its development? Is Islamic history the record of effort by the pious to extract from the historical context, and to preserve for posterity, the divinely-revealed (and therefore solely valid) religio-political principles which, if only Muslims would faithfully implement them, would assure again, as it was once represented in the golden age of 'Islam', the rightly-guided caliphate, the ideal society, pleasing to God, and uniquely capable of satisfying all the Muslim's legitimate aspirations?

Evidently the crisis, where it is felt, is psychological in nature, and, for this very reason, to achieve an adequate assessment of the stresses operating upon Muslims, one must preserve a due balance in the presentation of these rival philosophies, neither of which lacks its champions. At the same time, whether looking in from without, or, as Dr. Cragg professes to do, from within the sphere of comment by Muslims themselves, it is essential to exercise the utmost wariness and discipline in the use of language, guarding against the confusion which must inevitably result from the failure to challenge either one's own vocabulary, or another's in any statement made in the name of, or about Muslims. This book fails to satisfy both these requirements. Dr. Cragg frequently uses undefined terms, the commonest example of which is 'Islam' itself, as in the title of the book. We even find this term personified, as in: '... contemporary Islam is set in more crucial relation to its Prophet, its Qur'ān, its Shari'a, and its Tradition than at any other point in its fourteen centuries'.

This term 'Islam' is to-day (and perhaps, always has been) as meaningless, for such a purpose as Dr. Cragg has set himself, as its sister term 'Christendom', and dangerous, because convenient. There is no such thing as 'contemporary Islam', only contemporary Muslims. Abstractions, apart from leading to confused communication, since no two people are agreed on their meanings, may also lead to self-contradiction. Thus, having, for example, stated that Muhammad Ali Jinnah, as

primarily a politician, who was also incidentally a Muslim, calculated upon religious susceptibilities for political ends, the author gives expression to the astounding statement that the creation of Pakistan, than which he thinks 'there is no more definitive event in the history of Islam', was 'the most evident single institutional expression of the mind of Islam'! Was it not rather, an occasion on which some Indian Muslims, to the consternation of other Indian Muslims, happened to be involved in a local political decision, quite in the tradition of the twentieth century Western principle of national self-determination on the basis of racial, linguistic, religious, and cultural self-consciousness? Dr. Cragg realizes that this creation of Pakistan was not the solution, merely the postponement of discussion of the constitutional problems. It is all the more regrettable, therefore, that, in a work of this scope, space could not have been found for an examination of the great Pakistani constitutional debate and the various positions which were represented. Other major and inexplicable exclusions are Sanūsīyya and, especially, Wahhābism, which, at the lowest estimate, has at least as good a claim to inclusion as several of the topics covered, not least because, whereas the bulk of the definitions cited from contemporary discussion among Muslims are predictably negative, having a surer sense of what must be denied in defining 'Islam' than of what may safely be affirmed, Wahhābism is a characteristically indigenous and positive attempt to organize a state on 'Islamic' lines. Such a discussion would surely have balanced the negativism of Turkish secularization.

Of the 12 chapters, fully four (in addition to parts of other chapters) are taken up with Indian topics, which may be considered an undue proportion, and partly accounts for the impression that the book is lop-sided. This feeling arises also, as has been suggested, from Dr. Cragg's signal failure to maintain a due impartiality as between the 'moderns' and the 'ancients' where, indeed, these latter are allowed to be heard. This is most acutely felt in his central chapter on 'Consensus and community' which is, perhaps, the core of the entire book, and might have provided a fruitful occasion for a useful comparison of the two thinkings about the nature and the organization of the 'Islamic state'. The author shows himself, however, to be hopelessly unsympathetic to the traditional view, brushing aside Mawlānā Abū 'l-Ḥasanāt's exemplary formulation of the definition of *Aḡh* as 'timid obscurantism' which 'time itself has made ludicrous'. Ludicrous it may be, but this is not the issue. What is significant is that it is held, and held sincerely, by many Muslims. If this were not so, there would of course, be no crisis.

The inadequacy of Dr. Cragg's discussion of 'ijmā' and *ijtihād* makes it indisputable that no one can hope to understand the new Muslims unless he is equipped to appreciate the assumptions and the values which shaped the thinking of the old Muslims, and which represent the major part of the heritage of the new men.

JOHN BUBTON

G. M. WICKENS (tr.): *The Nasirean ethics, by Naṣīr ad-Dīn Ṭūsī*. (Unesco Collection of Representative Works, Persian Series.) 352 pp. London: Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1964. 45s.

'What irony that this double-dyed traitor should be the author of one of the best-known works on Ethics written in Persian!' (E. G. Browne, *A literary history of Persia*, II, 457). 'The verdict of history on Naṣīr 'l-Dīn is a most unfavourable one. It might have been expected that the conduct of a man of his undoubted mental qualities would have been regulated by some standard higher than that of personal advantage. Yet he appears not only to have betrayed his Imā'ī master to Hūlāgū, but to have been instrumental in bringing the last Caliph treacherously to his death at the hands of the Mongols' (Reuben Levy, *Persian literature*, 64). Few of us to-day would pass so harsh a judgment on this great man of science. In the second half of the twentieth century it is only too easy to understand and appreciate 'the predicament of a powerful and sensitive mind caught up in a process of violent political and spiritual changes' (Wickens, 9). The attitude of orthodox Islam was of course wholly condemnatory and is exemplified in Subki's description of Ṭūsī as 'that unmistakable devil' and 'one of the bitterest opponents of the Muslims',¹ the latter expression referring perhaps not only to his implication in the death of the Caliph and his Shi'ism and possible Ismā'īlism but also to his role as a rationalist philosopher, 'a proud believer'—like Averroes before him—'in the possibility of reason to achieve a knowledge of "was das Innere der Welt zusammenhält"' (Simon van den Bergh, *Averroes' Tahafut al-tahafut*, I, xxxvi). Ṭūsī was in fact one of the last, as he was one of the greatest, of the Muslim scientists, and it is on his mathematical and astronomical researches, carried out at Marāgha under Mongol patronage and with

¹ See Otto Spies, 'Ein unbenutzter Bericht über die Mongolen in Bagdad', *Der Islam*, XL, 2-3, 1965, 97-112, at p. 106.

the collaboration of non-Muslim colleagues, that his fame will ultimately rest.²

Of his celebrated manual of ethics, the *Akh̄lāq-i-Nāṣirī*, Professor Wickens has now produced the first translation into a European language. It is strange that this work should have waited so long for a translator, when two later manuals—'progressively inferior Persian successors' as Professor Wickens calls them (loc. cit.)—have been available in English versions for more than a century.³ The reasons are no doubt to be sought in the lack of a critical edition and the inherent difficulties of the text itself. While these obstacles have in no way prevented Professor Wickens from rendering Ṭūsī's work into what he calls, too modestly, 'serviceable' English (p. 15), they have had one rather unfortunate consequence. He has thought it proper in the circumstances to reproduce in the annotation the original Persian of 'any term or turn of phrase considered to be doubtful, unexpected or ambiguous'. Although this is done for the laudable purpose of enabling the Islamist to 'arrive at his own evaluation' it has the regrettable effect of completely swamping the translator's 'brief elucidations on Islamic matters for the non-Islamist' as also his references to 'questions of content interesting to both Islamist and non-Islamist alike' (p. 14). It would have been more convenient for the reader if Professor Wickens had devised some means of segregating these linguistic notes from the rest of the annotation. Their number might also have been drastically reduced. None of the following expressions, all taken from a single page (p. 74), strikes the reviewer as being either 'doubtful, unexpected or ambiguous': '... he becomes familiar therewith...' (*bā ān kār ulfat girād*); 'The Ancients...' (*qudamā*); '... one of the properties of the animal soul...' (*az khawāṣṣ-i nafs-i hayawānī*); '... incapable of decline...' (*mumtani' al-zawāl*); '... come into being...' (*hādith shavād*); '... removal from them being impossible' (*intiḡāl az-ān nā-mumkin*).

A point or two of detail:

p. 12: Ṭūsī did not 'defect' (perhaps too

strong a word) to the Mongols in 645/1247 but ten years later in 655/1257.

pp. 178 and 312: by 'Emperor of the World', i.e. *pādshāh-i-jahān* (here, for once, Professor Wickens does not supply the Persian original), Ṭūsī can refer only to Hülegü. The latter's son Abaqa is referred to in the introduction to the *Zij-i-Ilkhānī*, composed during his reign, as *pādshāh-zāda-yi-jahān* 'Prince of the World'. (See J. A. Boyle, 'The longer introduction to the *Zij-i-Ilkhānī* of Naṣir-ad-Dīn Ṭūsī', *JSS*, VIII, 2, 1963, 244-54, at p. 247 and n. 5.)

p. 286: the verb *māndan* does not mean "to remain" and also "to seem (like)". Professor Wickens is presumably thinking of *mānistān* 'to resemble', the present stem of which (*mān*) is identical in form with that of *māndan*.

In congratulating Professor Wickens upon what will undoubtedly become the standard translation of this Persian classic the hope may perhaps be expressed that, in a second edition, he will relegate the linguistic annotation to an appendix (or perhaps dispense with it altogether, if a critical edition of the text should have appeared), at the same time adding somewhat to the commentary for the benefit of both scholar and layman alike, and, above all, devoting more space in his introduction to the life and writings of this strange, Faust-like figure, the contemporary of Albertus Magnus and Roger Bacon.

JOHN A. BOYLE

M. Ş. İPŞİROĞLU: *Saray-Alben: Diez'sche Klebebände aus den Berliner Sammlungen*. (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Bd. VIII.) xv, 135 pp., 67 plates. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH, 1964. DM. 96.

The four albums which are described in this catalogue are of considerable importance for the study of early Persian miniature painting. They were brought from Istanbul by Friedrich Heinrich von Diez, Prussian Ambassador to the Porte from 1784 to 1791, but it is not known how they came into his hands. With others from the Diez collection, they were incorporated in the former Preussische Staatsbibliothek and are now at Tübingen. As they contain no text or headings except in two cases, they were not included in the Berlin catalogue. Since 1956, when they were first exhibited, they have attracted a great deal of attention and a brief communication on their content and scope was given by Professor Kühnel at the XXIVth International Congress of Orientalists

² Willy Hartner, 'Quand et comment s'est arrêté l'essor de la culture scientifique dans l'Islam' in Brunschvig and von Grunebaum, *Classicisme et déclin culturel dans l'histoire de l'Islam*, Paris, 1957, 319-37, describes the period of Naṣir al-Dīn Ṭūsī as 'comparable aux meilleurs époques de la science musulmane' (326) and 'le dernier renouveau de la pensée scientifique' (332).

³ W. F. Thompson's translation of the *Akh̄lāq-i-Jalālī* was published in 1830 and H. G. Keene's of the *Akh̄lāq-i-Muhsinī* in 1851. See Browne, op. cit., III, 442-4.

in 1957. They have many points in common with the well-known Fatih Albums and may well have been from the same source. Not only do they show the same taste for chinoiserie but also a number of the attributions to various artists are identical. Professor İpsiroğlu has presented the material in four groups, divided according to subject, each of which he analyses in very full detail, with sections on the style, iconography, and composition.

The first group, which he calls 'seldschukisch-mongolisch', comprises a series of 15 miniatures from the *Shāhnāmeḥ* which the author has assigned to Shirāz c. 1330-40 and they thus belong to the Injū style. He draws a parallel between them and similar *Shāhnāmeḥ* manuscripts at Istanbul and Leningrad. To these one might add the miniatures from the *Mu'nis al-ahrār* of Jājarmi in some American collections and the unique *Samak-i 'ayyār* manuscript at Oxford in which the same double plaits worn by the women and the same red background appear. The drawing is rough but pleasing; likewise the warm yet subdued colour scheme. They are in complete contrast to the very much finer work which was being done at Tabriz during this period where the Far Eastern influence is more strongly marked. A single folio from a Ḥariri manuscript has been treated with this group. Although there are some similarities to the Birūni manuscript at Edinburgh, the author's suggestion that it was executed at Shirāz in the early fourteenth century is probably correct. The figure of a ruler seated in state comes from another manuscript of the same period and seems to be a title-page. Professor İpsiroğlu mentions that it resembles a similar scene found in Arabic manuscripts (e.g. the Vienna *Kitāb al-diryāq*). In his detailed analysis of this miniature, the author says that the treatment of the individual figures follows the Far Eastern tradition and that their heraldic arrangement comes from Sassanian art; but the artistic influence of the Far East in actual fact seems to be very slight except in the costume and features of the attendants.

In his description of the second group (called 'mongolisch-chinesisch'), Professor İpsiroğlu is inclined to devote too much space to the artistic importance of the Mongols who, as patrons of the arts, were only the vehicle whereby Far Eastern ideas reached Iran and the neighbouring countries. The 44 miniatures come from a copy of the *Jāmi' al-tavāriḫ* which dates from the first quarter of the fourteenth century. In the author's opinion they are inferior to other copies known from this period and are closely related to those in Topkapı Sarayı No. 1314—a manuscript containing also the *Majma' al-tavāriḫ* of Ḥāfiz-i Abrū. The illustrations form a close

series, coming from the same studio but are by different artists. The scene showing unharnessed horses drawn with elongated bodies (to suggest speed?) stampeding under a hail of arrows towards a body of riders is full of movement. It appears to show a *ruse de guerre* since riderless horses in a state of panic were a severe impediment to charging cavalry, as was the case in the charge of the Light Brigade. Two other scenes, probably from a different manuscript, are excellent examples of the delineation of landscape during the İlkhānid period. The autumn landscape has a strange prismatic effect while the rider in the mountains shows a dramatic use of line. Over the plain beyond the mountains the approach of dawn is indicated by rows of faintly-tinged stratus clouds. Here the author examines the separate elements of landscape painting very thoroughly without reaching any general conclusion. This would have added more to the value of his description.

In the third group, which is of a more varied character, one can see how completely the Chinese elements were assimilated and how ingeniously the landscape was adapted to the action taking place. The group consists of miniatures from various manuscripts of post-İlkhānid date (c. 1340-70), including an Iskandar romance, a *Shāhnāmeḥ*, and a book of travels. All these, Professor İpsiroğlu says, are related in varying degrees to the illustrations in the Demotte *Shāhnāmeḥ* but are coarser provincial work. One illustration, showing Iskandar visiting a hermit, is perhaps the earliest known representation of this scene. A miniature, captioned 'Ahnbesuch eines Königs' is evidently from the *Bahmannāmeḥ* and shows Bahman looking at the bodies of Rustam, Sām, Narimān, and Garshāsp lying in their coffins. Unlike the same illustration in the British Museum MS Or. 2780, f. 171a, in which the coffins are placed in a straight line as seen from the portal, this version depicts the mausoleum from above which has a much more striking effect. The treatment of the ram and an angora goat in another miniature is exceptionally fine, and this must surely be counted as one of the most outstanding and realistic animal studies by a pre-Timūrid artist. The torture of four prisoners whose pain-distorted faces express their anguish, is much less attractive. One bystander holds what appears to be a chafing-dish to heat the iron. The inside is red, presumably to indicate red-hot coals.

This group abounds in unusual features of iconography—the library in which the titles of books in a cabinet are clearly shown, the curious anchor in a nautical scene, the king visiting a cripple whose shoulders are supported by a strange appliance suspended between two

wind-towers, and, above all, the strongly Seljūq motifs of the architecture in three miniatures. With their interlacing strapwork surrounding a circular medallion and, in one case, a frieze of running animals, these form a refreshing contrast to the tiled façades so frequently encountered in Persian art.

Several of the miniatures, notably those from an unidentified travel book, have parallels in the Fatih Albums. The right-hand portion of the scene showing a sea monster attacking the survivors of a shipwreck is made up from another miniature—a characteristic found over and over again in the albums where as many as four miniatures are joined together to form one leaf of an album. The story of a man and his adventures with a monkey people occurs in the *'Ajā'ib al-Hind* of Buzurg ibn Shahryār and in the *Dārābnāmeḥ*. One scene, depicting a man with a female monkey, is almost identical with a miniature in a British Museum copy of the *Dārābnāmeḥ* (Or. 4815) but it would be dangerous to assume that it comes from an early illustrated copy of this work. In No. 86 (one of several scenes captioned 'Dame mit Dienerin') which is apparently from the *Sī-nāmeḥ*, a poem by Kātībī on the loves of Muḥibb and Maḥbūb, the heading seems to have escaped the author's notice. It reads:

فرستادن شمع را پیش محبوب وزاری محب با شمع

Two of the scenes which have a Biblical flavour may well be from some lost manuscript of the *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh*.

Some *Shāhnāmeḥ* miniatures of small format by several hands have been ruthlessly cut up for mounting. Their background is heavy and obtrusive which tends to obscure what is taking place. As Professor İpşiroğlu says, the landscape has some resemblance to that in the Demotte *Shāhnāmeḥ* but he does not mention that they belong to the Baghdād-Tabriz school between 1340 and 1370.

A number of folios from another copy of the *Shāhnāmeḥ* which were painted towards the end of the fourteenth century are of a very high standard of execution. The spirited battle scene between two groups of riders outside a city gate gives a feeling of depth. According to the author, it has stylistic affinities with a single folio from a *Shāhnāmeḥ* in one of the Topkapı Sarayı Albums (Hazine 2153), dated c. 1370 by Mr. Basil Gray and assigned to Baghdād. This may very well be from the same manuscript. The miniature in the Diez Album was later attributed to Aḥmad Mūsā, and Professor İpşiroğlu places it in the last decade of the fourteenth century. From approximately the same period comes the Fire-ordeal of Siyāvūḡ. Here the author compares the treatment of the fire with that in an earlier representation of this scene from group I. It is here decorative

rather than realistic. The hunting scene, signed by Darvīḡh Maṅṣūr, is likely to be from a Bāysunghurī manuscript and foreshadows the very lively scenes of a similar character painted later in the fifteenth century. The simple background accentuates the movement of the riders who gallop madly across the field.

Group IV consists of 267 items which are of very mixed and uneven quality. These drawings and sketches are all of various sizes and are partly newly mounted. Some are in monochrome and some are lightly coloured. Many of the brush and pencil drawings indicate through pin marks and pouncing that they were superficial drafts for artists to trace. All are isolated full-page drawings and, with one exception, were not executed for a particular manuscript. As it was obviously not practicable to classify them in small groups, they are treated in numerical order. The album is in two parts, the earlier of which contains sketches and drawings of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. There is also some coarse seventeenth-eighteenth century work including illustrations of Turkish costumes of the eighteenth century with captions, and an engraving of the Moroccan Ambassador to Austria dated 1783. A few others of the illustrations are Western (Nos. 163 and 200) and some are Western-inspired. Among these a scene with Classical associations of Dionysos holding a cornucopia (23) takes pride of place and must be one of the earliest Persian copies of a Western picture. Others are based on Chinese originals or are actual Chinese drawings with typical dragons, *ch'i-lin*, and flying birds. Many of these are familiar to us as marginal decorations which appear in ever-increasing numbers in manuscripts from the fifteenth century onward. Among the imitations of Chinese drawings, those which depict the dragon and the phoenix (*Sīmurḡh*) in combat raise an interesting point. As both these animals have a beneficent significance in the Far East, it seems incongruous that they should be fighting. Such a scene would never occur in Chinese art. According to Werner, only the mountain dragon (*Nāga*) was regarded as evil by the Buddhists and we may have here an echo of its fights with the *Garuḡa*; but a more likely explanation is afforded by a T'ang mirror in the British Museum. On this a 'rampant' dragon and two phoenixes 'displayed regardant' are arranged in a symmetrical group. This heraldic juxtaposition was copied by non-Chinese artists who thought that the two creatures were fighting or perhaps they sought to introduce a more realistic touch. Again, the idea of the dragon as an opponent of the *Sīmurḡh* was probably coloured by their own concept of the dragon as a malevolent monster which was chained by

angels and banished with the *Dŷs* beyond Mount Qāf. Among the quasi-Chinese drawings, the warrior and his horse (100) are noteworthy in that they betray by a certain laboured touch that they are copied from a Chinese picture.

Many of the items date from the Jalā'irid period, showing the potentialities of Islamic line drawing before the rigid formalities of design restricted its development. Professor İpşiroğlu states that Timūrid art is not so well represented in this album, but it is likely that some of the drawings are in fact Timūrid copies of earlier works (e.g. Nos. 27, 46, 48, and 164). The illustration of Abraham and the three guests with its strong Byzantine characteristics, on the other hand, appears to be earlier than the fifteenth century. Several of the sketches and drawings are of special interest—a draft (for the 'Battle of the Clans') showing how the figures were built up from lines (83), the fight between Suhrāb and Gurdāfrīd which seems to be an unfinished miniature for a manuscript as some lines of text attest (234), the nomad encampment (118), the figure of an angel (probably a study for a *Mī'rājnāmah*) wearing a cap made of petals similar to those in the British Museum manuscript Add. 27261 and bearing a flaming vessel (125), the study of a potentate, perhaps for a Bāysunghurī Jāmī (137), and lastly, a very unusual miniature in the form of a triptych showing a lovers' tryst in the centre, with a man in an attitude of deep sorrow to the left, while a duck is flying to the right (207). The attributions to various artists are of a later date, as the author says; in one case this is confirmed beyond any doubt by the name of Shams al-Dīn who would never have referred to himself as '*Ustādh*'.

Several of the sketches showing scenes of everyday life are plainly by Turkish artists—the soldiers pillaging the ass-driver's goods (25), the pair of musicians who are shown in profile (187), and the very realistic smithy scene (262). The latter is almost certainly part of a study for the miniature in the *Majālis al-'uḡshāq* where 'Ayn al-quḍāt Hamadānī is seen outside a blacksmith's shop in which three men are working, just as in this study. All these are Turkish copies of Timūrid miniatures and are not likely to be earlier than the second half of the fifteenth century. The falconer (1) appears also to be a Turkish copy of a much later date.

The author has a tendency to forget that artistic traditions in Islamic painting had deep local roots which existed long before the Mongol conquest. Thus his statement (introduction, x) that Persian painting had no tradition of its own for book illustration is open to challenge. Although one cannot speak with any

confidence of Persian painting before the İlkhānid period, it is difficult to believe that Sassanian Persia, with its highly developed literature and art, was backward in this respect. In addition to the references in Arabic works to early books, of which two at least must have been illustrated by Persian artists, we have the more positive evidence of the few surviving fragments of Manichaean illuminated manuscripts, not to mention the astronomical drawings of the *Šuwar al-kawākib* at Oxford (dated 400/1009) and the title-page of a manuscript found in Egypt which depicts a dignitary seated upon a throne. All these are essentially Iranian in character or show unmistakable signs of Iranian influence. Even if the earlier illustrated manuscripts have perished for the most part, the figures on the Seljūq pottery and the mural paintings at Sāmarrā provide a link between the Sassanians and the early Islamic miniature painters in the eastern provinces of the Caliphate. The facility with which the art of book illustration developed in these former lands of the Sassanian Empire is an argument in favour of the survival of some underlying native tradition.

Professor İpşiroğlu's comparison of İlkhānid painting with Gothic art (p. 30) is bold and interesting; but it is not clear what is meant by his statement that the Mongol, like the Gothic artist, inherited the late Classical tradition.

Apart from these few points, the book is one of the most valuable works in this field published in recent years. It is particularly strong in providing early prototypes of familiar scenes and will open up new vistas for the study of iconography which is at present not very far advanced. In conclusion, the high quality of the colour reproductions and the photography deserves special mention.

G. M. MEREDITH-OWENS

PETER AVERY: *Modern Iran*. (Nations of the Modern World.) xvi, 527 pp., map. London: Ernest Benn Ltd., 1965. 60s.

This book treats of the history and politics of Iran from the Treaty of Gulistan (1813) until to-day, with a description of the country and passages about its economy and the character, religion, and customs of its people. A good plan. What of the execution?

The author hampers his purpose for the beginning by writing with extraordinary prolixity; he even tends to repeat himself—e.g. on pp. 330 and 358 he gives slightly conflicting accounts of Riḡā Shāh's movements after his abdication. He is also capable of passages like this (from p. 490):

'But what began most seriously to engage his attention was the continued division of opinion, and the continued inflammability of some men's thoughts in his realm; and what most seriously illuminated these darker areas of the nation's political life was once more the advent of the Majlis elections'.

Anyone may protest against verbiage which wastes the reader's time and the buyer's money, but as history and politics are in question the reviewer must declare his interest. From December 1939 until March 1946 he was the British representative in Tehran.

The best part of the book is on the period from 1947. Mr. Avery has picked up much information from Iranians (this applies also to the beginnings of Rizā Shāh); moreover, his imposing bibliography includes many books in Persian. On the other hand, if he had read, or read more thoroughly, some of the books in English on his list, many errors and omissions might have been avoided.

The author makes various comments on the Iranian character, some of them sensible and just. It would indeed be unfair to demand a high degree of frankness and moral courage from a people which has spent such long periods under foreign domination or pressure; but when, in a high-flown passage on p. 76, the author attributes to perfectionism the Iranian habit of ceaseless criticism (would not the causes he posits—experience of temporal vicissitudes and of clear starry skies—have made perfectionists out of Egyptians, many Australian aborigines, and numerous other human groups?), he leaves out of account the almost universal tendency in Iran to refuse to accept responsibility for anything that goes wrong. This refusal, which is the despair of the Iranians who face it, accounts for the fact, noted by the author, that for decades the Iranians have blamed Britain for all their sufferings, real or imaginary. Thus Iranians who used to accuse Britain (unjustly) of having put Rizā Shāh on the throne for her own ends, are capable of blaming the British now for his abdication. We can understand this human weakness, but we must not rewrite history to gratify it.

At the time of the Allied invasion in 1941 Rizā Shāh enjoyed the support of favoured classes like the army, but he was detested by educated Iranians in general (not to mention the overtaxed poorer people), and when they found that the British did not remove or even criticize him it raised their anger against Britain, already fierce because of the invasion, to white heat. To destroy this identification of Britain with the policy and actions of Rizā Shāh the BBC gave several broadcasts in Persian about constitutional government and certain aspects of the Rizā Shāh régime. Mr.

Avery assumes that the purpose was to 'destroy' Rizā Shāh, but he is mistaken, and his abuse of the broadcasts is baseless.

A grievance against Rizā Shāh was that he built costly palaces but rejected all schemes for a much-needed piped water supply for Tehran. According to the author, just such a scheme was in the budget for 1941-2, only the Allied invasion blocked it. This statement, which will amuse many Iranians who remember those times, is remote from reality. Rizā Shāh was fully occupied by the desperate problems created by the war—and by the feverish acquisition of yet more estates by forcible expropriation. Most important, there could have been no financial provision for such a scheme, for when Rizā Shāh abdicated the state treasury was virtually empty, and the government formed after his departure could only meet essential expenditure by 'borrowing' from Rizā Shāh's private account of some £4 millions. Mr. Avery must have been misled on this point.

The author states (p. 289) that the rise of middle-class men enabled Rizā Shāh to dispense with 'men like Teymourash, for instance'. Attention is paid to some minor characters in this period, but we are told no more about Taimūrtash—the man who bore the crown before Rizā Khān at the coronation, and was Minister of Court and an immense power in the land until he was dismissed, at the end of 1932, and sent to prison, where he died soon afterwards—of heart failure, according to the official account. Mr. Avery gives us Henry VIII without Wolsey.

Perhaps the other parts of the book are more reliable than the history? Not p. 5, where the author states that the system of *qanāts* (underground water-channels) is peculiar to Iran, whereas it extends to Afghanistan, Baluchistan, and the North-West Frontier of India. Then there are three errors in the statement on p. 326: '... in 1939 ... a credit of £5,000,000 was extended to Iran, but had to be withdrawn when war broke out'. What happened was that in 1940 Rizā Shāh accepted a credit of £25 million from Britain (he repudiated it when he found that it would not buy the modern arms etc. that he wanted) because the British blockade cut him off from his main source of supply, Germany.

Iran during the period covered by this book offers a remarkable field for the study of imperialism, in the sense of the use of a small by a greater power in the interests, primarily at any rate, of the stronger. Mr. Avery laments the situation of Iran, with good reason, but he never grapples with the problem as a whole. Given the conditions of the time it was natural that in the early part of the nineteenth century Britain should oppose Russian influence in

Iran. Would it have been better for Iran at the time if Britain had held aloof?

But that of course led us on, eventually, to the 1907 agreement, which fear of the growing power of Germany induced Britain to conclude with Russia. The reviewer remembers the hopes aroused among Western sympathizers by the 1906 revolution in Iran and the indignation at the attack on it by Persian reactionaries aided by Russian intervention. Mr. Avery breaks no new ground here: what is his melancholy story of what the Iranians did with parliamentary democracy after the abdication of Riḡā Shāh. He considers that they showed none of the qualities required, and that the suspension of the parliament by the Shāh for over two years was justified and salutary.

The author's account of the situation in Iran from 1907 to 1914 bears heavily on Britain, whose position was indeed humiliating. He makes fun of Sir Edward Grey, yet he has to admit that Grey was right in anticipating war with Germany, but he draws no conclusion from this. He rightly paints Shuster, the American adviser, as an honest, well-meaning man, but has he read thoroughly Shuster's *The strangling of Persia*? Shuster wanted to use Britain as a lever against Russia. In his book he maintained that if Britain should be drawn into war with Germany, Russia would stand aside; and he urged Britain to oppose Russia in Iran at whatever risk. Shuster was wrong, and in any case it was not his country's safety that was at stake, but ours. However, he was writing before 1914; Mr. Avery, with more information to go on, might at least have told us what policy that was within Britain's power would have been better for Iran.

When we come to the second World War Mr. Avery is again silent upon an essential issue. He records that Riḡā Shāh's appeal to the United States for help against the threatened Anglo-Russian invasion was made in vain, but he never asks why. As constant critics of British imperialism, not least in relation to Iran, the United States Government might have been expected to prefer that all their aid to Russia should be sunk on the way to Murmansk rather than sent across Iran by a route secured by an Anglo-Russian invasion. Did they say that? Fortunately for the world they did not; they advised Riḡā Shāh (see the author's list) to aid the Allies and avoid helping Hitler. After the invasion they sent to Iran 30,000 troops to dispatch aid to Russia, though these were nominally part of the British forces. Mr. Avery says (p. 352): 'Above all the Americans desired to avoid the obloquy and suspicion attached to the names of the other

two powers'. Imperialism without responsibility?

Mr. Avery might have been led to discuss this fascinating question if he had not ignored a matter of cardinal significance. He refers to American (State Department, not military) protests when the British had to arrest General Zāhidi, who was deep in a pro-German conspiracy, but does not mention that the British had to secure the arrest of over 30 Iranian railway employees, on the demand of the American G.O.C., who feared that they might commit sabotage. If this incident had been mentioned the reader might have realized that the difference between Americans and British in Iran, which to Mr. Avery was a matter of sympathy towards the Iranians in which the Americans were superior, in fact represented (not to be captious, let us say also represented) a difference of function. All the disagreeable tasks, and they were many, such as keeping order on the Allied lines of communication and ensuring the internment of Iranians known to be conspiring against the Allied cause, had to be performed, on behalf of British and Americans alike, by the British.

We conclude with notes on a few of the points where the author might have been more helpful to the reader:

(1) The vague references to the tariff agreement concluded secretly between Russia and Iran in 1902 are not intelligible. They should have been made clear, for the agreement not only damaged our trade, but revealed the growing influence of Russia and therefore provided an additional inducement for Britain to come to terms with Russia.

(2) Far more important than Lord Curzon's Persian Gulf tour in 1903, which the author mentions, was Lord Lansdowne's strong warning against the establishment of a naval base or a fortified post on the Persian Gulf by any other power.

(3) The author explains the judicial privileges of foreigners (capitulations) when mentioning their abolition by Riḡā Shāh, but not how they came into existence. Unlike the capitulations in Turkey, which were ancient (they had been taken over by the Turks from Byzantium), in Iran they had been imposed by Russia, by the Treaty of Turkmanchay (1828).

(4) The author tells at length the story of the oil crisis of 1946-7, but dismisses in an inaccurate aside the hardly less important crisis of 1944-5, in which the Russians used violent pressure and, when rebuffed, brought down the Iranian Government. The Majlis then passed a law to rule out even the discussion of an oil concession with any foreign state or interest, and Dr. Muḡaddiq foreshadowed the fate of the AIOC, scouting the notion of

being 'fair' to the Russians by granting them a concession, and recommending for Iranian oil a 'negative balance', i.e. no Russians but no British either.

(5) The author writes of the Russo-Iranian treaty of 1921 and subsequent disputes about the meaning of the attached letters, but not of the vital assurances given to Russia by the Shāh in 1960 and again (in writing) in 1962, that he would never allow the soil of Iran to be used as a base for an attack on the U.S.S.R.

(6) The legal character of the lands sold to the peasants by the Shāh needs to be defined. Mr. Avery adds to the confusion by referring to them as Crown lands, personal estates, and in other ways. Is it true that Rizā Shāh, when he abdicated, transferred all his estates to his successor, for a peppercorn payment, as a *waqf* (charitable trust)? In any case, it appears that the Majlis took over all these estates and, after spending several years trying to satisfy former owners who claimed to have 'sold' to Rizā Shāh under pressure, handed the rest to the Shāh to administer for charitable and analogous purposes.

(7) The author attributes to Rizā Shāh a late interest in the ancient Iranian crafts, but says nothing about the work done by Iranian craftsmen, who needed only a chance to show their skills, when a French architect, M. Godard, with a minute budget allocation not always paid in full, embarked on the restoration of mosques and other ancient buildings, repairing the damage done by decades of corruption and neglect.

(8) The index is not classified, except for the item 'Iran' and would therefore be a less helpful guide to a book like this even if it were accurate, whereas it has numerous other faults. Gaps discovered by accident include the topics 'Capitulations', 'Truman Doctrine', 'Teymourash'. The 42 entries on 'Russia' end with p. 486, but of the 20 remaining pages of text in the book four mention Russia. The statesman Ḥusain 'Alā becomes in the index two persons, with half his life under 'Husain 'Alā' and half under 'Alā, Mr.'

R. W. BULLARD

SERGE TSOULADZÉ (tr.): *Chota Rustaveli: Le chevalier à la peau de tigre*. (Collection Unesco d'Oeuvres Représentatives, Série Géorgienne.) 272 pp. [Paris]: Gallimard, [1964]. Fr. 17.50.

Shot'a Rustaveli is the national bard of the Christian Georgians of the Caucasus—their Homer, their Dante, and their Milton combined. He was a contemporary, probably a courtier of the great Queen T'amar, who

reigned from 1184 to 1213. It was at this time that the Georgians established a short-lived imperium stretching from the Black Sea to the Caspian, including Armenia and Azerbaijan, and exercising suzerainty over the Christian empire of Trebizond. Rustaveli was thus a contemporary of Nizāmi of Ganja, whose 'Lailā and Majnūn' is in fact alluded to in his epic, 'The man in the panther's skin' (the Soviets prefer 'tiger'—opinions continue to differ on the animal's precise identity).

It is also interesting to note that the poem was evidently composed around the year 1200, at the same time as the *Nibelungenlied*. Competent critics such as Sir Maurice Bowra and Robert Stevenson have drawn instructive parallels between the techniques and imagery of Rustaveli and his Western contemporaries. One of the mainsprings of Rustaveli's outlook is his emphasis on *amour courtois*—the perfect, idealized love of a knight for his fair lady, for whose sake he is prepared to go through fire and water. Some have sought to trace influences penetrating Christian Georgia from the troubadours of Provence via the Crusaders in the Levant. This line of inquiry is worth pursuing, though evidence is scant. What we do know is that Rustaveli, like his Muslim confrères, drank deep of the waters of Neoplatonism, and was well versed in such Byzantine writers as Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite and Proclus Diadochus, who were translated into Georgian and popularized in the twelfth century by the Georgian philosopher Ioane Petritsi.

The story of the epic is a dramatic but rather involved one. It has the outward appearance of some tale from the 'Arabian nights'—Rustaveli pretends in fact to have come across the plot in Persian and versified it in his own tongue. This is probably a literary fiction—no prototype in Persian has ever been traced, in spite of the efforts of scholars. Though set at the court of the Arabian king Rostevan, the poem is really an allegory of Georgia's Golden Age. The fact that the aged King Rostevan takes his daughter T'inat'in as his co-ruler during his own lifetime is eloquent of this, since T'amar, to whom the poem is dedicated, was likewise admitted co-ruler by her own father King Giorgi III (1156–84). The adventures of the heroes and heroines, who sustain and support one another through endless battles with *kajis* and *jims*, travels to China, India, central Asia, and the ends of the earth, are secondary to the poet's searching after philosophical truth and ultimate verity. The profundity of Rustaveli's thought and the laconic concision of his close-knit language are exemplified by the fact that so many strophes have become Georgian proverbs: 'Better a glorious death

than a life of shame', or 'The fatherland prospers when the son excels his sire'—two examples, which may sound banal in translation, from dozens in daily use throughout Georgia to this day.

Was Rust'aveli a Christian? He begins by invoking 'God the Creator, who made the world by His power and might'. But he never alludes to members of the Holy Trinity or to individual saints. His theology is heretical and heterodox, and this was sensed by the medieval clerics who burnt the book. Elements of pantheism and of oriental fatalism obtrude. The gods of the Greek Pantheon, and the stars, the planets, the sun and moon are much in evidence and have mystical significance. In fact, Rust'aveli creates a profound and enigmatic metaphysical synthesis, our understanding of which has still far to go.

In undertaking a new translation of *Vep'khis-tqaosani*, Dr. Tsuladze follows undaunted a formidable line of predecessors, including M.-F. Brosset (whose name is incorrectly given on p. 11, n. 1, as J.-M. Brosset) and Georges Gvazava and A. Maroel-Paon in French, Marjory Wardrop in English, Bal'mont and Nutsbidze in Russian, as well as a considerable number of other renderings in languages including Italian, Hungarian, Czech, and even Japanese. As a Georgian educated in France but now in contact with the leading specialists of the Tbilisi Academy of Sciences, Dr. Tsuladze has the advantage of native command of both languages involved, and access to the latest findings of Rust'aveli scholarship. He has made a courageous attempt to reproduce in a verse form modelled on that of the original the characteristic Rust'avelian *shairi* of 16 syllables, though without attempting to copy the elaborate rhyme scheme. His style is limpid and felicitous, and from a literary view-point, this rendering gives pleasure to the reader. Less rigidly faithful than Marjory Wardrop's word-for-word prose translation, Dr. Tsuladze's version none the less sticks closely enough to the original to be used as a reliable key to the Georgian text. In fact, it is one of those few translations of a major oriental poetic work which combine scholarly accuracy with literary readability. Its value is enhanced by an excellent introduction, which sets Rust'aveli in perspective against the background of the history and philosophical trends of his age. I noted two small oversights: p. 270, note to str. 1394/1, should refer to str. 1494/1; back cover, 'composé de soixante et onze quatrains'—the correct number of quatrains is of course 1671. Otherwise the book is most attractively presented and produced. A copy of Rust'aveli's poem is traditionally included in every Georgian bride's dowry; this new

French translation could fittingly adorn any library or collection of poetry and belles-lettres.

D. M. LANG

FAHİR İZ (ed.): *Eski Türk edebiyatında nesir: XIV. yüzyıldan XIX. yüzyıl ortasına kadar yazmalardan seçilmiş metinler*. I. xxviii, 653, 5 pp. İstanbul: Osman Yalçın Matbaası, 1964. Lira 100.

With this volume Professor Fahir İz begins publication of what promises to be a most extensive and varied anthology of Anatolian and Ottoman Turkish literature, from its beginnings up to the period of the Tanzimat. Of six volumes projected, three will be devoted to prose and three to poetry, the first two in each group containing texts and the third consisting of notes, glossaries, some facsimiles of manuscripts, and bibliography. The first volume of the poetry group is already in the press. The series is intended primarily for Turkish university students, to be used in conjunction with a history of Turkish literature which the compiler is writing. It would therefore be both premature and presumptuous to 'review' this first volume of the anthology, divorced not merely from the projected history but from the supporting volume of notes, etc.; but in view of the scope and importance of the enterprise it is appropriate to give some indication of Professor İz's approach and method.

In a brief introduction he explains that he decided to start with prose rather than poetry and to put the emphasis on straightforward everyday prose in order to combat the misconception, still widely held, that the classical period of Turkish literature saw the production solely of *divân* poetry and of elaborate works of *inşâ*. He distinguishes, with illustrations, three broad currents in prose-writing, which he defines as simple prose (*sade nesir*), based on the popular spoken language, ornate prose (*süslü nesir*), with its unlimited recourse to the vocabulary and the stylistic devices of Arabic and Persian, and a middle stream (*orta nesir*), a style which, though far removed from everyday speech, yet aimed at communication rather than ostentation.

The texts, in Arabic script but with modern punctuation, are arranged by genre, and within each genre, chronologically. The subjects chosen for this volume are such that the majority of the selections fall in the class of 'simple prose', with only an occasional specimen of the turgid style of Veysi and Nâbi.

The seven broad categories covered are (1) 'Religious texts' (pp. 2-165), with selections from works on *tefsir*, *hadīth* and the articles of faith, *fetvā*-collections and popular works of edification by writers such as Eghref-oghlu and Ahmed Bijān; (2) 'Legendary history of Islam' (pp. 166-246), histories of the Prophets and of saints, etc.; (3) 'Religious epic' (*dīni-destān meinler*, pp. 247-359), the tales of Abū Muslim, Seyyid Baṭṭāl, etc., and the *menāqib-nāmes* of holy men (this section includes several episodes from the *Saltuk-nāme*); (4) 'Stories' (pp. 360-402); (5) 'Folk-stories' (pp. 403-21); (6) 'Epic' (*destān eserler*, pp. 422-508), mainly selections from the *Kitāb-i Dede Korkut*; and (7) the early histories (pp. 509-653).

Many of the passages, particularly in the first three sections, are taken from hitherto unpublished works. For these Professor İz does not claim to present a critical text, but gives the text of the oldest available manuscript, controlled occasionally by the readings of other MSS. This procedure is in general thoroughly satisfactory, for even if it were possible to assemble the numerous manuscripts in which many of these popular works exist the divergences among them might well prove numerous and extensive, whereas reliance on a single good manuscript has the advantage of presenting a text that is orthographically and syntactically consistent. It does, however, give rise to one major difficulty: the earlier the manuscript, the more likely it is that its orthography depends little on vowel-letters and largely on vowel-points, the latter being not an adornment but an essential aid to the comprehension of the text. In this volume the vowel-points are perforce omitted, for to reproduce them in a printed text is nowadays prohibitively expensive. For one excerpt (the early fourteenth-century translation of al-Ṭaḥṭabī's 'Arā'is al-majālis) Professor İz adopts the expedient of giving a transcription in Latin characters; but for some others too a transcription would have been helpful: to read without the help of vowel-points the passages from the translation of *Kalīla wa Dimna* or from the works attributed to Ahmed-i Dā'ī is occasionally something of an exercise in cryptography.

Although it is no part of the compiler's intention to cater for him, the historian will perhaps be interested to know what texts are included in the last section. In fact it consists mostly of passages from already published texts. The principal exceptions are several long excerpts from the *Oghuz-nāme* of Yazji-oghlu 'Alī (including the story of the origin of the Gagauz, discussed by P. Wittek in *BSOAS*, xiv, 3, 1952, 639-68) and two from the Ottoman history attributed to Rūhī

(Bodleian Library, MS Marsh 313): the first of these (headed by oversight 'Ertuğrul Gazi') is the interesting introductory chapter on the 'laudable qualities' of the Ottoman House; the second is in fact nothing new, for it is reproduced practically verbatim by Neshri (ed. Taeschner, I, 98-107; ed. Unat and Köymen, I, 366-94). Elsewhere, however, the historian should find much illuminating reading: the few pages from *fetvā*-collections, for example, suffice to show how much a comprehensive study of these works might contribute to our knowledge of Ottoman social history.

The book is clearly printed and has been meticulously proof-read. All teachers of Turkish will wish Professor İz and his assistants success in this ambitious enterprise and await the future volumes with impatience.

V. L. MÉNAGE

JOHANNA NARTEN: *Die sigmatischen Aoriste im Veda*. [v], 311 pp. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1964. DM. 48.

JERZY KURYŁOWICZ: *The inflectional categories of Indo-European*. (Indo-germanische Bibliothek. Dritte Reihe: Untersuchungen.) 246 pp. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, Universitätsverlag, 1964. DM. 32.

Dr. Narten's exhaustive formal survey of the Vedio (Saṃhitā, Brāhmaṇa, Sūtra, and Upaniṣad) sigmatic aorist provides, in its second and major portion, a catalogue of the material far exceeding that available in standard reference books, arranged under the various Sanskrit roots and with full discussion of interpretative difficulties and the laying to rest of many ghost forms. The indexes are excellent; the 'Sachindex' is in itself a reference work and a summary of the author's findings. The first section draws together her hypotheses and conclusions regarding the typology and historical development of the Indo-Aryan (and Old Iranian) sigmatic aorists. In details one may not always accept her calculus of probabilities, e.g. p. 173, 'typologisch erklären sich die Formen [AV *apṛāt* and TBr. *ahāt* (beside RV variant *apṛāḥ* and productive *hās-*)] nicht als isolierte Bildungen des Wz.-Aor.'; p. 246, 'das Danebenstehen des Konj. *preṣat* von *pṛi* [lässt] in *veṣat* einen entsprechend gebildeten Konj. von *vī* vermuten'; p. 288, 'typologisch ist *ahūyata* eine jüngere Bildung, vgl. . . . *paviṣṭa* (: *pī*, entsprechend *aneṣata* < **anaṣata* : *ni*)'—*paviṣṭa* being said to contain

'die bei vokalischem anlautenden Wurzeln korrekte alte Vollstufe' despite the cumulative evidence of the isolation, regular Ablaut, and original root-final consonant (-H) of *ahīṣata*. This use of the maxim 'typologisch' has something in common with reliance on majority readings in textual criticism. The explanation, reported in p. 258, n., Br. *agra(b)hāṣam* < **agr(b)hāṣam* (cf. VS *agr bhū = agrabhū*) is preferable to that accepted in the text; *agrahāṣyat* and *āsarait* are doubtless errors based on this form, but other examples (*asaparyait*, *amanasyait*, and the compromise TS *dhvamayit*) will represent corresponding -ayit aorists formed on -aya- presents (RV *ānayit*, *dhvamayit*) and then on -ya- denominatives, influenced orthographically by *agrahāṣ-* (hence **asaparyayit*, not **asaparyit*: cf. Paipp. *asiparyairayit*).

In *The inflectional categories of Indo-European*, Professor Kurylowicz continues to develop his systematic reconstruction of the prehistory of the Indo-European languages. The emphasis is here placed on the formulation of morpho-semantic laws on the analogy of the familiar 'sound laws', and on probing the development of the means of expressing basic concepts—voice, tense, person, case, gender, etc. We need scarcely insist on the great value of this realistic, essentially diachronic approach to the reconstruction of Indo-European. On points of philological detail the last word has doubtless not yet been said (thus to the three explanations given on p. 162 for *vr̥tr̥āya hāntave*—in which context *karitā avapādaḥ* should be mentioned—one may add the suggestion of an additional influence of the constructions *svitryasya dhātōḥ* and *tvā samīdham*). Much of the material requires constant recourse to the sources (after the painstaking manner of Dr. Narten). *duśrāvai* and *mīmayai*, cited on p. 120 as aorists, are probably subjunctive. *aricat* (p. 123 f.), often identified with *ἄριε* in order to attribute IE date to the non-sigmatic aorist (according to p. 72 it would antedate even the perfect middle), is difficult to trace: its basis is doubtless the Dhātupāṭha note *ric̥m̐pi . . . řditivād vāhi 'aricat' 'araitṣi'*, but this surely misinterprets an equally scholastic misapplication of Pāṇini's sūtras relating to root-final -ř, intended to justify *araitṣi*.

The theory that IE *ř* > Ilr. *i* (despite 'Burrow's Law') leads Professor Kurylowicz to deny relationship between Lat. (*dic̥*)*is̥i* and Vd. (*ján*)*iṣhāḥ* (W. P. Schmid's explanation of the *s*-aorist with relation to the former, *IF*, LXV, 3, 1960, 300, would seem to be identical with that of T. Burrow for the latter, see *The Sanskrit language*, 338, middle; the explanation of Kurylowicz, p. 110, that the *s*-aorist is simply the preterite of an *s*-present, is

less convincing). It also results generally in the separation of the Vd. types *adithāḥ*, *agrabhīḥ*, and *abravīḥ* from the IE *i*- and *i*-presents (note, however, the type *svanayan*, *āsvanīḥ*, *svānīḥ*: Narten, p. 275 f.). It is simpler to regard the absence of *i*-aorists and the presence of *pitr-*, *barziman-*, etc. in Old Iranian as morphological idiosyncrasies, than, with Dr. Narten, to set up a category of 'set' roots on the basis of attested *i*- and *i*-forms (her discussions of 'stabh' and 'grabh', for example, take no notice of RV *tastabhvāmsam*, AV *stabdhvō*, and Ilr. **ghrpta-* in R. L. Turner *A comparative dictionary of the Indo-Aryan languages*, s.v. **ghrpta-* and **grb̥dha-*). Av. *naēšai* must surely discourage the explanation (see Narten, p. 35 f.) *aneṣata* < *-*neṣ-*, *abhāṣuḥ* < *-*bhēṣ-*.

J. C. WRIGHT

CLAUS VOGEL (ed. and tr.): *Vāgbhaṭa's Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasamhitā: the first five chapters of its Tibetan version*. (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, xxxvii, 2.) viii, 298 pp. Wiesbaden: Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, Kommissionsverlag Franz Steiner GmbH, 1965. DM. 52.

A metrical Sanskrit medical treatise, the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasamhitā* (*Ah.*) was, on the evidence of the colophon, translated into Tibetan verse soon after A.D. 1000 and incorporated in the Tanjur Sūtra (on the strength of the inclusion of an originally Buddhist, but reinterpreted, mantra, and of the dubious Buddhist affiliation of the recensor Vāgbhaṭa—a colophon refers to a guru Avalokita). Dr. Claus Vogel has reprinted the first five adhyāyas of A. M. Kunte's Sanskrit text noting the variants cited by N. Ś. Moosa, and edited the corresponding Tibetan text. Both versions are translated, very literally for the sake of studying the technique of the translators (from this it is clear that the reconstruction of the wording of lost Sanskrit originals with the help of Tibetan versions is quite out of the question in the case of metrical works).

The introduction and appendixes summarize the textual researches of Luise Hilgenberg and W. Kirfel which sought to establish the priority of the verse of the *Ah.* over the prose and verse of the *Vṛddhāvāgbhaṭa* (styled *Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha*). This does not, however, establish that the attested *Ah.* is the direct forerunner of the *As.*; the postulated sporadic

disintegration of verse into prose is not credible. More probably our *Ah.*, like a version of *As.* known to Aruṇadatta, replaced appended prose commentary with the extraneous verses from which the prose derived and with original (re)versifications : for similar processes in the Nāṭyaśāstra literature, see my indications in *BSOAS*, xxvi, 1, 1963, 98 and 111. We cannot talk of 'the much earlier *Caraka*' and so exclude borrowings from an *Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya* into a *Caraka* (thus Vogel, p. 5, despite the explicit statement of Hilgenberg-Kirfel to the contrary). The *terminus ante quem* for the triad *Suśruta*, *Caraka*, and *Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya* remains the ninth century (Persian and Arabic sources), in spite of the unenlightening *procyamānān eśtru[e]*, etc. of the Bower Manuscript. I-ching was, by 'recently' (*kaliyuge*), certainly referring to the mythical proto-Āyurveda (of Dhanvantari, according to the imperfect account of the tradition prefixed to the *Suśruta*; of Suśruta, according to the even less explicit preamble in the Bower Manuscript), and he may or may not have been informed of all three versions. The name Vāgbhaṭa, which is associated with a commentary on, and with the extant recensions *Ah.* and *As.* of the *Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya*, is first guaranteed (in the form Bābhaṭa 'servant of his father') by the Tibetan translation.

We cannot yet guess the form and the state of the medical Saṃhitās in earlier centuries, and the first step must surely be the textual criticism whose value is 'seriously doubted' by Dr. Vogel. As a contribution towards this, his work is of great importance, since the Tibetan provides evidence of readings and commentatorial interpretations unknown to our Sanskrit sources. He has understandably refrained at this stage from introducing correct readings into Kunte's text, but why retain misinterpretations in the translation from Sanskrit (e.g. 1.5.81 *laghu*)? Dr. Vogel, who has undertaken eventually to treat all 120 *adhyāyas* and to draw up a Tibetan-Sanskrit-English glossary of medical terms, would find his task easier if his interpretation of the Sanskrit were surer (e.g. p. 2, n.: *kaphakartṛtve . . . kāraṇam* and *kim vā* are misconstrued; and 1.1.23: Hilgenberg-Kirfel's rendering of *sama* is improved, but their correct rendering of *sādhāraṇa*, *bhūyiṣṭha*, and *ulbana*, and their recognition that *jaṅgala* signifies 'treeless land' are ignored, and their failure (being unaware of the reading *ānūpam*) to note the *vṛddhi* of *jaṅgalam* is not corrected; the reference is, despite the commentators, to food, although the terms have been untranslatably misapplied to the concept of geographical region).

J. C. WRIGHT

MADELEINE BIARDEAU: *Théorie de la connaissance et philosophie de la parole dans le brahmanisme classique*. (École Pratique des Hautes Études — Sorbonne. Sixième Section: Sciences Économiques et Sociales. Le Monde d'Outre-Mer, Passé et Présent. Première Série: Études, xxiii.) 484 pp. Paris, La Haye: Mouton & Co., 1964.

By providing a detailed handbook for the benefit both of the Sanskritist and of the philosopher unable to read the original texts, Mlle. Biardeau places Indian epistemological and linguistic philosophy in a privileged position among the various branches of Indological study. The key passages from the standard philosophical works, which must reflect in the main the activity of the Gupta period (it is really time that one thought also in terms of a *terminus ante quem* for Patanjali's compilation), are cited in footnotes and translated and discussed in the text; full explanatory indexes of Sanskrit terms, names, and quotations, and a bibliography are appended. The first half of the book is devoted to an examination of the epistemology of Patanjali, Jaimini, Śabara, Gotama, and Vātsyāyana, etc., with particular reference to theories of language; the second surveys Bhartṛhari's philosophy of language, a remarkable reintegration of Darśana grammatical and epistemological studies with Vedic-Saiva *logos* metaphysics (the definitive title 'philosophie de la parole' seems an improvement on that used in the course of the work 'philosophie de la grammaire'). That this volume has appeared in a series of studies of 'Sciences Économiques et Sociales', seems to reflect a current inclination to replace the infelicitous, but perhaps innocuous term 'philosophy' by the neologism 'sociology of knowledge'.

Few Indologists have had the courage to conduct surveys so detailed and demanding, faced with imperfectly edited source material and centuries of widely divergent interpretation, and it must be recognized that for many key passages better interpretations will be found, or have already been found. Thus the translation of parts of the opening passage of the *Kātyāyanavārtika* (p. 35, n. 1 and n. 3), which is a commentary on *atha śabdānuśāsanam: atha . . . śāstram . . . śabdānām laukikānām vaidikānām ca* embedded in the *Mahābhāṣya*, misconstrues *siddhe śabdārthasambandhe lokataḥ* and *prayoge . . . dharmanyamaḥ*, and ignores *yathā laukikavaidikeṣu* with the result that *śāstrapūrvake prayoge* is misunderstood as a reference 'essentiellement à la récitation védique'. For *Śabarabhāṣya* ad *Mīm. sū.* 1.1.4 (p. 74, n. 2), the correct reading

nāvya-padeśyā buddhir avyapadeśyaṃ ca naḥ pratyakṣaṃ tasmād apratyakṣā buddhiḥ has been adopted recently. In Patanjali's definition of *śabda* (p. 371, n. 2), read *athavā-apratītapadārthakāḥ* with J. Brough, *TPS*, 1951, 28; in Patanjali's discussions of *sphoṭa* (p. 367, n. 2, and p. 368, n. 1), *bheryāghātaḥ . . . kaścī . . . gaṇḍhātī* means 'one drummer walks' (of *duṇḍubhyāghātasya* beside *śankhadhmāsya* in a similar context in *Br. ār. Up.* 2.4.7 f.), and in *avibhaktiko nirdeśaḥ kṛpa uḥ raḥ kṛpo ro la iti*, the meaning of *avibhaktika* is not 'sans être séparé' but 'without case ending' (i.e. *kṛpa* stands for *g.* sg. *kṛpaḥ*—not, with J. Brough, *op. cit.*, 36, for loc. sg. *kṛpe*). There are several errors in the rendering (p. 38 f.) of *athavā kiṃ naḥ . . . ceti* [inadvertently written *ce*] *katham punaḥ . . .* as 'et si ce n'était pas . . . alors comment . . .'. We may welcome with some reserve the bold announcement 'l'on ignorera les commentaires . . . ils contribuent notablement à obscurcir les choses'; but a false inference of the standard type is drawn on p. 33 from a commentatorial source: Nāgeśa's *ākṛtiḥ jātiḥ saṃsihānaṃ ca* evidently rests on an attested corruption (p. 32, n. 2) in Bhartṛhari's *Mahābhāṣyavṛtti* and cannot support the contention that Bhartṛhari did not mean what he said: *ākṛtiḥ . . . jātiḥ eva*. Despite the unfortunately numerous errors in rendering, this carefully compiled and accurately printed compendium of not readily accessible data and lucid, intelligent comment should be warmly welcomed by Indologists and sociologists of knowledge.

J. C. WRIGHT

GULAB CHANDRA CHOUDHARY: *Political history of northern India from Jain sources (c. 650 A.D. to 1300 A.D.)*. xxvii, 449 pp. Amritsar: Sohanlal Jaindharmā Pracharak Samiti, [1964]. Rs. 24.

The first chapter of this book is devoted to a brief classification and evaluation of the Jain sources available for the period c. A.D. 650 to 1300. They consist of inscriptions and literary works, the latter including *caritas*, *prabandhas*, and Jain contributions to *arthaśāstra*, and also *paṭṭāvalis* (traditional lists of teachers, etc.) and *prakāśtis* (colophons to MSS).

The remainder of the book falls into two parts. In the first, and longer, part (pp. 13–323) entitled 'Political history' an attempt is made to use these Jain sources to fix the chronology of the various dynasties and individual rulers of northern India in the period under discussion. The kings of the dynasties of Madhyadeśa,

eastern India, central India, Rājasthān, and Saurāṣṭra are dealt with in chronological order, the Jain information about each one being given and then considered in the light of information already available from Hindu, Muslim, and other sources.

In this task the author reveals very wide reading of both primary and secondary sources, and considerable critical powers in disentangling the historical details buried in the mass of mythology and romantic embroidery. Some of the information thus obtained merely corroborates what was already known, but much serves to supplement previous knowledge by providing names or dates for kings which were hitherto lacking. When the Jain material contradicts other sources, the author considers very carefully which to follow, and is free from pro-Jain bias.

Extensive quotations are given from the Jain sources, but as many of these are merely anecdotes about the munificence, valour, or amorousness of kings they could with profit have been shortened, since the information gained is frequently not in proportion to the space devoted to them. Brief genealogical trees are inserted in the text from time to time, which help greatly with the task of following the author's (sometimes involved) arguments. These trees could have been made even more informative by giving dates for all kings, and by incorporating where necessary data from non-Jain sources.

In the second part (pp. 329–81) entitled 'State and administration' the author tries to reconstruct the Jain political concepts and administrative ideas prevalent during the period. This task is not simple, and as the author himself says, 'The political characteristic of our period is somewhat monotonous and stagnant. Literature in polity during the period is lacking in originality, depth and movement. The Jain literature of this period . . . tells us little that is absolutely new'.

In this section all the information which can be extracted from the Jain sources is arranged under headings such as 'The king', 'Organization of the central government', 'Law and justice', etc. The terms 'state' and 'administration' are taken in their broadest sense, so that such statements as 'We find references to the battle drums in the Jain literature' are found under 'Military administration', and 'References to coins are not wanting in the Jain literature' under 'Revenue and finance administration'. For Jain political theory the author quotes extensively from Somadeva's *Nītivākyaṃṛta*. Even if it is not correct to call this work a mere copy of the *Kauṭilya-arthaśāstra*, nevertheless it is clear that there are extensive borrowings from Kauṭilya. As the author admits, there is nothing exclusively

Jain about Somadeva's political views, and much of his advice is merely common sense, e.g. 'The treasury should be full of precious metals, like gold and silver'. A reference to the reiteration by Jinasena of the conventional literary myths about the origin of the state is hardly relevant to the period under review, nor are quotations from the *Vasudevahinḍī* (dated by the author to the sixth century A.D.).

The second section, therefore, must be considered to have fallen short of the author's announced intention, since very little of the information he lists reveals anything which can be definitely identified as Jain. It is, however, very useful to have collected together from Jain sources the names of functionaries, administrative officers, etc. Many of these, and their functions, are well known from other sources; the duties of others the author delineates with a good degree of probability; a few (e.g. *pratirūjyika*) remain problematical.

The first section, too, of this book is somewhat misnamed, for the amount of political activity recorded in Jain sources does not seem sufficient to justify the title 'Political history'. As a contribution, however, to the task of providing a firm chronological basis for the major and minor dynasties which ruled over much of northern India for nearly seven centuries this publication deserves much praise.

K. B. NORMAN

SULEKH CHANDRA GUPTA: *Agrarian relations and early British rule in India: a case study of Ceded and Conquered Provinces (Uttar Pradesh) (1801-1833)*. xix, 338 pp. London: Asia Publishing House, [1963]. 45s.

For both historians and economists the land revenue policy of the British government in India seems at the worst a hotchpotch of opposing principles and methods and at the best a series of experiments never attaining any finality in form or principle. Starting with the permanent settlement in Bengal, shifting towards a ryotwari system in Madras, striking a compromise solution in U.P., the British government unwittingly established diverse systems of revenue administration in India, which overlapped one another and which exhibited a variety of procedures. Which of the various systems was more conducive to the agricultural prosperity of the country is a question which baffles scholars as much to-day as it did the British administrators a century ago. Perhaps the answer to this question lies in the district records which show how a system actually worked in a

particular area and with what results. Hitherto scholars have mainly examined the central records—the proceedings of and the correspondence between the India and London governments—and some private papers of the history-conscious British administrators who were instrumental in the formulation or implementation of a certain policy.

Dr. Gupta seems to be aware of the complexity of the problem and knows how best to approach it. His book is a study mainly of the land revenue administration which developed in the first 30 years of British rule over the 12 districts (some of which were ceded by the Nawab of Oudh to the East India Company in 1801 and some annexed from Daulat Rao Sindhia by the Company in 1803 after conquest) which together constituted the Ceded and Conquered Provinces, which now form part of Uttar Pradesh. He first examines the state of revenue administration in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces on the eve of British rule. The picture he presents does not seem basically different from that of Bengal immediately before the British occupation. The Mughal revenue system had disintegrated and the revenue administration had passed entirely into the hands of the oppressive revenue farmers. One therefore fails to notice any regional peculiarities obtaining in the agrarian system of the area and to understand fully the argument the author advances later in the book that owing to the peculiar agrarian conditions of the Ceded and Conquered Provinces a total implementation in that area of either the Bengal or Madras systems was not possible. The author then proceeds to examine the policy underlying the land settlements made by the India government up to 1810. During this period the government was determined to extend the Bengal system to this area. Then followed the period 1810-22, in which there was a definite retreat from the Bengal system and a shift towards the ryotwari system of Madras. As a result of this change in policy, the author argues, a new land revenue system was evolved for the Ceded and Conquered Provinces. The 'new system' which acquired a final form by 1822 was based on the suggestions of Holt Mackenzie who, having come under the influence of classical economists and their rent theory, was definitely against maintaining intermediaries, like talukdars, between the government and the actual cultivators. Thus it became the policy of the government to establish a land system in the Provinces, 'according to which the rights, interests and privileges of the village zamindars and the resident tenants, organized into the village communities, could be fully protected against violation of the government or by the

superior landed proprietors' (p. 218). However, the corner-stone of the policy was to 'recognize the rights of private property on the soil enjoyed by the village zamindars' (p. 206). The implementation of this policy (which does not seem as 'new' and as 'unique' as the author wants us to believe) involved elaborate research and survey for which the government had neither the time nor the machinery. The policy therefore remained in the balance until Lord Bentinck arrived in India. Urged by the need to decrease government expenses and to increase revenue, Bentinck took a practical view of the situation. His first proposal was to make a summary settlement with the zamindars for a limited period but realizing that this might mean a loss of revenue to the government he abandoned it and opted for a system which was based on a classification of tenures into zamindari and pattidari; the former vesting a right of property in the soil in the persons who were intermediaries between the cultivators and the government and the latter vesting it in those who were both proprietors and cultivators of their lands (p. 300). Thus we find that what emerged after 30 years of trial and error was more a mixture of the Bengal and Madras systems than a completely 'new' or 'unique' system, as the author prefers to call it.

Two main questions were involved in the formulation of the land revenue policy: with whom the land settlement should be made and, for what length of time? In Bengal the land settlement was made in perpetuity with the zamindars; in Madras it was made with the actual cultivators for a limited period of time and, in U.P. with both the zamindars and the actual cultivators for a period of 30 years. How much of the retreat from the Bengal system was due to the influence of English utilitarians on the Indian administration? On this question the author does not take sufficiently into account the fact that it was expediency more often than abstract principles of political economy, ignorance more often than mastery of details that determined the various land revenue settlements in India. Bentinck's land revenue policy of 1832 does not smack of a utilitarian brand of anti-landlordism though he is supposed to have been as much under the influence of Bentham and Mill as Holt Mackenzie was under Malthus. Having access to the district records—some of which he has made excellent use of—the author was in a better position to throw some new light on this question than merely to endorse and repeat the arguments which Eric Stokes brilliantly put forward in *The English utilitarians and India*, 1959.

Though not very original in approach and interpretation, the work none the less contains

a systematic textbook account of the revenue history of the Provinces. The arrangement of the chapters, however, is a little confusing and the narrative repetitive. But these drawbacks do not diminish the usefulness of the book, for it is one of the very few works of quality so far produced on this subject.

B. N. PANDEY

J. DUNCAN M. DERRETT: *Introduction to modern Hindu law*. xciv, 653 pp. Bombay, etc.: Oxford University Press, Indian Branch, 1963. Rs. 30, 52s. 6d.

The author of this work is well-known in Indian legal circles for his scholarly and thought-stimulating comments on some of the recent decisions of the Indian courts on Hindu law. His present publication is sure to be welcomed by all persons interested in Hindu law.

Among the systems of law now in force, the Hindu law is one of the oldest, there being an unbroken history of its evolution during a period of some 2,500 years. There is, to begin with, the period of what are known as *dharma-sūtras* or legal aphorisms, of Gautama and others, and they reflect a comparatively simple society. Then follows the period of *smṛtis* or codes of law by Manu and others, and of *arthaśāstras*, i.e. manuals of statecraft and government administration, by Kauṭilya and others. They deal with both substantive and adjective law in great elaboration and reveal a society well advanced. Then in course of time differences began to develop in the observance of law in different parts of India and the jurists, writing in different regions, interpreted the law of the *smṛtis* in the light of the local practices. So there arose different schools of Hindu law, having authority in different parts of India.

Then came British rule. The English judges had before them translations of the Sanskrit texts and gave decisions in accordance with the interpretation which they put on them. Thus, the decisions of courts became an important source of law and formed the warp and woof of the fabric of, to adopt the convenient expression of the author, Anglo-Hindu law. In giving these decisions, the judges naturally acted on the principle that it was the duty of the court merely to interpret the law and not to legislate. There accordingly arose a demand for legislation as it was felt that the law as laid down in the *smṛtis* required to be suitably amended to keep pace with the changes in society. That led to legislation on Hindu law. During the British régime, it was

rather tardy but after Independence, the directive principle of the Constitution that there should be one code of law for the whole of India gave a powerful impetus to it and that resulted in the enactment of a number of Statutes on Hindu law in 1955 and 1956. The history of Hindu law through the ages and its evolution from the sūtras of ancient jurists to parliamentary legislation in 1955 and 1956 is an attractive subject for study and research by students of comparative law and jurisprudence.

But it is not from this angle that the author presents Hindu law. As indicated by its title, the work is an exposition of Hindu law as it now stands. Its primary object is to enable students taking up Hindu law as a subject for examination to acquire a good knowledge of it. And this object it is well designed to achieve. The statement of the law is clear and comprehensive; reference to case law selective and up to date; and the comments critical and suggestive.

Many of the topics of Hindu law are now covered by legislation and in dealing with them, it would be necessary only to find out what the law is as enacted in the statute. When that law merely embodies the law previously in force, no problem arises. Nor does any problem arise when it departs from the previous law in clear and unambiguous terms. It is only when the statute is not sufficiently explicit that difficult questions arise as to its true interpretation in relation to the previous state of the law. Problems of this kind arise when a new statute is enacted and many such are posed and discussed by the author with reference to the statutes on Hindu law passed by Parliament in 1955 and 1956. The discussion of these problems and the solutions suggested are among the most instructive portions of this book. Take, for example, the discussion of the position of a *de facto* guardian under the present law (pp. 84-87). A *de facto* guardian is one who, not being a person authorized by law to act as guardian, as for example a natural guardian like the father, takes upon himself to manage the properties of a minor. Has he power to alienate them? The Anglo-Hindu law gave him a status and upheld alienations by him if they were for necessity or were beneficial to the minor. Now, Section 11 of the Hindu Minority and Guardianship Act, 1956, enacts that 'after the commencement of this Act, no person shall be entitled to dispose of or deal with the property of a Hindu minor merely on the ground of his or her being the *de facto* guardian of the minor'.

What is the effect of this section? Does it abolish *de facto* guardianship? There is a body of opinion holding that it does—*vide* the authorities cited at p. 84 by the author, and also the opinion of Mulla, twelfth edition,

p. 1040. But the author differs from this view. If the intention of the legislature was to abolish *de facto* guardianship, asks the author, why does it not simply declare the alienation void? Then the question has to be answered: What effect is to be given to the section? The author says that, while an alienee from a natural guardian, who acts *bona fide* on his apparent authority, will be protected without needing to prove more than this, in the case of an alienee from a *de facto* guardian, he can succeed only if he establishes actual necessity or benefit. This interpretation has much to commend it. It tends to advance justice and it does not involve a violent departure from the previous law. In discussing that law, Kania C. J., observed in *Sriramulu v. Pundariakshiah* (1949) 11 F.C.R.65: 'In law, there is nothing like a *de facto* guardian. There can only be a *de facto* Manager. . . . When a Hindu minor has no legal guardian, there will be no one who can handle and manage his estate in law, so that unless someone is deemed to have such authority, the minor will not receive any income or return from his estates. The second point is that a person having no title cannot be permitted to intermeddle with the minor's estate so as to cause a loss to the minor. Judicial decisions have tried to find a way out of these difficulties'. In the result, the Court held that an alienation by a *de facto* guardian or manager would be valid if there was necessity or benefit. If, as seems probable, the section and also the marginal note—which, of course, cannot be referred to for construing the section—were both intended to give effect to these observations, then the opinion expressed by the author becomes unassailable.

Then again, Section 1(2) of the Hindu Marriage Act, 1955, poses a problem which is discussed at p. 22. Suppose two Hindus domiciled in India contract a marriage in Kenya and that is solemnised in accordance with the law in force in that country. Can the validity of the marriage be challenged in Indian courts on the ground that the formalities laid down in the Indian Act had not been complied with? The Hindu Marriage Act, 1955, applies, according to Section 1(2), to all Hindus domiciled in India, even if they are temporarily resident outside. If this section is strictly construed, the marriage in question would be invalid. But then, according to well settled rules of private international law, while the *lex domicilii* governs questions relating to the capacity of parties to marry, it is the *lex loci celebrationis* that governs questions relating to the formalities to be observed in marriage. Does Section 1(2) abrogate the rule of private international law as regards the law applicable to forms of marriage? The author refers to the opinion expressed by a writer that it does.

But he differs from it and holds that the section must be read consistently with rules of private international law and the question as to the validity of the marriage should be held to be governed by *lex loci celebrationis*. That clearly is the correct interpretation to be put on the section. For, though a sovereign legislature has the power to enact laws which conflict with rules of international law, the accepted rule of interpretation is that a statute should be construed as to be consistent with such rules unless the language of the section shows a clear intention to the contrary and that such an intention cannot be inferred from the use of general terms—see Maxwell, *Interpretation of statutes*, eleventh edition, p. 142.

Turning now to topics which are not wholly covered by legislation, the law relating to joint family is easily the most important of them. Though that law is complicated, it is, as the result of a long course of decisions, now well settled. The author expounds this topic lucidly and exhaustively, and deals not merely with Mitākṣarā and Dāyabhāga joint family but also the Malabar joint family. Points on which there are controversies among the High Courts are discussed, such as the capacity of a widow who succeeds to the coparcenary interest of her husband to act as manager (p. 260); the devolution of that interest on her death, where there had been a partition (p. 256); the effect of a gift by a coparcener in excess of his powers, whether it is void or voidable (pp. 287-8). Similarly, in the chapter dealing with succession, the author refers to the different views taken by the High Courts on the right of an unchaste widow to succeed to her husband's interest under the Act of 1937 (p. 374), and on the right of succession as *bandhus* when two female links intervene (p. 387).

The chapter on Hindu law in East Africa is by far the most interesting and informative to students in India. This is a subject which is generally not dealt with in Indian textbooks, and is one on which the students have practically no knowledge. It is well known that Hindus from Bombay and Gujarat have from time to time migrated to East Africa and settled down there. They would be governed by their personal law subject to local legislation. It is seen from this book that the extent of such legislation has varied from State to State. In Zanzibar, there has been no legislation and the law administered is very much like the law administered in the Indian courts. In Kenya, a law was passed in 1960 on Hindu marriage and divorce, and subject to that it is the personal law of the Hindus that applies and that law is the law administered in Bombay and Gujarat. Likewise, in Tanganyika and Uganda, there are laws regulating marriages,

divorce and succession. But they leave considerable scope for the personal law of the parties. The practice of the courts is stated to be that when a matter comes before it, the parties plead the rule of Hindu law applicable and then proceed to establish it by reference to standard textbooks or leading decisions of Indian courts.

Enough has been said to show that this book is a valuable contribution to the subject, and deserves to take a place along with the authoritative textbooks on the subject, such as those of J. D. Mayne and D. F. Mulla.

T. L. VENKATARAMA Aiyar

MUHAMMAD SADIQ: *A history of Urdu literature*. xi, 429 pp. London, etc.: Oxford University Press, 1964. 55s.

Dr. Sadiq is well known as a sincere critic of Urdu literature with a great love for his subject, and an experience in teaching it to his fellow-countrymen over the last 30 years. This work is necessarily both the fruit of his experience and the expression of his personality and taste: not in itself a bad thing, for how can deep involvement with a literary culture fail to produce a purely personal expression of the experience? And was it not FitzGerald who so charmingly defined 'taste' as a sort of feminine of genius?

Tastes, however, differ; *de gustibus non est disputandum*; and while Dr. Sadiq's views must command respect, they will not always be accepted whole-heartedly by many of his readers. This reviewer, whose many Hindu friends have been known at times to be disquieted by his Muslim sympathies, has here found rather less on the Hindu side than he would have hoped for: many of the Hindu authors of Urdu have received short shrift, and the author has perhaps given less than is just of events on the Indian side of the border since 1947: Urdu has still a great part to play in the Indian Union, and its talented writers there cannot be discounted. Much work has been done in India recently on Dakhnī—there is little to choose between its 'Hindi' and 'Urdu' aspects—which is ignored in the present volume; indeed, the author tends to disparage it, remarking that 'for the student of Urdu literature it can at best be an acquired taste and no more'—a view hardly likely to commend his opinions to the Urdu-speaking élite of Hyderabad. 'Persian influence on Dakkanī [sic]', says Dr. Sadiq, 'is synchronous with the dawn of Dakkanī literature under the Muslims. Dakkanī poetry . . . is modelled on Persian forms . . . though not without some leaven of Hindi'; this is to neglect the

considerable element of the Dravidian south, in sentiment and to some extent in vocabulary, in the formation of Dakhni poetry in all its levels.

Another point on which the reviewer would take issue with Dr. Sadiq is in the realm of drama. True, the Urdu drama has never been a compulsive literary movement, and its achievements have been somewhat arid and jejune; but to say, as our author says, that 'the revival of drama in India in the middle of the nineteenth century owes nothing to the discovery of an indigenous tradition. It is essentially an exotic' is unnecessarily to belittle the living traditions of the folk-drama, the miracle play, the *Rām-līlā*, the rustic *swāng*, and the more cerebral aspects of the study drama of Bhāratendu Harīścandra and his coterie, all of which represent a strong indigenous element in the modern drama of India, by which Urdu drama was not untouched. And even if Urdu drama is not the best theatre, it is surely not to be entirely discounted as literary history in its contribution to the Urdu cinema.

Criticism of this sort must depend, as I said above, largely on individual tastes; but a few more general points demand attention. The author's transliteration of Urdu names is the pretentious-unscholarly: diacritical points are omitted except for the macron, but the 'ayn is there (sometimes misprinted as'), and *kh* and *gh* are invariably underscored; not so, however, *sh*, which leads him to write Muṣḥafi's name inelegantly as Mus-hafi; and Hindu names are given rather poor treatment: thus on p. 234 'Aryā Smāj' and 'Dayanand' side by side. He speaks of a dissension as a 'rift in the lute', p. vii; those who know both the situation and the quotation will recognize that in this case it hardly 'slowly silenced all'.

The book really has the wrong title. One expects *A history of Urdu literature* to be a comprehensive statement of all the major literary movements. However, the modern prose movements have largely been omitted, particularly the Progressives and their followers and opponents; and even those who have little sympathy with their ideologies expect at least to be told something of them in a general history. The author has, it is true, discussed these topics in another work; but this knowledge will be poor consolation to the reader who has expected from the title a comprehensive account.

These faults apart, the author has presented a detailed and generally objective account of the major literary figures and movements of Urdu before the Progressives, and has enriched his criticism with copious quotation and elegant translation, which both the serious student and the educated layman will find of lasting interest and value.

Finally, mention must be made of the

extraordinary dust-jacket in which the reviewer's copy appeared: although Karachi, Lahore, and Dacca are mentioned besides London as the places of publication, the jacket bears a drawing of the most famous Mughal fort of the sister Republic (perhaps a less incongruous dust-jacket will accompany the book as published in Pakistan); and among the 'other Oxford books' on the back flap appears *Bengali literature* by 'J. C. Gosl'; I wonder if the OUP can find a more perceptive designer for their next effort in this field.

J. BURTON-PAGE

I. P. DESAI: *Some aspects of family in Mahuva: a sociological study of jointness in a small town.* (M.S. University of Baroda. Department of Sociology Publication No. 4.) xii, 239 pp. London: Asia Publishing House, [1964]. 45s.

In *Some aspects of family in Mahuva* Professor I. P. Desai considers the nuclear and the joint nature of the Indian family. Mahuva is a town in the state of Gujarat, north of Bombay, and it is more rural than urban in its social relationships. In 1958 the total population of the town was about 25,000. The town is itself old, but a new suburb has been added to it in the form of a planned town which has separate residential, shopping, and industrial areas. The new area looks completely different from the traditional Gujarati town, and one could expect that with the change in the physical appearance of the houses, the families that dwell in them may also have changed in their structures. But Professor Desai's study based on a sample of 423 households leads to opposite conclusions.

At the time of the study there were in Mahuva a cotton spinning mill which employed about 1,000 persons, and three oil mills in which employment was seasonal. There were sawmills attached to the timber shops which together employed about 100 persons. There were also some *biri*-making concerns. Then there were small engineering and soap-making concerns, and smithies and carpentry shops which together may be described as cottage industries. Altogether about 1,500 people of the town were employed in these small and big industries.

40% of the heads of the sample households are employees in the manufacturing and trading concerns and in the government and municipal offices. 48% are self-employed, owning small shops or horse or bullock carriages which they ply themselves. 5% are

employers, 8% are non-earners, and 1% remain unaccounted for.

Professor Desai points out rightly that the term 'joint' household is foreign to the Indian languages and that the term 'joint' is translated from English whenever it is used in the vernacular. To analyse the 423 sample households he made two categories. One was of the types of households classified according to the kind of members contained in each, and the other was something more abstract, a classification of what he calls 'jointness'. The author considers that the joint family extends beyond the joint household, and he measures the degrees of 'jointness'.

First by analysing the households he finds that most of the households in Mahuva are composed of members usually thought to comprise the 'nuclear' family. Much depends on the definition of the 'nuclear' and the 'joint'. By including households in which parents live with married sons and their wives who do not as yet have children in the category of the 'nuclear', 81% of all households become counted as 'nuclear'. But if such households are considered to be 'joint', the purely 'nuclear' families come to 42% only.

In the scale of 'jointness' only 5% of all families show 'zero degree of jointness'. Professor Desai has classified 5 types of jointness. He considers those families to show zero degree of jointness which are unimember households or comprised of married persons with unmarried children only and who do not maintain any kin relations with the members of any other households. Among the other types of jointness are the sharing of mutual obligations with relatives who live elsewhere by residentially nuclear families; sharing property jointly with other branches of the joint family by residentially nuclear families; marginal jointness shown by families which may become nuclear through dependants leaving the household, or may become joint with the birth of children; and jointness shown by the traditional joint household. These four types of jointness are all considered by Professor Desai to make the respective families joint in nature.

In the remainder of the book the author shows again and again that jointness of any degree may prevail among any of the social groups in Mahuva without any particular order, except in the case of families which own property. Joint property in the form of agricultural land contributes to the maintenance of the traditional type of jointness or the joint household. Caste or education have no particular relations to jointness, nor do occupational relations in the form of employers, self-employed, or employees.

In his analysis of jointness the author is too

intent on showing that Indian families are not nuclear in the Western sense of the word, and maintain joint relations even when they are residentially nuclear. He is not at all interested in showing the differences in the personal interactions of members in the various types of Indian households. As his guiding definition of the family is 'unity of interacting personalities' he could have compared the relations between the various branches of joint families according to whether they live in nuclear households, partitioned households, or joint households. Whether people live together or live apart does influence their patterns of behaviour.

Also his classification of nuclear families as those who show zero degree of jointness by not having any kin relations at all with any other families may be questioned. Since the concept of the 'nuclear family' seems to come from the Western societies we ought to realize that in the West families which are residentially nuclear maintain a great many kin relations with members of other households. The joint household and the joint ownership of property are distinctive features of Indian society and as such they have attracted much attention, but not the maintenance of kin relations with members of other households.

JYOTIRMOYEE SARMA

EDWARD ALLWORTH: *Uzbek literary politics*. (Publications in Near and Middle East Studies, Columbia University, Series A, v.) 366 pp. The Hague, etc.: Mouton and Co., 1964. Guilders 42.

The main theme of this book is the way in which the literature of the Uzbek people of Soviet Central Asia has been moulded, truncated, and regimented so as to form a vehicle for propaganda designed to further the Soviet nationalities policy. But it also describes the birth and growth of Uzbek literature before the coming of the Russians, its development under the Tsarist régime when it was influenced by cultural contacts with the Russians as well as by the Tatar Muslim reformist movement known as 'Uğul-i-Jadid, and its unsuccessful efforts to preserve its genuine national character in the face of Soviet encroachment.

The work is arranged in seven parts. Part I is concerned with developments before and during the Tsarist régime; parts II and III deal with the opening phases of the Soviet cultural-cum-political campaign and how it clashed with Uzbek national consciousness; and the remaining parts with the intensification

of Soviet linguistic and literary policies, and their effect on Uzbek orthography and vocabulary and on various types of Uzbek literature.

The book contains a number of interesting quotations from Uzbek writing given both in the original Uzbek and in translation. A transliteration table is provided in an appendix but readers unfamiliar with modern Uzbek may be left wondering at the significance of the final 'y' in such names as Qadiriy and Navaiy. This is intended to represent the Cyrillic *i krakkiy* which in combination with *i* is used to render *ï* in modern Uzbek.

The subject of the Soviet regimentation of the traditional cultures, and in particular of the literatures of the Muslim nationalities of the U.S.S.R., is one which has been touched on in a general way by several writers. But Professor Allworth is the first scholar to make an exhaustive study of the vicissitudes through which the literature of one people, the Uzbeks, has passed since the Russian Revolution. His choice is a good one: not only are the Uzbeks the fourth most numerous nationality in the Soviet Union, but they of all the Muslim peoples have the most highly developed written literature. The author explains that for the latter reason the literatures of the other Muslim nationalities have not necessarily undergone the same experience; nevertheless the Soviet treatment of Uzbek literature is typical of the official attitude towards all national art which, in the nature of things, must be incompatible with 'socialist realism'. Some of it may be respected as a national heritage, but socialism demands a complete break with the past in themes and literary genres and in style.

Soviet writers always insist that the changes introduced into national literatures were brought about by the will of the people themselves. But Professor Allworth shows conclusively that from 1932 all Uzbek literary activities were under direct Russian control through the medium of the Communist Party. Before that, literary controversy between reformists and traditionalists and between Uzbek nationalists and Communists had been to some extent genuine, and nationally conscious writers had not been completely suppressed. But the natural development of literature was already doomed and the only safe course was to follow the Party line. This at first included the throwing of all pre-revolutionary literature on the scrap-heap, and although this crazy policy was abandoned in respect of Russian literature in 1925, it persisted in the eastern republics for another decade. It was not until 1938 that the great fifteenth-century poet 'Alisher Navāi was 'rehabilitated'. In the meanwhile, a large

number of writers whose names were household words among the Uzbeks had 'disappeared' in various purges, which meant that in one way or another they had been done to death. From then onwards Uzbek literature like that of the other Muslim peoples assumed the forced, artificial, and unrepresentative character which it has to-day.

Professor Allworth has done a great service to oriental scholarship in thus relentlessly exposing the deliberate Soviet policy of stunting, if not of totally destroying, what was once a vigorous and promising literature. His book should be studied by those Western scholars who believe that the Soviet attitude towards Eastern learning and literature is no different from their own and that Muslim men of letters in the U.S.S.R. enjoy the same freedom of expression as elsewhere in the Muslim East.

This book is most carefully documented from both Russian and Uzbek sources and is clearly the result of many years' research. Although the author evidently feels strongly on the subject his approach is restrained and objective throughout. He refrains from attempting to forecast the future of Uzbek literature. He notes that 'the last twenty years have been more or less quiet for Uzbek writers' owing mainly 'to the circumspection with which the Uzbeks have conducted themselves'; but he adds that 'Uzbek literature can develop no real modern tradition' under the present system. How much of the Soviet Russian imprint will stay in the institution of Uzbek literature is problematical, for it is impossible to predict what degree of suasion will be maintained'.

G. E. WHEELER

Tun-huang i-shu tsung-mu suo-yin 敦煌遺書總目索引. 2,552 pp. Peking: Shang-wu yin-shu kuan, 1962; [reprinted] Tokyo: Kyokutō shoten, 1963. ¥ 3,000.

CHUNG-KUO K'O-HSUEH-YÜAN LI-SHIH YEN-CHIU-SUO TZU-LIAO-SHIH 中國科學院歷史研究所, 資料室 (ed.): *Tun-huang tsu-liao*, 1 敦煌資料: 第一輯. 5, 14, 485 pp. Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1961; [reprinted] Tokyo: Daian, 1964. ¥ 2,200.

Tōyō BUNKO TONKŌ BUNKEN KENKYŪ INKAI 東洋文庫敦煌文獻研究委員會 (ed.): *Sutain* [Stein] *Tonkō bunken oyobi kenkyū-bunken ni inyō shōkai seraretaru Saiiki shutsu-to Kambun bunken bunrui mokuuroku*

shokō. Hsi-Bukkyō bunken no bu. Ko monjo rui, 1. スタイン敦煌文献及び研究文献に引用紹介分也弓わたる西域出土漢文文献文類目録初稿: 非佛敎文献之部: 古文書類, 1. vi, viii, 402, xxxiv pp. Tokyo: Tōyō Bunko, 1964.

The ever-growing number of scholars engaged in research upon the Chinese documents discovered at Tun-huang and at Turfan and elsewhere in Central Asia have so far been seriously handicapped by the fact that the documents are scattered all over the globe. Apart from the four major collections of Tun-huang MSS, in Peking, Paris, London, and Leningrad, and the three chief collections of Central Asian documents in London, Berlin, and the Ryūkyō University, Kyōto, there are many items, some of them important, which were acquired by libraries and individuals in China and Japan, their present whereabouts being in some cases unknown. Of the major collections, none is really completely and adequately catalogued, though published catalogues of the Peking, London, and part of the Leningrad collections are in existence, and only the Peking and London collections are widely available in microfilm. There is urgent need for a scholarly union catalogue, and also for the systematic publication of facsimiles and edited texts of the manuscripts. Such a task, however, would be a tremendous one, for the manuscripts run into tens of thousands, and cover practically every category of Chinese literature.

The works under review go some way to meeting these needs, and are doubly welcome since so little Chinese work on Tun-huang material has been published in recent years, apart from work on literary genres.

At first sight the *Tun-huang i-shu tsung-mu suo-yin* appears to be exactly what is needed. It provides lists of the holdings of: (1) the Pei-ching t'u-shu kuan, (2) the Stein collection of the British Museum, (3) the Fonds Pelliot Chinois Touen-houang of the Bibliothèque Nationale, and (4) 19 catalogues of minor collections in China and Japan together with union lists of certain literary genres such as *pien-wen* 變文 and *ch'u-tzu* 曲子. These lists are followed by a general index to the titles of every individual item in each list, arranged under the stroke order of the first character. This will be of immense convenience to scholars working in this complex field.

However, the catalogue has glaring defects. First of all, it takes no notice whatsoever of the extremely important manuscripts from Turfan and elsewhere in Central Asia, which are an

essential part of Tun-huang studies. For example, of the extremely rich collection of the Ryūkyō Daigaku it lists only some Buddhist items deriving from Tun-huang, and does not even mention the Berlin collection. Much more glaring an omission, although the preface and postface make continual remarks about the 'imperialist robbers' Stein and Pelliot, and consistently refer to the London and Paris collections as 'stolen documents', there is not one word in the entire book to acknowledge the existence of the very large Leningrad collection. Perhaps the doctrinal implications of its existence have not yet been clarified.

All the items reprinted in section (4) are taken at second hand from existing catalogues, through no fault of the compilers, since many items have since changed hands (many items in Chinese collectors' hands having been placed in the Peking collection, it would appear, from a note on p. 108). Other collections, the most important being the manuscripts once in the Museum at Ryōjun, have simply disappeared. It is very useful to have these catalogues brought together, since many of them were printed in obscure places. There are, however, a good number of further items which might well have been reprinted at the same time. For a list of these, see *Saiiki shutsu-to Kambun bunken bunruji mokuroku shokō*, 375-96.

The catalogue of the Pelliot collection too is a reprint of the hand-list made before the war by Wang Ch'ung-min, the imperfections of which Mr. Wang acknowledges in his postface, and for which he cannot be blamed, since the Bibliothèque Nationale has regrettably persistently refused to permit the microfilming of its collection for general use.

This leaves the British Museum and Peking collections, for both of which catalogues, admittedly imperfect, are already in print. The new catalogue of the Stein collection, the work of Liu Ming-shu 劉銘恕, made from microfilms supplied by the Museum, is important. In many cases it offers improvements upon Giles's catalogue, although Giles nevertheless includes a great deal of information which the new catalogue lacks, and is by no means superseded. The new catalogue gives notes on some items, and quotes colophons, extracts, or even the entire text of others, apparently selected at random. The volume also includes a very useful check-list of Giles's numbers and the Museum catalogue numbers, the lack of which was a great inconvenience of Giles's catalogue which has, of course, since been repaired in a separate list compiled by Mr. E. Grinstead.

In view of the usefulness of this new catalogue, it is perhaps ungrateful to point out that

Mr. Liu's work suffers from precisely the same shortcoming as did Dr. Giles's, that he is not *au courant* with the work in progress and already published by scholars elsewhere. This particularly affects the non-Buddhist items, especially official documents. Let us see what Mr. Liu makes of half a dozen or so of the best-known official pieces, all of them published many years ago, and all the subject of several secondary studies.

(1) S 1344, Liu 唐令. There is in fact some doubt about the exact nature of this document, which is probably a fragment of the 'Ordinances of the Board of Finance' (*Hu-pu ko* 戶部格) of early K'ai-yüan date. It was published by Niida Noboru 仁井田陞 in 'Tō no ritsuryō oyobi kaku no shin shiryō; Stein Tonkō bunken', *Tōyō Bunka Kenkyūjo Kiyō*, XIII, 1957. But whatever doubt one may have about it, it cannot possibly have been a section of the 'Statutes' (*ling* 令) as Mr. Liu would have it, since it consists of a list of dated résumés of edicts. Anybody with an elementary understanding of Chinese legal literature could see that it must belong to some other category of law.

(2) S 0613, Liu 白醜奴等戶籍. This is not a *hu-chi* 戶籍 but a *chi-chang* 計帳 and bears an exact date (547). It was the subject of a long article by Yamamoto Tatsurō 山本達郎, 'Tonkō hakken keichō-yō monjo zankan', *Tōyō Gakuhō*, XXXVII, 2, 3, 1954.

(3) S 4673, Liu 唐律. This is in fact not a piece of the 'Code' (*li*) but an obvious continuation of the fragment of the 'Ordinances of the Board of Justice' (*Heing-pu ko* 刑部格) of the Shen-lung period (P 3078), one of the best-known of all Tun-huang legal documents, the very extensive literature on which goes back to the early 1930's, and which has been published in facsimile several times.

(4) S 3875, Liu 唐令 (?). There is no question about this being a fragment of the 'Statutes'. It is in fact another piece of the fragment of the *Chih-yüan ling* 職員令 (S 1880), which was correctly identified in the 1920's by Wang Kuo-wei.

(5) S 3392, Liu 天寶十四載殘制. This is not part of an edict, but of a brevet of appointment (*k'ao-shen* 告身), which has been published and commented on many times since about 1931, and which was published already by Giles in *BSOS*, IX, 1, 1937, 13.

(6) S 6235, Liu 戶籍殘片. This is not a *hu-chi*, but part of a list of lands received under the *ch'an-t'ien* system.

None of the documents I have mentioned is

in any way difficult to identify, for anybody who is abreast of current Tun-huang studies, and all have been published and identified.

I would add that very many more of the documents in the Stein collection can be dated than Mr. Liu dates in his list.

I mention these points, for in the postface to the volume, by Wang Ch'ung-min, which even making allowances for the current atmosphere of xenophobia in China is a particularly nauseating example of self-righteous chauvinism, a great play is made with Giles's shortcomings, and with the fact that while he took 30 years over his catalogue Mr. Liu was able to bring his triumphant conclusion within a few months. Giles, it seems, lacked the correct methods of materialist analysis (these must be a great consolation to the scholar attempting to identify a short fragment of an obscure Buddhist text).

After these strictures and high methodological claims, we turn with great expectations to the catalogue of the Peking collection. Since this has been freely available to Chinese Tun-huang experts for some three decades or more, here at least Mr. Wang and his colleagues will surely be able to provide us with a catalogue of impeccable quality which would at least enable us to find our way surely among the Peking microfilms.

What, in fact, do we find? Perhaps it is unreasonable for a mere Westerner to complain that the manuscripts are arranged under the order of characters in the *Ch'ien-tzu wen*, though a case could surely be made that retaining this old stand-by of the Confucian school curriculum might be 'correctly characterized' as a 'remnant of feudal mentality'. It is however, mystifying to discover that there is not listed any non-Buddhist work, save the very last item, in spite of the fact that many such documents from the Peking collection have been published. The catalogue also fails entirely to note documents written on the verso of the manuscripts, it fails to note dates, and there is not a single note provided. It is no easy matter, either, to check it against the existing catalogue (Ch'en Yüan 陳垣, *Tun-huang chieh-yü lu* 敦煌劫餘錄, 6 *chuan*, Peking, 1931), since the numbers have all been changed, and no conversion table from the old numbers to the new is given.

However, even a catalogue denuded of notes and making no attempt at description can be useful if it is complete. The following random check of items from the Peking collection reprinted in 100 pages or so of the *Tun-huang tsu-liao*, vol. I, published almost simultaneously with this volume in 1961, will illustrate its utter uselessness to anyone whose interests in

Tun-huang material extends beyond locating copies of well-known sūtras.

(1) *Tzu-liao*, p. 314, MS *sheng* 25, *Tzu-liao*, p. 336, identical MS, respectively a deed of sale of a house and a contract for the hire of a labourer. *Suo-yin*, p. 49, lists *sheng* 25 simply as 降生禮文觀音禮文.

(2) *Tzu-liao*, p. 335, MS *hsien* 59, contract hiring a labourer. *Suo-yin*, p. 79, gives only 佛說大乘稻芋經隨聽手鏡記.

(3) *Tzu-liao*, p. 338-40, MS *yin* 41, three contracts hiring animals or labourers, and *Tzu-liao*, p. 365-7, MS *yin* 41, three contracts relating to loans of cloth or grain. *Suo-yin* ends before the character *yin* in the *Ch'ien-tzu wen* is reached.

(4) *Tzu-liao*, p. 397-402, MS *hsien* 59, several letters requesting loans of seed grain to monastic dependent families. *Suo-yin*, p. 79, gives only the title cited under (2) above.

Not a single item listed in the *Tun-huang tzu-liao* as from the Peking collection appears in this catalogue. It would, in short, be a great help to those working in the field if Ch'en Yüan's catalogue, compiled when Tun-huang studies were in their infancy, were to be reprinted, for it is far more useful than this new one.

If I have spent some space on the shortcomings of the *Tun-huang i-shu tsung-mu suo-yin*, I do not wish to imply that the work is useless. On the contrary, it gives the first printed list, however imprecise, to the Pelliot collection, is a handy and cheap substitute for (or rather supplement to) Giles's catalogue of the Stein collection, and offers a very rough and ready guide to the minor collections and to the titles of Buddhist sūtras in a part of the Peking collection. But its quality remains very disappointing, for bibliography is one field in which we have come over the years to expect a very high standard from Chinese scholars.

The other field where we have come to expect much is in the editing and publication of source materials. The second work under review comes within this category. It is the first volume of a series of reprints in movable type of Tun-huang texts connected with economic history, prepared by the Historical Research Institute of Academia Sinica. The selection is very useful, and sensibly arranged. It includes items from the Stein, Pelliot, and Peking collections, and a number of documents taken from pre-war repertoires of documents. The items are apparently reprinted at second hand from pre-war Japanese works, and the transcriptions are sometimes at fault as a result (see the review of Ikeda On 澁田温, *Tōyō Gakuhō*, XLVI, 1, 1963, 114-32). It also gives no suggestion that many of the documents included have given rise to a considerable

secondary literature both in Chinese and Japanese. No notes are given.

This brings me to the last of the three items, a cyclostyled 'preliminary draft' of the first part of a catalogue of the non-Buddhist manuscripts in the Stein collection, and related documents from other collections which have already been edited and published. It is the work of the Tun-huang research group at the Tōyō Bunko, and has been ably edited for publication by Kikuchi Hideo 菊池英夫. Here we move into a very different, highly professional and well-organized world of scholarship.

The present volume deals with those of the Stein manuscripts connected with administration, rather than with semi-private economic matters which are the chief concern of the *Tun-huang tzu-liao* volume. The manuscripts are arranged under 20 or so categories, some of these minutely subdivided. Under each administrative topic are first listed the relevant items from the Stein collection, followed by related or parallel documents from the Pelliot, Peking, Ōtani, or other collections, and finally a list of all the relevant secondary literature. The volume ends with an excellent bibliography of all the printed collections of Tun-huang materials, divided between facsimiles and transcribed texts, and of all the bibliographies and catalogues devoted to Tun-huang, or Central Asian materials, a most formidable list.

The whole book is completely up to date, covers the Turfan and other Central Asian materials, and even mentions the published list of part of the Leningrad collection which appeared only a matter of weeks before this volume. The body of the book, however, quotes only those materials introduced in pre-war Russian articles. For any scholar whose interests in Tun-huang centre on the evidence which the manuscripts provide on the workings of local government, this book is an indispensable guide. Let us hope that it will shortly be joined by more volumes covering other aspects of Tun-huang studies in equal detail.

D. C. TWITCHELL

W. A. C. H. DOBSON: *Late Han Chinese: a study of the Archaic-Han shift*. xxiv, 138 pp. [Toronto]: University of Toronto Press, [c1964]. (Distributed in G.B. by Oxford University Press. £5.)

This is the third of Professor Dobson's full-length studies of the Chinese language at different stages of its development, following *Late Archaic Chinese* (1959) and *Early Archaic Chinese* (1962). It describes the language of

the commentary on 'Mencius' by Jaw Chyi 趙岐 (d. A.D. 201). Professor Dobson systematically compares this language with the Late Archaic Chinese (LAC) of the fourth and third centuries B.C., and provides appendixes tabulating comparisons with Early Archaic and Modern Standard Chinese.

The author's rather small samples force him to class as Late Han innovations some usages which are attested as early as the third century B.C., as he recognizes in a postscript (p. 103). Restriction of attention to the samples also adds to the danger of missing quotations; the Confucian statement of the Golden Rule, 'What you would not like yourself do not do to others' (己所不欲勿施於人), quoted verbatim by Jaw Chyi from 'Analects' 12/2, appears as a Late Han illustration (p. 52). But the choice of Jaw Chyi as a sample is an excellent one. The commentary is largely a paraphrase, allowing direct comparison between the way that Mencius says something and the way that Jaw Chyi says it. Moreover Professor Dobson establishes that the commentary, since its aim is clarification of the text for contemporary readers, consistently avoids words obsolete in 'Late Han Literary Chinese', words which are common enough in the archaizing 'Late Han Classical Chinese' of the 'Han history' and of Jaw Chyi himself in his chapter summaries.

Descriptions of grammatical functions in this volume are much closer to received opinion than in *Late Archaic Chinese*. The subjunctive mood and the stressed negatives have disappeared; *guh* 固 and *guo* 果 are given their traditional functions and no longer treated as simply markers of the indicative mood (p. 18); *wey* 未 no longer negates universally and has come to mean 'not yet, not so far' (p. 17). For Professor Dobson, these are historical changes between LAC and Late Han. He keeps to his LAC definitions except in the case of *wey*, of which he now says that it 'denies experience of, rather than instances of an act in LAC (see LAC, 3.3.1.1.)'. The passage to which he refers us stated that 'whereas with *bu* one particular instance of the act is envisaged and negated, in *wey* all conceivable instances envisaged are negated. The difference is between particular denial (an envisaged instance) and universal denial (all envisaged instances)'. The new definition for LAC seems to me an improvement, but obscures the distinction which the author still wishes to make between LAC and Late Han usage. In what way did the function of this negative alter when it ceased to deny that an act has been experienced, and began to be translatable as 'not yet'?

Professor Dobson's central thesis is that

during the Han there occurred what he calls the 'Archaic-Han Shift': 'The Archaic-Han Shift is away from the precise, predictable and major role of the "empty words" of Archaic Chinese in making grammatical distinctions towards the use of periphrastic means for making these distinctions in Late Han. The consequent loss in both role and meaning of the "empty words" is accompanied by greater complexity in the "full words"'. The trend is towards compound rather than single forms and to greater restriction in syntactical deployment, so that the degree of ambivalence between nounal, adjectival, verbal and adverbial usage of the "full words" of Archaic Chinese is greatly reduced by Late Han' (p. xxiii).

This might well be taken as a description of the general development from ancient to modern Chinese; since Late Han was undoubtedly very different from modern Chinese, Professor Dobson's case is significant to the extent that he can show us just where and how far Chinese was already moving in these directions during the Han. A point which deserves close examination is the claim that Late Han Chinese blunts many distinctions between LAC particles. Such blunting in later Chinese is an important phenomenon in the history of which is largely unexplored. In several instances the author makes valuable contributions; he argues convincingly, for example, that the final particle *yan* 焉 and the agential distributives *huoh* 或 'some', *moh* 莫 'none' no longer have their LAC functions. But in other cases Professor Dobson gives no evidence that distinctions between particles have been blunted except for quite meaningless lists of examples of Mencius using one and Jaw Chyi another. These lists take no account of context, of differences of phrasing, or of the fact that clearly distinguished particles may have overlapping functions. For example, Professor Dobson claims that the negative *wey* narrowed in function during the Han, yet on the previous page (p. 16) lists examples of Jaw Chyi using *wey* for the *bu* of Mencius as illustrations of 'the blunting of the modal negatives'.

The following particles illustrate the author's approach at its weakest.

(1) *Ju* 諸. According to Professor Dobson (pp. 61-3) Jaw Chyi treats *ju* either as parasitic or as a simple equivalent of *ju* 之. The evidence is a list of references to passages where interrogative *ju* (= *ju hu* 之乎) is replaced in the paraphrase by *ju* and an interrogative particle or *ju* in an interrogative pattern (1/79, 3/11), or a noun and interrogative particle (1/72: in 5/105 the *ju* clause is

not paraphrased at all), and of passages where post-verbal *ju* (= *ju yu* 之於) is replaced by *ju* (3/92) or by *yu* (1/58), both *ju* and *yu* standing like *ju* between transitive verb and directive noun. The examples seem to me to support the opposite of the author's case; Jaw Chyi understood *ju* perfectly in any particular context. It is quite likely that he no longer recognized it as a fusion, and took it for an equivalent of *ju* or *yu* in contexts where the other of the two particles is unnecessary; the many examples of *ju* equated with *ju* or *yu* by commentators of the period (cf. Morohashi 諸橋, *Das Kanwa jiten* 大漢和辭典, 35743/3, 5) support this suspicion. But the only example given which is at all relevant is an interesting case in which Jaw Chyi himself uses *ju* in an archaizing chapter summary: 5/39 喪此三名, 烈士病諸 'The loss of these three, does not the man of honour trouble himself about it?' This is presumably a rhetorical question (as translated) or an exclamation; the context shows that it is not a simple question. It is evidently modelled on 'Analects' 6/30 堯舜其猶病諸 'Did not even Yao and Shenn have trouble with this?', in which the pattern 其...乎(諸) marks a question expecting agreement. Jaw Chyi has overlooked, not the function of *ju*, but the consequences of omitting the modal *chyi* 其. The danger of assuming that Jaw Chyi simply equated *ju* and *ju* is illustrated by Professor Dobson's treatment (p. 6) of the phrase 比諸見放也 'compares it to being exiled' (5/93, cf. 4/63 比諸巨擘也 'compares him to the thumb'). Equating *ju* and *ju*, Professor Dobson takes this as evidence of the blunted distinction between *ju* and *chyi*, and translates: 'by the time that he was exiled'.

(2) Final *fwu* 夫 'n'est-ce pas?' (romanized correctly on p. 99 but as *fu* in the index). Professor Dobson's sole evidence that Jaw Chyi misunderstands it is that he defines it simply as a 'sigh-word' (歎辭, p. 64). But Jaw Chyi has a small vocabulary of grammatical terms (examined in a useful appendix, 'Jaw Chyi's notions about language'), and does not necessarily misunderstand what he fails to analyse. The modern scholar Peir Shyuehæ 裴學海 gives virtually the same definition (感歎之詞) in his *Ganeshu shiutzyh jyishyh* 古書虛字集釋 although he recognizes it as similar in function to modern *ba* 吧.¹

(3) *Yee* 也 and *yii* 矣. (The latter is roman-

ized as *yih* repeatedly on p. 65, but as *yii* in the index.) Since the author has proposed no distinction between these particles except for effects on the stress pattern for which he offered no criteria (*LAC*, § 3.12), it is difficult to see how he could substantiate his claim that the distinction is blurred in Late Han (p. 69). In fact he confines himself to a list of passages where the two interchange between text and commentary. But even on the more orthodox assumption that *yii* is a perfective particle in verbal sentences (similar to colloquial *le* 了), while *yee* belongs primarily to the nominal sentence ('A is B') but also serves in verbal sentences to mark judgments ('It is that...') and explanations ('It is because...'), philosophical writing is unsuitable material for deciding whether the particles are clearly distinguished. In narrative or description *yee* sentences are comparatively rare and show up clearly as explanatory interruptions; but in an argument of Mencius or exposition of Jaw Chyi it is not so easy to be sure that a statement with *yii* could not have been expressed as a judgment with the substitution of *yee*. There is less scope for the opposite substitution; but it is noticeable that nearly all Professor Dobson's interchanges are in fact replacements of *yii* by *yee*. There is one exception: 8/2 Mencius: 民可使富也 'the people may be made rich'; Jaw Chyi: 則民富矣 'then the people will be rich'. Here the difference of phrasing is important; Mencius himself tends to use *yii* in the apodosis after *tser* 則, but *yee* after *kee* 可 with passive verb.

(4) *Eel* 耳 (fusion of *erl-yii* 而已) 'merely, simply' is said to have weakened in Late Han and to be used only 'for marking heightened emotion' (p. 64). It is possible that if I had read as much of Jaw Chyi as Professor Dobson has I might share this impression; but his evidence consists of four cases where Jaw Chyi uses it for the *yee* of the text and, strangely, two where it replaces *erl-yii* (but none where it replaces an exclamatory particle). The following example of Professor Dobson's, in which the *yee* and *eel* are used in quite different constructions, illustrates the utter pointlessness of listing substitutions without regard for context:

3/37 Mencius: 夫天未欲平治天下也。如欲平治天下，當今之世，舍我其誰也 'It is because heaven does not yet wish to pacify the world. If it did, who is there at the present time except me?'

Jaw Chyi: 孟子自謂能當名世之士，時又值之，而不得施。此乃天自未欲平治天下耳，非我之

¹ op. cit., 881.

愆 'Mencius says that he is capable of being the "scholar who names for his age" (the phrase is so understood, 3/35), and the time is also ripe for it, but he cannot get to do it. This is simply because heaven itself does not yet wish to pacify the world, not because of any fault of mine'.

(5) *Hu* 乎 and *yu* 與. In pre-Han Chinese, as Leu Shvushiang 呂叔湘 has pointed out,² *hu* is interrogative in the final position but exclamatory after the preposed verb. *Yu*, as Professor Dobson and I agree, is a fusion of *ye* *hu*. It would be of great interest to know whether final *hu* is purely interrogative in Late Han and whether *yu* is still confined to types of sentence which take *ye* in the affirmative. Professor Dobson, as it happens, defined *hu* in *LAC* as a 'sentential modal particle indicating doubt, surprise, indignation, etc.' (*LAC*, p. 242), a definition which seems scarcely to admit further blunting. The hypothesis of blunting is again supported solely by a list of passages in which Jaw Chyi uses other particles, in most cases interrogative particles. The list in fact confirms, as far as it goes, that *hu* and *yu* were still purely interrogative. (We shall not consider its bearing on the more complicated question of the relation between *ye* and *yu*.) One is at first sight impressed by the cases in which *hu* and *yu* are disregarded or 'used wrongly' or replaced by *ye* or *yii*; but on inspection most turn out to be questions with interrogative adverbs or double questions in the form 'ye 邪 ... ye'. There is only one in which Jaw Chyi paraphrases a question as an affirmation in direct speech (3/16). The *yu* 'used wrongly' (8/91) turns out to be the conjunction *yeu*. Apart from a case where Jaw Chyi is not paraphrasing at all (6/68), there remains only one example: (5/88) Mencius 曰, 然則舜僞喜者與 'He said "In that case was Shuenn a man who pretended to rejoice?"'; Jaw Chyi: 萬章言如是則為舜行至誠, 而詐喜以悅人矣 'Wanjang says that in that case we suppose that Shuenn practised perfect sincerity, yet he pretended to rejoice in order to please others'. Jaw Chyi does not need an interrogative particle because he is paraphrasing in indirect speech after *yan* 言 'say that' (not *iu* 曰 'say'). Mencius uses *yu* after a nominal clause, which in the affirmative would have *ye*; Jaw Chyi turns it into a verbal sentence, and can therefore use *yii*.

(6) *Shwu* 孰 'which?'. Professor Dobson gives good evidence of its obsolescence in

Late Han (p. 48). His further claim that when used it has a blunted sense is interesting, since it was certainly blunted in later Chinese; but in the only passage which he adduces *shwu* in fact has its *LAC* sense: 'Jaw Chyi transposes 膾炙與羊聚孰美 "Cooked meat or dates—which of the two is the better (eating)" to 羊聚孰與膾炙美也 "who thinks dates are better than cooked meats to eat?" (8/105)' (p. 48). The curious but well-established construction in which *shwu* is put immediately in front of *yeu* does not alter the sense.³ Professor Dobson's translation of the second passage would be hard to justify in any case.

(7) *Tserng* 曾. Professor Dobson suspects two instances of *tserng* 'how?', ancestor of the modern *tzeen* 怎: '刺邪君曾不如此鳥 (The Duke of Chou, in writing this *song*) wanted to needle (= criticize) the Prince of Pin (by asking) why did (he) not emulate this bird?' (2/87) 而曾不閱 "so why should he not mourn?" (7/15)' (p. 95).

Two commonly recognized particles are written with this character:

(i) *Tzeng*, traditionally explained as similar to *tzer* 則 and *nae* 乃.

(ii) *Tserng*, temporal particle referring to the indefinite past, of which there are scarcely any pre-Han examples.

The function of the former is doubtful, but it is commonest combined with a negative, with the sense 'not even': *Shyji* 史記 (*Syhbuh tsongkan* 四部叢刊) 118/12B/4 紂貴為天子, 死曾不若匹夫 'Jow had the high position of Emperor, but dead he was not even as good as a commoner'.

There is a striking example in *Shyuntzy* 荀子 with the *tzeng* in front of the inverted object resumed by *ju*: (Harvard-Yenching concordance) 75/19/101 然而縱之, 則是曾鳥獸之不若也 'But if one is lax about it, this is to be not as good even as the birds and beasts'.

We find the same *tzeng* with negative in Professor Dobson's two examples: 'It criticizes the Prince of Pin as not even as good as this bird'; 'and did not even mourn'.

This is the third of the author's full-length studies, and provides a suitable occasion for some general reflections about his methods. An inquirer into the Chinese language of a particular period has two legitimate alterna-

³ cf. Jou Faagau 周法高, *Jonggwō guoday yeufaa* 中國古代語法 (*Chengday biann* 稱代編), Taipei, 1959, 215.

² *Wenyān shiutzyh* 文言虛字, Shanghai, 1957, 153-6.

tives; he may select a sample and analyse it exhaustively, or read widely and illustrate his conclusions by examples chosen at his own discretion. Professor Dobson, who has always meticulously cultivated the externals of exact scholarship, seems at first sight to choose the former, the more rigorous alternative. But in the case of LAC he has never even disclosed the precise limits of his samples, from 'Mencius', *Mohizy* 墨子, *Juangtzzy* 莊子, and the *Tzuocjuann* 左傳. He does so in the case of Late Han, but still without any attempt to list and classify his particles and constructions exhaustively. Even in the concordance texts one comes to take it for granted that one must expect to find exceptions to his most confident generalizations. We are told that the *wu jy* 吾之 of the commentary is 'unknown to LAC' (p. 4), although there are examples in the text itself ('Mencius' 1B/16, 6A/4); that *jie* 皆 'all' is purely an 'agential distributive' in LAC but can point forward to post-verbal elements such as *jy* in Late Han (p. 47), although again there are examples of *jie* pointing forward to *jy* in 'Mencius' (2A/6, 3A/4); that in Jaw Chyi's phrase 奪之貨 'rob them of their property' '*chy*i not *jy* would be LAC usage' (p. 6), although the *Tzuocjuann* has nine cases of *jy* to one of *chy*i in this construction. As for the examples from Jaw Chyi, they are regularly listed out of sequence, implying that Professor Dobson notes them as they catch his eye instead of working through the commentary systematically.

If Professor Dobson wishes to convince us that *ju* is no longer equivalent to *jy yu* or *jy hu*, why not list all cases of *ju* used by Jaw Chyi and classify them as occurrences (1) between transitive verb and directive noun (= *jy yu*); (2) in the final position after a transitive verb (= *jy hu*); (3) in neither position? To demonstrate that Jaw Chyi no longer distinguishes *hu* from *yu* and *ye* (= *ye hu*), why not list all his interrogative nominal sentences and classify them according to the particle used, so that we can see how often he uses *hu* in nominal sentences where we should expect *yu* or *ye*? Until Professor Dobson commits himself to such procedures, his rigid schematization and formidable terminology (in which, by the way, he consistently uses the words 'diachronic' and 'synchronic' the wrong way round throughout the introduction) cannot be much more than an elaborate and pointless make-believe. Professor Dobson remains the intuitive kind of scholar who supports his impressions about Chinese grammar by casually chosen examples—a method which is fruitful in proportion to the quantity of material mastered. Under these circumstances, to limit oneself

strictly to a sample amounts to no more than a pretext for not reading very much Late Han Chinese. His impressions are sometimes novel and interesting. But he defeats himself; it is often easy to prove him wrong, but one can seldom confirm that he is right without doing the whole of his work over again.

A. C. GRAHAM

JOSEPH R. LEVENSON: *Confucian China and its modern fate. Vol. two. The problem of monarchical decay.—Vol. three. The problem of historical significance.* xiv, 178 pp.; xi, 180 pp. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964–5. 25s. each.

With the appearance of these brilliant, provocative, often exasperating volumes, Professor Levenson brings to a close his three-part contrapuntal study of the death and transfiguration of Confucianism. The *leit-motiv* (to continue one of the author's favourite metaphors), sounded first in Vol. I (*The problem of intellectual continuity*, 1958), is profoundly historical and ultimately tragic: the vulnerability of traditional, universal values in a modern, particularistic world. Time, that is, does not stand still for absolute, hence timeless, values but rather throws up constant alternatives to them. And when those alternatives no longer come from within the tradition and are more compelling than the old absolutes, tradition is in danger of becoming irrelevant. It must either change or die. It is possible that it will change and die. This is what happened in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century China. As new and alien (though not always foreign) choices pressed in on the old ones, Confucian thought and institutions became drained of real significance. They were vitiated by continuous compromises with modernity until they came to stand for everything they once denied: narrow national pretensions, ethical culture divorced from political responsibility, formal religiosity, a politics of popular rather than heavenly will. Nothing remained of their once confident claim of oecumenical relevance. Their cultural universe, with China at its centre, had disappeared and so they became relics—something to point to back in history rather than to act on in the here-and-now. Nothing remained but a memory.

It is this process of decline into irrelevance that concerns Professor Levenson in these volumes. In Vol. II he treats it in its institutional setting, in Vol. III in its historiographical setting. In both the technique is the same: to range over most of Chinese and much of

Western history in a series of idiosyncratic, largely self-contained and apparently unrelated essays that explore diverse strands of the long tradition that ultimately failed. Anything goes, everything fits, as if the author is challenging history to show him something he cannot use, something that does not fit into the grand design described above. The result is disconcerting though never dull. From a stratospheric discussion of the relativity of ideas (in Vol. 1) to a more earthly treatment of Yuan Shih-k'ai playing the fool in his restorationist's robes, from New Text Han Confucianism to Hassidic folk-lore, from the courts of K'ang-hsi and Yung-cheng, among others, to those of Versailles and the Hohenzollerns, we are taken on an exploratory tour of the author's mind and of the mind of modern and pre-modern China. Where the record fails to provide the necessary facts for a needed conclusion, Professor Levenson comes to its rescue with his own supple logic, almost always persuasive but sometimes tinged with the suspicion that rhetoric and history are one.

The suspicion is intensified by the author's highly distinctive style. Professor Levenson is a master of the metaphor, the epigram, the *bon mot*, the paradox, the pun, and often his history gets hopelessly lost in the verbal thickets. Thus, for his American readers—referring to Yuan Shih-k'ai's fatuity in words that mock Henry Clay's sense of principle: 'He would rather the rite than the presidency' (II, 6). Or for his English readers—discussing the *quid pro quo* arrangement of imperial patronage in return for loyal support that marked the relationship between monarchy and bureaucracy: '... if the scholar had support to offer, some power to sell for his *quid*, the monarch still fell... short of monopoly' (II, 66). Or for his Chinese readers—noting the late Ch'ing obsession with the *t'i* (Chinese 'essence')-*ying* (Western 'utility') dichotomy: '... if the... essence could really not be saved, Manchus were endangered, even more than the Chinese *t'i* addicts' (II, 8). And finally, at the end of his study, the worst barbarism of all—a desperate phrase that acts as a stall for time between the last essay and an attempt to pull the whole *mélange* together: 'Having concluded roundly, let us conclude squarely, with a concluding conclusion' (III, 110). One wonders whether, in studying the descent of traditional thought into meaninglessness, the author himself does not at times become meaningless.

Yet however crippled by rhetoric, his story still limps along at a pace that other, less courageous history, marching, cannot match. It has many important things to say. It attempts with considerable success to remove Confucianism—sensibly taken as the dominant, though by no means exclusive, mode of

Chinese intellectual and socio-political life—from the realm of bland generalization and make of it an organic problem of real and vibrant values—shifting, variable, sensitive to pressures, susceptible of damage, subject to change even within the old order. The tired old myth of a static, unchanging China is thus given a helping hand to oblivion. So is the complacent view that Chinese history is too exclusive and exotic to warrant comparison with Western intellectual and institutional experience. Much of this work is devoted to the difficult task of making sense of comparative intellectual history and as such joins Benjamin Schwartz's very important study, *In search of wealth and power: Yen Fu and the West* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), as a much-needed corrective to the more usual parochial treatment of the history of ideas.

There is much more here that is good: a strong counter-argument to the historicist view that history is in essence a success story, a debunking of the more egregious assertions of the orientally despotic interpretation of Chinese history, a convincing demonstration of the weakness of what might be called the [C.P.] Fitzgerald syndrome—the need to explain the Chinese revolution as a modern analogue of traditional dynasty-making. Professor Levenson is an historical relativist. He believes that the failure—the hapless character and insignificant event—has a place in the main stream of history too. Thus, for example, Liao P'ing, the last and by all counts the *least* of the latter-day traditionalists; the other sentimental reactionaries of the May Fourth period; the post-1911 monarchical restoration movements, really only parodies of past reality; and the late and forlorn attempts of K'ang Yu-wei and others to sanctify the dead body of Confucian thought by putting it into the church—were all relevant, all distinctly modern, and, in their way, all important indexes of change. By the same relativist reasoning, the author argues that total terror, the key to oriental despotism's theory of power, is less persuasive as a description of the mechanics of the traditional Chinese state than the concept of tension between monarchy and bureaucracy. In other words, it took two to play the game. Again, and for similar reasons, he rejects the 'just-another-dynasty' approach to the present, for it denies the organic complexity of tradition and the radical break with it that made even modern traditionalists strangers to the past.

Of the many problems raised in these volumes I should like to examine just one in greater depth: the nature of the relationship between monarchy and bureaucracy (see all of Vol. II). Essentially it is understood as a symbiotic tension between two vested interests,

each posed against the other yet locked in mutual dependence. Originally, in feudal times, the tension was represented by king and aristocrat, the centripetal claims of monarchy opposing the centrifugal acquisitiveness of aristocracy. As the scholar-bureaucrat intruded on the administrative scene in the long years from the Ch'in to the T'ang, the centralizing emperors began to use him as a counter to the aristocrat. Finally aristocracy was shorn of its independence (though not of all its pretensions); it moved to the side of monarchy, and left the field to civil bureaucracy, now indispensable to the crown yet dangerous too as the new claimant to independent action, wealth, and power. Conversely, bureaucracy needed monarchy to secure its privileges and assure its continuity. And so the two shared the 'pie of power' (II, 63-5) in a working tension characterized neither by total terror on the one side nor total divisiveness on the other. As long as it lasted, the dynasty as a viable political form lasted. When the tension was broken after the Taiping rebellion, dynasty was doomed. Bureaucracy abdicated its last claim to independence—intellectual independence of the throne—as it was forced, in order to survive at all, to side with a discredited court against the radical ideology of the rebels and the revolutionary ideas of the West. It came to be looked upon as an extension of the throne rather than as a counterpoise to it, and when the Manchus fell before the new nationalism, Confucianism, embodied in bureaucracy, fell too.

This in broad outline is Professor Levenson's contribution to the theory of the Chinese monarchy. It is not entirely original (see, for example, James T. C. Liu's 'An administrative cycle in Chinese history: the case of Northern Sung emperors', *JAS*, XXI, 2, 1962, 137-62, where many of these ideas were adumbrated), but it is the fullest statement made so far. How useful is it? The answer is, very. It is the best paradigm of dynastic power that has yet been devised. It substitutes complexity for the monolithic simplicity of other theories that give all initiative in the governance of the state either to an unreal, because perfect, tyrant or to an all-wise, self-perpetuating Confucian Establishment or to both in conspiratorial union against the People below. It allows for the growth of imperial despotism, notably after the Sung, without having to make the bureaucrat an abject tool of the throne. In other words, if the emperor got stronger *vis-à-vis* the bureaucracy, the bureaucracy got stronger *vis-à-vis* everybody else and retained in the bargain its claim to judge the throne even while being humiliated by it. As a theory of independence and interdependence, it prompts a much more sophisticated and human-centred

analysis of Chinese institutions than has heretofore been suggested.

Unfortunately Professor Levenson never really gets beyond a general treatment of the problem. The monographic testing of the theory remains to be made. As it stands it is too perfect, too pat, and leads the author into overstatement and questionable conclusions. The very complicated and critical bureaucratic role of a new breed of aristocrats, the great families, from the third to the seventh centuries A.D. is largely ignored, almost as if this anomaly were an embarrassment to the concept. And since the author insists on retaining aristocracy as an irritant to both monarchy and bureaucracy long after it became politically irrelevant, he has trouble locating his aristocrats in later dynasties. For the Ming, other than the early rusticated princes, they are eunuchs, for the Ch'ing, Manchus. As representatives of special, court-centred privilege they qualify. As kept men, the *king's* men—attributes he gives to post-T'ang aristocracy—they are more problematical. What of the eunuchs courted by the Tung-lin party at the end of the Ming? Whose side were they on—or did they somehow retain an 'aristocratic' independence of their own? What, for that matter, of Wei Chung-hsien, who eventually called the emperor's tune rather than dancing to it? More significantly, what of the great mid-Ch'ing Manchu bureaucrats, men such as Hsü-yüan-meng, O-er-t'ai, and A-kuai, who belonged rightly to both camps, aristocracy and bureaucracy? The clear theoretical lines of tension are in danger here of being blurred by the real complexities of administrative life. One solution, recently suggested in a Yale doctoral thesis by Jonathan Spence, is to replace the Manchu as the eunuch-equivalent in the Ch'ing with the Chinese bond-servant, a bannerman of sorts, but not a racial aristocrat. Here was the real king's man, picked for privilege, not born to it. In any case, this problem indicates that the theory will have to be given more precise chronological underpinnings before it can be accepted as valid for any one period or for all.

The weakest link in Professor Levenson's argument, however, is his attempt to pin ideological labels on his participants in tension: Confucian on bureaucracy, Legalist on emperorship, and, more neutrally, feudal on aristocracy. By perpetuating these simplistic formulae he does a disservice to his own commitment to complexity and reduces history to a contest between Good and Bad, Weak and Strong, Realist and Idealist. Monarchy, he says (II, 26-7), patronized at various times non-philosophical Taoism, secular Buddhism, eunuchs, and trade, and was frequently involved in parricidal and fratricidal family

strife, thus offending, respectively, the rationalist, sceptical, civil, aesthetic, and ethical tenets of the Confucian literatus-type. True, perhaps, but not good enough. The trouble lies in the word *type*. Professor Levenson is posing a series of historical realities against a composite ideal. The argument is loaded and unhistorical. Confucianists, as bureaucrats, offended as much against their own ideals as did Chinese emperors. In fact, as local and provincial officials, where in effect they were monarchs in miniature, they operated just as much with the strict code book as with the sacred text. Authoritarianism and *real-politik* were no more monopolies of the throne than idealism was a monopoly of bureaucracy. The emperor, after all, especially after the Sung, was as thoroughly indoctrinated in the ethical curriculum as were his civil servants. They both shared the same intellectual world, one largely circumscribed by set texts and fixed ideas, and if the monarch sometimes only paid lip-service to them so did the bureaucrat. Neither was a perfect *type*; both were fallible men in an imperfect world.

Without the labels, Professor Levenson's theory of tensions makes sense. With them it does not. Monarchy versus bureaucracy suggests a real political issue; Legalist versus Confucian suggests nothing but an airy abstraction.

Several minor errors of fact should be pointed out. (1) II, 9: his reference to the fact that until 1906 the emperor did not perform the semi-annual Confucian sacrifices in person needs to be amended. On special occasions, the emperor in fact did attend to them personally. (See *Shinkoku gyōseihō* 清國行政法, IV, 18.) (2) II, 43: of the four local pariah peoples listed as having been raised to commoner status during the Yung-cheng reign (1723-36), three in fact were—the *yüeh-hu* (his *lo-hu*) 樂戶 in 1723, the *shih-p'u* 世僕 in 1727 (though not with any legal precision till 1809-10), and the *to-min* 墮民 in 1730. The fourth, the *chiu-hsing yü-hu* 九姓魚戶, were not thus honoured until 1748. Two other groups, the *tan-hu* 鬻戶 and *kai-min* 丐民, were indeed also made commoners during the Yung-cheng era, but they are not mentioned here. (See *Shinkoku gyōseihō*, II, 109, and Ch'ü T'ung-tau, *Law and society in traditional China*, Paris, 1961, pp. 130-2, n. 4.) (3) II, 72: quoting from a secondary source, he unwittingly telescopes into one two statements from two independent essays of T'ang Chen. The first, 'From the Ch'in, monarchs have been bandits', is from T'ang's essay 'House talk' (室語); the second, 'The prince became aggrandized . . .', from the essay 'Stop the slaughter' (止殺). (See T'ang

Chen 唐甄, *Ch'ien-shu* 潛書, Peking, 1955, 196, 198.) It should also be pointed out that the second statement, correctly interpreted, does not fit Professor Levenson's discussion here of imperial acquisitiveness. T'ang Chen was talking about the people as murder victims, not as royal chattel as is implied here. (4) II, 90: '*wang-i*' (no characters supplied) is surely a misprint for *wang-chi* 王迹.

The indexes in both volumes are wretched. They are confined almost exclusively to proper names and are useless as a guide to the many concepts and ideas to which these volumes are devoted. In Vol. II all index references to pp. 140-63 are faulty and should read one page less than given.

HAROLD L. KAHN

JAROSLAV PRŮŠEK (ed.): *Studies in modern Chinese literature*. (Ostasiatische Forschungen, Ht. 2.) iv, 179 pp. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1964. DM. 67.

We are twice cautioned by Professor Průšek in his introduction to these studies by his protégés not to expect too much; they are to furnish the solid—and by implication unexciting—matter which will later be used to construct the 'syntheses' which the group consider it their proper business to produce. They have the confidence that they can, along the way and among other things, 'contribute to the solution of the question of whether the development of literature is immanent or whether it is determined by social forces'. From present evidence the syntheses are going to come from Professor Průšek himself; certainly there is no one better qualified to do the job. Perhaps because of a feeling that the volume would be too slender otherwise, he has lent his own weight to the collection by contributing an introduction, longer than any of the individual studies, in which he interprets the general social and literary scene between 1919 and 1937. His approach is to be welcomed. Most previous surveys of modern literature were perforce evaluative, trying to separate wheat from chaff, but enough has probably been done in that direction now to allow discussion to proceed to the more technical stage, employing modern analytical concepts, that Professor Průšek enters upon. It would be better not to discuss in this review the ideas he puts forward, as they are apparently only prefatory to a major work that will be a separate volume in the series. One's initial hesitancy in accepting some of his

points may be overborne by the weight of lengthier argument. One can say in general, however, that Professor Průšek seems anxious to agree with his Chinese colleagues; he generously supports for example Ch'en Yung's contention that Lu Hsün accepted the viewpoint of the revolutionary peasants when he wrote his 'Diary of a madman': not, of course, that he does not also put forward his own original ideas.

This introduction was finished in 1961 (the delay in publication is truly unconsoenable), the individual studies are even earlier, and do not now impress very much. One has the uneasy feeling that too trusting a faith is put in the mere language of criticism, and some of the contributors seem to have taken too much to heart Confucius's commendation of transmission above creativeness. However, they do provide much needed information for the student, on T'ien Han, for instance. Marcela Boušková's essay on Ping Hsin's stories stands out for its genuine sympathy with its subject; she is also able to persuade one that her subject is more complex, not simpler, than it first appeared. The other studies are of Pa Chin's 'Family', Kuo Mo-jo's autobiographical works, Lao She's early work, and, the only one to deal with contemporary literature, Chao Shu-li's *San-li-wan*. All are factually reliable.

Because of the admitted youthfulness of this work, and its delayed publication, the collection does less than justice to the actual standing of Prague as a centre, perhaps the centre, for the study of modern Chinese literature.

D. E. POLLARD

KENNETH R. WALKER: *Planning in Chinese agriculture: socialisation and the private sector, 1956-1962*. xviii, 109 pp. London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd., 1965. 25s.

The purpose of this monograph is to explain the significance of the private sector in Chinese agriculture and to account for the variations in government policy toward it during the years 1956-62. Dr. Walker introduces the subject with a brief account of the evolution of socialization policy in the countryside from the early 1950's to the emergence of the commune system in 1958. This chapter contains a particularly useful table which sets out with precision the various forms of collective agricultural institutions and the timing of their introduction.

The second section of the monograph is an analysis of the economic significance of the private sector and this is the most original and important part of the book. Dr. Walker sees two main reasons for the

persistence of private agriculture in a predominantly collective setting. First, the collective system did not provide sufficient security of income for the peasants who therefore in effect required that they be allowed to retain a measure of private activity as the price for participating in the collective system. Secondly, the government found that socialized pig farming was so inefficient as to jeopardize the supply of pig manure, which in the absence of chemical fertilizer was essential for the maintenance and growth of agricultural output. But as Dr. Walker points out, the fact that the private sector was in some ways complementary to the public sector did not preclude serious conflicts between them, or lessen the hostility of the Party to the private sector which it regarded as a remnant of an alien and largely superseded mode of production. The final part of the book is a chronological account of the successive attempts to eliminate the private sector. From the material presented here it appears that whenever there was an upsurge of socialism in the countryside the right of the peasants to a private plot came under attack and that whenever there was a crisis, concessions to private agriculture were one of the primary forms which retreat took.

One general point arising out of the concluding note on 'the influence of theory over policy', is that the picture of the Chinese policy makers as slavish ideologists only redeemed by periodically falling back on their native 'pragmatism', can be overdrawn. The case for collective institutions and large planning units is not as weak as might be implied from this monograph, although questions of detail and timing leave ample scope for controversy. To some extent Dr. Walker has used the advantages of hindsight and the simplifications made in the cause of brevity, to make the Chinese policies appear more irrational than they really were.

This book, however, clearly represents a most impressive preliminary analysis of one aspect of China's rural revolution and one awaits with interest the more detailed and considered account of it which one hopes is to follow.

CHRISTOPHER HOWE

G. H. L. LE MAY: *British supremacy in South Africa, 1899-1907*. ix, 229 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965. 25s.

There is a nice touch of irony in the title of Professor Le May's book: although Britain was employing huge military forces, and one of the most formidable administrators of the age, British supremacy in South Africa during and immediately after the Anglo-Boer war was

tenuous and hollow. Lord Milner dominated this period. He was a man whose complex personality defies simple definition, and whose political ideas are not so silly as they are sometimes made to appear. *British supremacy in South Africa* was written before the publication of A. M. Gollin's masterly study, *Proconsul in politics*. The picture of Milner presented by South African historians, even by Professor Le May and Thompson, should be compared with Gollin's fuller and more understanding portrait. Gollin traces Milner's imperialist views to his Balliol days (considerably earlier than Le May, who sees them 'forged' in Egypt) and his friendship with the remarkable Canadian George Parkin.

Professor Le May's central theme is how the unsatisfactory relationship between Milner and the British military authorities, notably Lord Kitchener, and the inept conduct of the never-ending war by them, frustrated the High Commissioner's 'Grand Design' for the future settlement of South Africa. This was based on a prosperous and pro-British Transvaal. Yet when the firing ceased, all Milner's administrative talents, and those of the young men he brought out from Oxford to help him, were squandered (in his eyes) on the gruelling job of repairing the broken economies of the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony. The erasing of the Afrikaner's bitterness, born amidst the burning farms and the concentration camps, was a task beyond a man like Milner, if it could be accomplished at all. Because of his distaste for the 'public relations' aspect of government, he even failed in the more immediate business of winning over the English-speaking Transvaalers, on whose shoulders the 'Grand Design' should have rested fairly and squarely. Professor Le May gently sabotages the story of Smuts converting Campbell-Bannerman in 1906 to the liberal policy of self-government for the Transvaal and thereby 'setting the future of South Africa'. Campbell-Bannerman needed no such conversion. As soon as the new administration was aware of the contents of the official correspondence in the Colonial Office files, especially Milner's own dispatches, it realized that anything short of responsible government would have been unworkable.

The author's treatment of what he labels Milnerism, and its failure, is rather uneven. The story of the 'methods of barbarism' has been told elsewhere, but never so perceptively. Milner's reactions to these tactics, and his losing battle with Roberts and Kitchener for overall direction of the situation in South Africa, are admirably related. The account of the first few months of the war as it was experienced in the Cape Colony, and of the growing tension between the High Commis-

sioner, the Military, and the Cape politicians, is perhaps the most illuminating part of the book. It is based on magistrates' and civil commissioners' reports, and on the local press, as well as on the private papers which are Professor Le May's chief sources. The result is a picture of a few confused and dangerous months in the Colony's history, which is wonderfully alive, and which opens a window on to a whole new perspective of South African history. By comparison, the treatment of the Vereeniging Treaty and of the Lyttelton Constitution is disappointing. When the author moves, with Milner, up to the Transvaal, the wider and more vital dimensions seem to be lacking. The Cape gets left out of the story. Admittedly Milner relinquished the governorship of the self-governing Colony, yet it remained one of the most serious hurdles to be overcome if Milner's dream of a 'British South Africa' was to be fulfilled. There is no mention of the plot in 1902 to suspend the Cape Constitution, though this was undoubtedly Milner's brain-ohld.

Professor Le May is primarily concerned with the effects military operations and Milner's policies had on the subsequent political development of South Africa, and on the intensification of Afrikaner nationalism. On these weighty matters his conclusions carry conviction. Africans, however, only receive mention as the source of certain white attitudes and policies. The materials for the study of the non-white peoples of South Africa during this critical period are scattered and difficult to obtain. Nevertheless, such a study is very necessary in the present state of South African historiography. The work of Milner in South Africa will not be appreciated fully until the majority of the inhabitants are given their share of the limelight.

The absence of a bibliography or of a critical assessment of the sources used is a serious and a curious omission in a work of this nature. The notice on the jacket states that the work is based on unpublished documents; exactly what these are, and how Professor Le May has treated them, the reader has to discover himself.

ANTHONY ATMORE

M. FORTES and G. DIETERLEN (ed.): *African systems of thought: studies presented and discussed at the third International African Seminar in Salisbury, December 1960*. viii, 392 pp. London, etc.: Oxford University Press for the International African Institute, 1965. 50s.

This book, after a delay of more than four years, gives the 21 papers specially written for

the International Seminar by a number of American, Belgian, British, French, and South African anthropologists. The papers vary considerably in length and in importance. Some are quite slight in their content and treatment, and presumably are only included in the volume because they were in fact prepared for the Seminar; some have interest and value for particular regional specialists, but perhaps rather little for others; and some are quite important contributions to anthropology in the fields of religion, ritual, cosmology, and witchcraft. The book is thus of variable quality—too variable for the high price set by the publishers. Even some of the more important contributions seem to be hampered by limitations of length. Professor Turner's paper on Ndembu ritual symbolism, suggestive and stimulating as it is, mainly whets the appetite for the more extended exposition of ritual on which, one understands, he is now working. Professor Marwick continues his well-known approach to the study of witchcraft, developing a little here a technique of statistical analysis of the status and relationships of accusers, accused, and victims. In the space at his disposal he is not convincing: he may be pursuing a profitable line, or he may not, but it is difficult to know from this short paper. Professor Fortes has a more extended contribution on ancestor worship which is one of the best things in the whole book, and it should become a standard reference in this field. Specialist contributions such as that by Mme. Diertelen on Peul initiation and Dr. Bradbury on Edo mortuary rituals and father-son relations will be valuable. Urban specialists will be intrigued by Professor Mitchell's suggestions coming from his work in Salisbury. These are, in the view of one reader, the more important contributions.

In addition to the prepared papers, there are summaries of the Seminar discussions in a number of particular fields: indigenous African religion, ritual and symbolism, ancestor worship, witchcraft and sorcery, Islam, Christianity, and cosmology. Each of these summaries was compiled by one of the participants in the Seminar who has a special interest in the particular aspect. They are, of course, scarcely substitutes for what seem to have been lively and stimulating interchanges of ideas and methods in which differences between the starting-points of British and French anthropologists were brought into direct confrontation. But again, as with the papers themselves, one feels slightly cheated because this is not the whole story: we are getting only a part.

Thus, despite some excellent pieces, this book is not altogether satisfactory; and in that it is not unlike its companion books which

resulted from the other International African Seminars. Not all the contributions to the Seminars are really worth publishing, at least not in expensive book form. This volume is clearly not a definitive compilation of anthropological work and thought in its particular field: a number of most notable anthropologists who have worked on African religious and moral systems have no work included because they were not present, for whatever reason, at the Seminar. Much of this book is working material, work in progress, only: fine for a seminar, but not necessarily usefully published in book form. Students concerned with the general field of religion and moral systems must take account of this new book, but they should not expect too much from it.

P. H. GULLIVER

MARIE-JOSÉ TUBIANA: *Survivances pré-islamiques en pays zaghawa*. (Université de Paris. Travaux et Mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie, LXVII.) 229 pp., 16 plates, 2 maps. Paris: Institut d'Ethnologie, 1964. Fr. 50.

The author of this study of pre-Islamic religious rites of the Zaghāwa of Wadāī has an intimate experience of the people she describes. A student of history and geography, as well as ethnology, the author took part in an expedition of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique to northern and eastern Chad in 1956, and she spent a year in the country of the Zaghāwa which embraces the frontier region between the Republic of Chad and the Dārūr province of the Sudan Republic. She has written a number of articles and co-operated with her husband Joseph Tubiana in a book on Zaghāwa folk-tales.

This book is both a labour of love and a valuable record of a people about whom little is known, but who, in view of their geographical situation and their customs, are of interest to a number of research workers in many fields of study, in particular African culture and religion and the impact of Islam on a fundamentally, non-Islamic society. The author concentrates on specific religious rites and practices associated with the investiture of chiefs, with their status as rain-makers, with annual rain-making rites, and sacrifices connected with the fertility of the crops.

The author indicates that her study, which she modestly describes as a sketch, has been carried out only just in time, or perhaps just a little too late, since she has never witnessed these rites, most of which have been abandoned within the last 30 years. Her sources are based on eyewitness accounts from informants who

come from all classes of Zaghāwa society. Despite this handicap, the author has taken great pains to test the accuracy of her information, which, whenever possible, was collected where these rites and sacrifices once occurred. Her research was carried out within the four cantons of the sultanate of Kobé, but her most comprehensive material is about the Kobé, since she spent several months in the capital *ArRiba*, where she was helped by the Sultan, *Abderaman*, and two of his half-brothers.

The Zaghāwa, in all, number some 60,000 people, scattered between Chad and Dārfūr. They are semi-nomadic pastoralists, grouped by some with the Tibbu (*Tūbū*), northern Negroid-Hamites of the eastern Sahara. They live by herding, gathering edible plants and grasses, practising a little agriculture, hunting and commerce. They inhabit a wild rocky terrain, in part desert, in part savannah, where famine is an ever-present threat, and where life itself seems to be symbolized by the grass shoots at the beginning of the rainy season. Like many other societies which move between the southern border of the Sahara and the Sudan, the wealth of the Zaghāwa is to be found in their herds which, in part, provide their food, their dress, and their utensils, and which are exchanged for millet, tea, sugar, and cloth.

Before 1911 Zaghāwa society was a loose confederation of tribes in which were grouped clearly defined families or clans. Each clan was associated with a mountain from which it took its name, or with a valley, or an animal which in the remote past rendered some service to the founder of the clan. Hence the veneration of the *Imogu* for the ostrich which is never eaten, nor are its eggs, nor do members of this tribe touch it, not even a fan made from its feathers. It is on the top of the mountain, or at the foot of a tree in a valley, or at the tomb of an ancestor—where divinity in some sense resided, that the sacrifices described by the author were made. Prayers and offerings were addressed to the ancestor of the clan, who was identified with this mountain or tree, or who was present in the form of a serpent or a genie. God was also addressed, invoked under the name of *iRu* or more recently *Allāh*.

The main part of the book is devoted to a detailed description of these ceremonies among the Kobé, *Kafka*, *Kigé*, *Dirong*, and *Guruf*. This is followed by a comparison of the rituals among the Zaghāwa of Chad and Dārfūr, and a general discussion, furnished with a wide quotation of documents and accounts by travellers and administrators. In the introduction the author describes the scanty historical information available about the Zaghāwa, and she quotes Arab geographers from the eighth century onwards. But the

whole problem of identification is a complicated one since the references made by the Arab accounts may embrace a much greater grouping of peoples in the south-eastern Saharan region.

There are great gaps in our knowledge as to when Islam first gained a foothold. According to Ibn Sa'īd, the Zaghāwa, who had submitted to the prince of Kanem, embraced Islam in the thirteenth century, while Kanem itself was officially converted in 1085. Elsewhere in the region a much later date is indicated; Dārfūr, about 1600, *Wadā'ī* a little later. The Zaghāwa have a tradition that 'Abdullay Boru, the founder of the reigning dynasty of Kobé, was the first person who proclaimed Islam and championed its cause, and this at the beginning of the seventeenth century. This would link the tradition of *Wadā'ī* and the Zaghāwa, but the latter tradition could well have been inspired by the former and all other evidence points to the introduction of Islam of a most superficial kind. It is suggested on the one hand, by the fact that the Zaghāwa were peripheral to the Mahdist and Sanūsī movements, and on the other by the late survival of the pre-Islamic customs here described. Islam in any true sense has entered at an even more recent date—within the last 50 years or so, and aided indirectly by the French administration.

The Zaghāwa, then, are a people who are still in the process of being converted to Islam, and it is precisely this fact that gives additional value to this study since in so many other Saharan communities, particularly in the west, but also in the central Sahara, Islam has penetrated kindred cultures in depth, whether by arabization or by the spread of the Sūfī orders, or by the rise of commercial centres with colonies of lettered Muslim merchants, at a far earlier date. In succeeding centuries such customs as are here described have disappeared, and in any event have received scanty or fanciful or garbled descriptions by Arab authors or local historians.

The pre-Islamic customs range from forms of sympathetic magic of a simple kind, such as the use of rain pots or the slaughter of a goat, a sheep, or a chicken at seasons of the agricultural year, and in particular when the first millet shoots are in need of rain. However, a ceremony, now discontinued under the impact of Islam, such as *Ha Kobé*, is of far greater social significance. The chief, or Sultan, was both rain-maker and intercessor between the divinity and his subjects. It was both an investiture, repeated and renewed every three or seven years, and a rain-making ceremony held at the end of the dry season. The chief sacrificed in the name of the clan or the tribe, or else the sacrifice was made by one or other of

his uterine nephews. The ceremony also symbolized the alliance between invaders who had become chiefs, and the ancient masters of the soil. Of unusual interest were certain rites connected with this ceremony, in particular the sacrifice of a pregnant camel by the chief, the extraction of the foetus by the *mira*, the representative of the former masters of the soil, the concealment of the foetus with its placenta in a cloth, and the bearing of the cloth by the uterine nephews to the mountain summit where, after the slaughter of a ewe or a goat, the foetus was hidden within a hollow, and the cloth removed and delivered to the chief or Sultan.

In her conclusion the author sees little chance of a 'coexistence' between Islam and ancient Zaghāwa village cults. Everything points to the radical replacement of these customs, although the possibility of an Islam clearly stamped by Zaghāwa customs is by no means excluded. There is a wealth of information in this stimulating book, which is distinguished by the general excellence of its presentation and care and accuracy of transcription. The author has integrated her material without burdensome notes, and the text is free from irrelevant reminiscences which so often mar a work of this kind.

H. T. NORRIS

J. VAN VELSEN: *The politics of kinship: a study in social manipulation among the Lakeside Tonga of Nyasaland*. xxix, 338 pp., front., 7 plates. Manchester: Manchester University Press on behalf of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute (University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland), [1964]. 45s.

The Lakeside Tonga, whose social organization is the subject of this book, are one of at least five distinct and separate peoples known by the name 'Tonga' in Central Africa. Dr. Van Velsen spent about three years of field study (between 1952 and 1955) in a few of their villages. As a social anthropologist he looked for forms of social structure among them but, to his surprise, could not readily find any. Social life in those villages seemed to be chaotic, full of tension, quarrel, and conflict. Nevertheless, the people lived in peace and friendliness, and life went on in an orderly fashion.

The paradox in this 'ordered anarchy' presented him with the sociological problem which he tackles in this monograph. In doing so, he makes extensive use of a method he calls 'situational analysis'. This consists in the study of cases involving the same individuals and groups within the same community under

different circumstances. The underlying theoretical assumption is that a culture is systematized only through situational selection by individuals. This procedure is derived from the 'extended case method' which has been developed in recent years particularly by social anthropologists of the 'Manchester School'. Dr. Van Velsen presents in this book 20 detailed cases which are illuminated by a large number of genealogies, tables, maps, and plans and which are placed within a sociological context by the more orthodox methods of morphological analysis. In conclusion he argues that the Lakeside Tonga achieve order and peace in their society through their ubiquitous disputes and conflicts, in the course of which they 're-affirm and re-analyse the relationships within the village or larger unit, which in the aggregate provide foundation for their feeling of identity'—now a well-known theme associated, again, with the 'Manchester School'.

Dr. Van Velsen's book raises a number of methodological and sociological problems. In the first place one wonders whether the theme of the 'ordered anarchy' can to-day (25 years after Evans-Pritchard first used it in his study of the Nuer) be posed as a *specific* problem, rather than as an axiomatic assumption, in social anthropology. When an anthropologist goes to study a society he takes it for granted that it has some kind of order, of regularities in social behaviour, underlying apparent disorder. Apart from this point, one is not certain after reading the book whether the apparent lack of clear principles of social organization among the Lakeside Tonga is not partly due to the difficulties which the author had in getting from his informants the necessary information from which such principles could have been elicited. Throughout the book the reader is told over and over again (twice within eight lines on p. 9) that field-work was carried out under extremely difficult conditions. The study was carried out at the time when the Central African Federation was being formed and the natives were naturally very suspicious of a European living in their midst and asking all sorts of questions about their life. It was thus difficult for the author to collect census material or even to collect genealogies in public.

Secondly, one wonders whether the village is a significant unit for investigating the sociological problem as formulated by the author. From occasional remarks made in the book, the reader gathers that these people are highly individualistic and sophisticated. They were among the first tribal groups in Nyasaland to come under the influence of European missionaries, and to-day they all profess to be Christian. They began migrating for wage employment as early as 1886 and to-day 70%

of the men are absent from the villages. They are a 'go-ahead people', enjoying a monopoly of the best jobs in towns, and supplying the African population in these towns with proportionately more leaders than other tribal groups. We also gather from the book that law and order in the villages are maintained by the central administration. Furthermore, land and other natural resources necessary for the subsistence section of the village economy are abundant and their distribution is not controlled by headmen. And 'the attraction of the great majority of Tonga headmanships is on the whole not strong enough to counteract the pull of the industrial centres abroad' (p. 209). The acquisition of wealth 'no longer requires local co-operation since the main source of wealth now lies in the distant towns' (p. 302). It is obvious from all this that the major economic and political relations interlock outside the village. Is it, therefore, at all surprising that the anthropologist should fail to find in the village to-day monolithic principles of social organization?

A third point which the book raises is concerned mainly with techniques of presentation. The author states: 'My aim has been to describe the Tonga social system by the same process whereby I gained my own insight' (p. xxvii). Thus, rather than organizing the material presented in the book around the end-results of many years of study, he gives a wealth of data of all types and makes the reader share with him the very slow process of research and discovery, examining what is relevant and what is not relevant. This can indeed be very instructive; but it can also be very cumbersome and confusing. The book is crowded with innumerable facts and the general reader can often miss the forest because of the many trees. One particularly wonders whether the author has not gone too far in presenting so much 'case material'.

But these are technical problems and the student of central African anthropology will find the book informative and interesting.

ABNER COHEN

E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD: *The position of women in primitive societies, and other essays in social anthropology*. 260 pp., 4 plates. London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1965. 35s.

This is the second published collection of some of Professor Evans-Pritchard's past essays, including lectures. The 14 essays fall into several different orders of interest. With the exception of two on the comparative approach, most are ethnographic accounts of certain aspects or institutions of a particular East African society. Though there is little

theoretical value in these ethnographic accounts, the student interested in the wide sweep of so-called Nilotic and related peoples has data which may be useful comparatively, provided he is familiar with the relatively recent accounts by different anthropologists of these and other Nilotes.

Within this general category one may single out as of especial quality and interest the two essays on the Luo, and one each on the Nandi political structure and the Zande state. The Zande essay may be read in conjunction with the other Zande essays in the author's first collection and so add to an understanding of features of Zande social life still not fully described. In parenthesis, one might echo other reviewers' criticism and ask why all the Zande articles were not collected together in one volume. The essays on Luo tribes and clans and on bridewealth are still among the most informative regarding this people, though they were published 15 years ago. The essay on the 'Nandi' group of peoples is a useful preliminary to more recent comprehensive contributions.

Five of these mostly ethnographic accounts were written before the war. The author acknowledges a change in thought and style since that time but adheres to the original manuscript. This gives an historical perspective of 'the intellectual climate' of anthropology at that time, but rather leaves one wondering how the author would interpret his data now. How, for instance, would the data on the Zande beer dance or Dinka cattle-names be interpreted in the light of the special contemporary interest in symbolism and ritual?

Most essays are of interest to the student of a special area. A couple, like those on cannibalism and expressions of obscenity, have a more general interest. The chief value to the student or professional anthropologist is probably limited to the three or four essays first mentioned, while the casual reader of anthropology will find much that seems removed from topical anthropological interests. The problem of the book's balance is expressed, probably unwittingly, in the juxtaposition of the opening 'two attempts at comparative analysis'. The first of these is a careful and, for teaching purposes, useful exposition of the development and value of a comparative approach in anthropology. The second is a much less scholarly lecture delivered to a non-anthropological audience of young women on some superficial differences in status between 'primitive' and 'modern' women, hence the title of the book.



In short, neither student, professional, nor casual reader will find more than a few essays of appeal.

D. J. PARKIN

SHORT NOTICES

M. E. L. MALLOWAN: *Early Mesopotamia and Iran*. (The Library of Early Civilizations.) 142 pp. London: Thames and Hudson, [1965]. 30s.

This book is one of a series whereby the individual chapters of the symposium *The dawn of civilization* (1961) are expanded and brought up to date both in text and illustration. Since the latter, excellent as they are, comprise almost half the volume, the text can be but a severely compressed account of the archaeological evidence for the beginnings of civilized life in Mesopotamia and neighbouring Iran. In particular, architecture, art, and crafts (including that of the earliest scribes) are discussed for the Ubaid, Uruk, Early Dynastic, and Ur III periods (i.e. c. 4000-2000 B.C.). Professor Mallowan draws on evidence from such sites as Brak, Chagar Bazar, and Ur, among others, where he has personally conducted the excavations. For this reason it would have been of special interest to have his view of the philosophy which led to the noted death-pits of Ur (cf. *Iraq*, xxxii, 1960, 61-68). Also in the discussion of the ways used by 'the early scribes to extend the meaning of their signs' (p. 62) it would be helpful to discuss the prevalent theory that the Uruk IV texts represent the end of a long period of development rather than that they are the partial survival of a recent and highly sophisticated invention (as B. L. Goff, *Symbols of prehistoric Mesopotamia*, 1963, 77-9; see *BSOAS*, xxviii, 1, 1965, 140). Only if the former theory is to be held, as it may well be, could such an expression as *en.lil.ti* '(may the god) Enlil grant life' be supported as an example of a

pure pictogram *ti* (originally an arrow ) rather than  as given) already used as a phonogram. *ti* more commonly in these, and later texts, denotes 'to receive'.

The author brings his own interpretation to many difficult subjects and no other book serves as so reliable and clear a guide to the relations of these two ancient civilizations. The well-presented rehabilitation of the so-called Blau monuments, once considered forgeries, is to be welcomed.

D. J. W.

ZE'EV W. FALK: *Hebrew law in Biblical times: an introduction*. 179 pp. Jerusalem: Wahrmann Books, 1964. \$3.60.

Originally given as lectures in the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, this useful study of the Biblical data focuses on the administration of justice, crime and punishment, property and contracts, persons, the family, marriage and divorce, children and succession. The author confesses to giving only an incomplete account which he hopes will stimulate further research, and he is aware that more detailed work and improvement is required. Thus Biblical scholars will find it little advance on R. de Vaux's *Ancient Israel, its life and institutions*, (1961). Moreover, if the book is to be the contribution to the study of ancient law in general claimed in the preface, legal historians would require attention to be paid in detail to comparisons with the dated sources which abound in Akkadian texts from contemporary Syria (e.g. Ugarit, Alalah, Mari). This would replace the uncertainty (and some inconsistency) embraced by Dr. Falk when he follows some outdated forms of literary criticism of the Old Testament. Thus he assumes that there was little or no writing, and thus written agreements, 'in the tribal period' (p. 97). If his view that 'ancient Hebrew society did not have much use for agreements and contracts' (p. 92) were substantiated, it would show the Hebrews as isolated and unique amid peoples and places which have left a legacy of such documents.

Although many early comparisons could have been included to show that the Israelite kings and royal institutions used the same legal forms as their neighbours whether in covenants or treaties, in international agreements for the exchange of territory, or the disposition of trade or of extradited fugitives, this element of comparative law is largely ignored. Law (the Torah) as the (unique ?) bond in ancient Hebrew law, religion, and morality (cf. *JSS*, xii, 2, 1962, 166-8) could well be stressed in a future edition.

D. J. W.

FARHAT J. ZIADEH (ed.): *A reader in modern literary Arabic*. (Princeton Oriental Studies, 22.) xiii, 426 pp. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1964. 35s.

This is a reader of modern literary Arabic

for students who have learnt the essentials of grammar and have done some elementary reading. It offers a wide and comprehensive selection of pieces from the most important modern authors which should give the student a good grasp of the present state of modern Arabic literature, and also help him to form some idea of how that literature has developed in the last half-century.

The book has several subsidiary features which make it most useful for teaching. Each piece is followed by notes and exercises. The incidence of vocabulary has been correlated with Landau's word count and the exercises have been used *inter alia* to make sure that the student has opportunity to learn the most-used words. It has a full vocabulary in Arabic orthography and in transcription, and also an index of idioms and set phrases.

A feature which should also be of considerable use to students is the short biographies of the authors. Until a good history of modern Arabic literature appears this section will give them some ground on which to base their general ideas.

The print is neat and readable though I find the note numbers large enough to distract the eye in continuous reading.

In these days of increasing specialization this reader should be a most useful tool in the teaching of students whose main interest lies in modern literary Arabic.

T. M. JOHNSTONE

MICHEL JIHA (ed.): *Der arabische Dialekt von Bismizzin: volkstümliche Texte aus einem libanesischen Dorf mit Grundzügen der Laut- und Formenlehre.* (Beirut Texts and Studies, Bd. 1.) xvii, 185 pp. Beirut: in Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden, 1964.

It is a most desirable thing that native speakers should write studies of their own dialects, and this study of the dialect of a Lebanese Greek Orthodox village dialect throws a good deal of light on important points of phonology and morphology.

The texts (pp. 2-113) are all interesting and the informants have been well chosen so that formal education is not likely to have distorted the purity of their dialect. There are perhaps too many formal stories: while these are equally informative there can be less certainty that they are typical of the speech of Bismizzin. Here again, however, the author is able to indicate in footnotes when there are deviations from the local dialect.

In text 12 the author notes (p. 78) that the speaker does not speak very carefully. This

text is in fact useful as an example of completely informal speech.

It is particularly to be expected that a native speaker's comments on phonology will be of importance, and on two major points at least this is so of this study. Thus (p. 119) the author defines the short front and back *a* as non-phonemic variants of central *a*. As examples of the latter moreover he gives *mara* 'woman' and *bašī* 'onion'. On the contrary *ā* and *ɔ* are shown to be phonemic, *ā* occurring frequently in non-emphatic contexts. On emphatic and non-emphatic *r* he makes the remark (p. 125) 'Ich muss aber anmerken, dass ich selber in vielen Fällen nicht eindeutig feststellen kann, ob ein *r* emphatisch ist oder nicht'. This tends to support the view of Cantineau speaking of a minimal pair in Damascus Arabic (*Word*, XII, 1, 1956, 117) where he asks '. . . but is the *r* really emphatic? Isn't the timbre of the final vowel the true differentiating element?'

In his description of vestiges of the old accusative inflection (p. 150) the author might have mentioned the *-a* of *'ahla w-sahla* (p. 106).

On p. 152 the author gives broken plurals and fem. plurals in *-āt* as feminine by usage. This is apparently only so for nouns of non-personal reference, and indeed there would appear to be some exceptions here also (as e.g. *ḥayātāt il-ḥilwān*, p. 106, and p. 22, story 3, para 4.).

These are small matters, however. This is a good selection of material and the phonology and morphology are well analysed. It is to be hoped that we shall see many more studies of this type and quality.

T. M. JOHNSTONE

DAVID COHEN: *Le parler arabe des Juifs de Tunis: textes et documents linguistiques et ethnographiques.* (École Pratique des Hautes Études — Sorbonne. Sixième Section: Sciences Économiques et Sociales. Études Juives, VII.) x, 177 pp. Paris, La Haye: Mouton & Co., 1964.

This is a well-rounded book in which a study of language, culture, and history are closely integrated. The introduction gives a historical account of the Jewish community in Tunis, and of the importance in its development of immigrants from Spain and Italy.

The main body of the book consists of a collection of texts in Tunisian Jewish Arabic and translation, on ceremonials, festivals, devotion to saints, and popular beliefs and superstitions (pp. 19-118). These are of considerable interest and are well documented and annotated. One might have wished,

however, to know something of the informants, particularly as regards social status.

These texts are followed by chapters on written and oral literature, on proverbs and sayings, and on food.

Key-words for the understanding of this culture are not discussed in footnotes but are marked throughout with an asterisk, so that the index-glossary is a useful summary of a number of the most important terms.

All of the texts are also of much linguistic interest. The dialect of the Jews of Tunisia has a number of interesting phonological features. The most important of these is the loss of distinction between *š* and *s*, and between *ẓ* and *z*. Thus *s* and *z* occur only before non-emphatic *r* as e.g. *yšrytu* '(they) buy it' (p. 24) and *šzri* 'it (f.) runs' (p. 139). Before emphatic *r*, *š* and *ẓ* are realized *š* and *z*, as e.g. *šrb* 'wine' (p. 23). In all other positions only *š*, *ẓ* occur, as *tūnāš* 'Tunis' (p. 23), *šādā* 'also' (p. 130 and freq.).

The author gives on phonology and morphology only the minimum necessary for the understanding of the texts (pp. 12-17) in view of his intention of publishing a detailed linguistic description of this dialect. One looks forward to seeing this both for its linguistic interest and as an aid to the better understanding of these excellent texts.

T. M. JOHNSTON

NICHOLAS RESCHER: *al-Kindī: an annotated bibliography*. 55 pp. [Pittsburgh]: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1964. \$3.

This work is a companion volume to Professor Rescher's *al-Fārābī: an annotated bibliography*, and together they form part of a series of studies on Arabic science published with the assistance of the American National Science Foundation.

Professor Rescher presents a comprehensive inventory of printed materials relating to al-Kindī, arranged alphabetically, by author. To facilitate the use of the main list of over 300 items, four other shorter lists have been drawn up, in which the materials are re-ordered. The first of these indexes lists, according to the branches of his scientific interests, the published Arabic and Latin texts of works attributed to al-Kindī, with notes on available translations or specialized studies on the various works. The works listed in this section are further identified by reference to three earlier bibliographical studies: R. J. McCarthy, *al-taṣnīf al-mansūbah ilā faīlasūf al-'arab*, Baghdad, 1963, which lists the works attributed to al-Kindī by Arab writers; F. J. Carmody, *Arabic astronomical and*

astrological sciences in Latin translation, University of California Press, 1956; H. G. Farmer, 'The sources of Arabian music', *Records of the Glasgow Bibliographical Society*, xiii, 1939.

Three smaller lists index: (a) the authors of the works on al-Kindī, referred to in the main list, subdivided under broad subject-headings; (b) earlier bibliographical works in European languages; (c) earlier bibliographical works in Arabic.

Easy to use, and attractively printed, this is a very useful work of reference to have by one.

JOHN BURTON

SALVATORE BONO: *I corsari barbareschi*. (Saggi, 39.) xxxii, 516 pp., 18 plates. Torino: ERI, Edizioni RAI Radio-televisione Italiana, [1964]. L. 3,000.

This book has an excellent pedigree, descended from a seminar conducted by Professor Federigo Chabod at the University of Rome and carefully related to the monumental work of Ferdinand Braudel. Besides a compendious bibliography there are eight chapters: i, 'I Barbareschi nella storia del Mediterraneo'; ii, 'Origini e vicende degli Stati barbareschi' (up to 1830); iii, 'Metodi e leggi della guerra corsara'; iv, 'Minacce e incursioni sulle coste europee'; v, 'Le difese contro i corsari'; vi, 'Schiavi e rinnegati'; vii, 'Il ritorno alla libertà'; viii, 'Corsari e schiavi illustri'. Apart from the chapters of straightforward historical narrative, which owe a good deal to Julien's *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord*, questions of more general interest for students of Mediterranean history are treated in ch. iii, vi, and vii. And it is here that one senses most acutely the shortcomings of the book. With regard, for example, to the 'passaporto' furnished corsairs by heads of state, one would like to know what the Arabic/Turkish documents looked like, and something of its juridical basis, for 'passaporto' can hardly have been its original designation (pp. 92 ff.). Again, negotiations for the exchange of slaves (pp. 332 ff.) must have been bilateral, and it would be valuable to know something of the conditions imposed on these transactions by the Barbary states. The author has in fact performed a considerable service in collecting and arranging both chronologically and topically the European sources for a history of the Barbary corsairs. But surely one is entitled, in the light of modern historical and orientalist research, to ask whether that is enough. To the question, what form should a modern history of the Barbary states take, this book is not the answer.

For this particular history there are sources in archives from Algiers to Istanbul. Until these have been assembled and studied there seems little point in repeating the now traditional story of the corsair states in North Africa.

J. WANSBROUGH

Dr. J. M. Unvala memorial volume. [ii], xviii, 272 pp., plate. Bombay: Dr. J. M. Unvala Memorial Volume Sub-Committee, 1964.

This volume honours the memory of a Parsi priest, Jamshedji Maneekji Unvala (1888-1961), who devoted himself principally to the study of Pahlavi. It is appropriately in large part a Pahlavi volume. Portions of the *Dāstān i dēnk* are here edited and translated by P. K. Anklesaria and by M. F. Kanga. The opening section of *Dēnkart* v is edited and translated with detailed discussion by H. S. Nyberg; and the 'B' manuscript of the *Dēnkart* is described in some detail by M. J. Dresden as part of the introduction to a projected facsimile of the manuscript. J. P. Åmussen provides in convenient form an English translation and glossary of Psalm cxxii.

Middle Persian grammar is the subject of articles by D. N. MacKenzie and by Mary Boyce. Studies of particular Pahlavi words are presented by J. P. de Menasce (legal terms), J. Duchesne-Guillemin, O. Klima, G. Widengren, H. Mirza, and K. Jamsap Asa.

Next to Pahlavi in popularity is Avestan. F. B. J. Kuiper provides a study of *Yasna* 30.7c and K. Hoffmann a convincing reinterpretation of *Vendidad* xix, 28. Particular items of Avestan vocabulary receive the attention of É. Benveniste (*vispayeirina*), W. B. Henning (*šanman-*), B. Schlerath (*panti-/paθ-* and *advan-*), and H. Humbach (*pairigalθa-* and *apairi.galθa-*).

Religious problems are discussed by M. Molé, U. Bianchi, and R. N. Frye.

I. Gershevitch offers some etymological notes on four well-known New Persian words. H. W. Bailey discusses Khotanese lyrical poems, translating some passages for the first time. G. Morgenstierne finds in dialects of the Shughni group the continuation of an Old Iranian **eušnā-* 'snake', which he compares with the name of the Rigvedic demon *Súspa-*.

Included in the volume are also articles by M. Mo'in, M. Moghdam, J. C. Tarapore, and Y. M. Nawabi.

This volume is full of interest for Iranian scholars. It is pleasing to see that there are comparatively few misprints. The volume can be accounted a success.

R. E. EMBLETTICK

E. D. PHILLIPS: *The royal hordes: nomad peoples of the steppes.* (Library of the Early Civilizations.) 144 pp. London: Thames and Hudson, [1965]. 30s.

Although, like its fellows in the series, this book is an extended version of a chapter in *The dawn of civilization*¹ it is still, with about 60 pp. of text, not more than a sketch of the history of the Eurasian steppes from the earliest times down to A.D. 500. In the first chapters the word 'perhaps' is inevitably hard worked and could have been more so (e.g. in the statement 'that the name Saka, commonest of all names applied to the Iranian nomads by themselves and by others, actually means "stag"', discounted by H. W. Bailey²). Equally inevitably, the archaeological material treated has almost all been presented in greater detail, if in a different context, in A. L. Mongait's *Archaeology in the U.S.S.R.*³ It is notable that nearly half of the illustrations, many in excellent colour, are of items in the rich collections of the State Hermitage, Leningrad. But these alone, particularly the examples of the vivid Animal Style of the Scythian *objets d'art*, are enough to make the book of interest to the general reader. Into the bargain he gets a succinct 'Chronology', a select (if rather uneven) bibliography, and an index. If a glance at the latter leads him to expect a discussion of the historic role of 'bacteria', however, he will be disappointed—should the Greek kingdom of Bactria not interest him more.

D. N. M.

GILBERT LAZARD (ed. and tr.): *Les premiers poètes persans (IX^e-X^e siècles): fragments rassemblés.* (Bibliothèque Iranienne, Vol. 13.) 2 vols.: [iv], 190 pp.; [v], 225 pp. Téhéran: Département d'Iranologie de l'Institut Franco-Iranien; Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1964.

This work is an anthology of Persian poems written in the ninth and tenth centuries. The first volume contains an introduction in French followed by a translation of the texts which are collected in the second volume. This

¹ Ed. Professor Stuart Piggott, London, 1961.

² 'Languages of the Saka', *Handbuch der Orientalistik*. *Iranistik*, Leiden, 1958, 133.

³ *Arxeologija v SSSR*, Moscow, 1955; English translation by M. W. Thompson, Penguin Books, 1961.

is the first attempt to bring together examples of the works of all the early Persian poets. Examples of the work of 22 poets of varying importance are given, the length of quotations ranging from a single couplet to 230 couplets. The poet Rūdakī, the greatest poet of this period, has been left out deliberately as his works have already been exhaustively studied by Sa'īd Nafīsī. The last 22 pages are devoted to extensive quotations from the poetical works of a certain physician called Maysarī who composed a *mathnavī* entitled *Dānesh-nāme* of which there is a unique copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. With few exceptions the poems quoted are lacking in literary merit in comparison with Persian poetry of later ages. Their significance lies in the fact of their belonging to the period when Persian poetry first began to be written. In his introduction M. Lazard gives a short account of the origins of Persian poetry and some useful details concerning the lives and style of these early poets.

The text is well produced but there are a few misprints, for example on p. 58, l. 2, the last word *خواه* is to be read *خوار*. Similarly the translation is not always accurate, for instance *پند گیر و کار بند و گوش دار* is translated (on p. 61, l. 9) '—accepte cet avis, qu'il régle ta conduite et reste en ta mémoire'. This is a welcome contribution to the study of the early stages of Persian poetry.

A. A. HADARI

V. L. MÉNAGE: *Neshri's history of the Ottomans: the sources and development of the text.* (School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. London Oriental Series, Vol. 16.) xvi, 86 pp. London, etc.: Oxford University Press, 1964. 35s.

The difficulty about reviewing an original contribution to knowledge such as Dr. Ménage's book is that few but the author are, by definition, qualified to discuss adequately the material presented. None the less, even one not previously intimately acquainted with the subject-matter cannot but admire the skill and clarity with which Dr. Ménage presents his arguments, the gratifying logic of his conclusions, and the thorough documentation which bespeaks painstaking research.

In the introduction, Dr. Ménage reviews the studies previously done on Neghri's work and states that the relatively recent isolation of Neghri's sources [for which he himself was partly responsible] and the discovery of a number of additional manuscripts have

necessitated a re-examination of the materials relative to it. Beginning with a discussion of the few facts known of the author's life, a discussion in which he separates the wheat from the chaff, and a general description of the 'History of the Ottomans' and its relationship to the larger work, the *Jihān-numā*, of which it forms the sixth and last section, Dr. Ménage proceeds to discuss in some detail the sources which Neghri used. He then analyses in turn each of the surviving manuscripts, constructing as he does so a logical sequence of the various recensions of the text and identifying the recension to which each manuscript belongs. Further, he identifies Neghri's work, and indeed, tentatively, a particular recension by Neghri himself, as one of the sources for the Codex Hanivaldanus, in turn a source for Leunclavius's *Historiae musulmanae . . . libri xviii*. He appends a useful concordance of texts and sources, showing the interrelationships of the texts and manuscripts to which reference is most frequently made and the sources for each of Neghri's chapters.

Not only does Dr. Ménage's book throw considerable light on the sources and development of Neghri's text, in itself a subject of interest, but it could also provide a possible pattern for analysing the stages in the development of other Ottoman historical texts for which there is a deficiency of material. His book is a model of detailed yet lucid analysis, and is one for which those engaged in Ottoman studies will be grateful.

R. C. REPP

V. FAUSBØLL (ed.): *The Jātaka, together with its commentary; being tales of the anterior births of Gotama Buddha, for the first time edited in the original Pāli. Reprinted.* 7 vols.: [xiv], 511 pp.; [x], 451 pp.; [viii], 543 pp.; [xii], 499 pp.; [xi], 511 pp.; [viii], 599 pp.; [vii], xix, 246 pp. London: Luzac and Co., Ltd. for the Pali Text Society, 1962-4. Vols. I-VI, 42s. each; Vol. VII, 25s.

The first volume of the *Jātakathavāṇanā*, popularly known by the term the *Jātaka* book, was first edited in 1877 by the great Danish Pali scholar V. Fausbøll. The whole work, containing 547 *Jātaka* tales, consisted of six large volumes running to more than 3,000 pages, and was completed after nearly 20 years, in 1896. This was followed in 1897 by the seventh (and last) volume of indexes containing 'a complete index of proper names and titles, together with a list of the introduc-

tory gāthās and an index of parallel verses' by another illustrious Pali scholar, Dines Anderson. The entire work was first published by Trübner, and now after a lapse of nearly 70 years we are presented with a most welcome reprint of this work by the Pali Text Society.

That a work undertaken so long ago when Buddhist studies in general and Pali studies in particular were still in their infancy should be superseded after so many years of intensive Pali studies speaks very highly for the achievements of its editor. In a large measure the lasting value of his edition arose from Fausbøll's ingenious and far-sighted decision to employ roman characters for transliterating Pali.

In his 'Preliminary remarks' to the first volume Fausbøll states that his text is based on three MSS, all written in Sinhalese characters, representing a single redaction. While editing the second volume, in 1878, he received a Burmese MS of the whole work representing a redaction different from the Sinhalese, which 'in some cases [had] most likely preserved the true reading', but he continued to give the Sinhalese redaction in the text, putting the Burmese readings in the footnotes. It was not until 1886 while he was preparing the fourth volume that Fausbøll received a Siamese MS of parts of the text, which redaction, according to him, 'takes up an intermediate position between the two former'. Thus for a while the text is based on a comparison of all three redactions until we come to the last volume containing the *Mahānipāta* which represents only the Sinhalese tradition. Fausbøll states that although he had the Burmese MS of the *Mahānipāta* he has not taken full notice of it 'as the text, in this part of the book, has been very much enlarged throughout, so as to make it in many places quite different from C. The aim of the Burmese redactor seems to have been, to make the tale more lucid and intelligible, but as the difference in many particulars consequently is so great I should advise some scholar to give a separate edition of the *Mahānipāta* according to the Burmese redaction that we may judge of its exact relation to C'.

Unfortunately, even after the lapse of almost 70 years, Fausbøll's advice seems to have been ignored by subsequent editors of the *Jātaka* book. A complete edition of the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā* in Siamese characters appeared in 1924 followed by another edition in Sinhalese characters in the Simon Hewavitarna Bequest series in 1939. The editor of the latter makes full use of Fausbøll's edition but fails to consult even a single Burmese MS independently and admits to having ignored a large number of Siamese readings because of their apparent lack of conformity to the Sinhalese redaction.

Under these circumstances it appears that even to-day we have only a 'provisional edition' of the *Jātakathavannanā* in Fausbøll's words, written at the completion of his editing in 1896. Fortunately we are now in full possession of all three redactions denied in time to Fausbøll; we understand that the Burmese have now published a complete and 'critical' text of the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā* as a result of the 'Sixth Sangāyana' held in 1959. While congratulating the Pali Text Society on reprinting Fausbøll's great edition, we would like to recommend that they should also publish the Burmese redaction of the *Mahānipāta* thus adding to the value of the present edition and as a major step in reconstructing a final text of the *Jātakathavannanā* as envisaged by Fausbøll himself.

P. S. JAINI

DIETER SCHLINGLOFF (ed. and tr.): *Ein buddhistisches Yogalehrbuch. Textband.* (Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Institut für Orientforschung, Veröffentlichung Nr. 59; Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden, VII.) 259 pp. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1964. DM. 116.

E. WALDSCHMIDT (ed.): *Faksimile-Wiedergaben von Sanskrithandschriften aus den Berliner Turfanfunden. 1. Handschriften zu fünf Sūtras des Dirghāgama, unter Mitarbeit von W. Clavier, D. Schlingloff und R. L. Waldschmidt.* (Indo-Iranian Facsimiles Series, Vol. I.) 59 pp., 176 plates. The Hague: Mouton and Co., 1963. Guilders 98.

The fragmentary Buddhist treatise on Yoga from the vicinity of Kuca is distinguished by being the only extant Sanskrit text written in Central Asian Brāhmī on birch-bark. It has been reconstructed by Professor Schlingloff from innumerable fragments, transliterated, translated, and fully evaluated, with a detailed description of the orthography and state of the text, and a complete glossary of words and forms; some parts of an identical recension written on paper have also been identified and utilized. We may perhaps infer from the sub-title that a facsimile volume is envisaged. The text is shown to be a further development of a treatise on abstraction and meditation attested in Pali (*Satīpaṭṭhāna*) and Sanskrit (*Smṛtyupasthāna*). In stressing the changed aspect of this latest version, Professor Schlingloff observes (p. 28) with reference to a telling passage 'Das Gleichnis wird zum Sinn-Bild, die Anschauung zur Vision': where

there was originally merely a comparison of the self-analyser with a butcher laying out the parts of a carcass, we now have, by a process of corruption similar to that seen in the *Dharmapada* texts, the 'vision' of a super-human being extruding butcher's knives from his navel in order to reveal to man a ready-made doctrine of six *dhātus*.

Professor Waldschmidt's book begins a welcome and valuable series of reproductions in facsimile of Central Asian Sanskrit manuscripts located in Germany. The present volume contains plates (1-148, 162, 170) reproducing fragmentary manuscripts containing parts of from two to four of the *Daśotāra*, *Samgīti*, *Caṭuṣpariṣad*, *Mahāvādāna*, and *Mahāparinirvāna* (with *Mahāsudarśana*) sūtras, and the intervening plates contain minor fragments from these same texts, which according to the editor constituted a *Ṣaṣṭīra-kanipāṭa* in the *Dirghāgama* of the Sarvāstivādins. The offset reproduction is occasionally unsatisfactory, and a second attempt at achieving legibility for certain fragments is contained in the final plates. An introduction describing the manuscripts supplies a concordance between the plates and the published transcriptions by E. Waldschmidt, Kusum Mittal, D. Schlingloff, and Valentina Rosen, and also a transcription of the hitherto unpublished fragments.

J. C. W.

B. R. SHARMA (ed.): *Sāmavidhāna brāhmaṇa*, with *Vedārthaprakāśa* of *Sāyana* and *Padārthamātravivṛti* of *Bharatasvāmin*. (Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha Series, No. 1.) [vi], 4, xxii, 316 pp. Tirupati: Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, 1964. Rs. 15.

Dr. B. R. Sharma has inaugurated the Tirupati Central Sanskrit Institute's series of publications of inaccessible Sanskrit texts with an edition of the *Sāmavidhāna* (on the analogy of the title *Ṛgvidhāna*, there seems little point in maintaining the designation *brāhmaṇa* for this text, which lists *prāyaścittas* and *kāmya* rites involving Sāmavedic mantras). A. C. Burnell's edition (London, 1873) and Satyavrata Sāmaśrami's edition (Calcutta, 1895), both with Sāyana, and also S. Konow's translation and study (Halle, 1893) have long been out of print; Bharatasvāmin's commentary was hitherto unpublished. Fresh manuscripts, which confirm that the mīla is extant in a single archetype, and the printed editions have been collated (perversely, the variants cited by Burnell have been ignored; his accepted readings are occasionally ignored or mis-

quoted); a complete word-index for the text, and indexes of Sāmavedic references in the text and of quotations in the commentaries are supplied; and the editor and Dr. V. Raghavan contribute useful introductory notes. The only remarkable linguistic feature in the text (apart from neut. pl. *samā u* [sic] in an etymology) is *labhet*, doubtless an error in the archetype; Sāyana offers *labhet labhate*, while Bharatasvāmin, who provides a less developed form of the commentary and occasionally has better readings, does not comment.

J. C. WRIGHT

GADJIN M. NAGAO (ed.): *Madhyānta-vibhāga-bhāṣya*. xvii, 231 pp., front. Tokyo: Suzuki Research Foundation, 1964. ¥ 2,200.

Professor Nagao's edition makes accessible for the first time the Sanskrit text of Vasubandhu's commentary (*bhāṣya*) on the *Madhyāntavibhāga-kārikās*. Although considerable portions of the direct commentary are embedded in the sub-commentary (*ṭīkā*) by Sthiramati (ed. S. Yamaguchi, Nagoya, 1934), the text as a whole has hitherto been known only through the Chinese and Tibetan versions. The edition is based on a manuscript of which photographs were procured in Tibet in 1934 by Rāhula Sāmkṛtyāyana. A valuable feature of the work is the inclusion of detailed indexes, Sanskrit-Tibetan-Chinese, Tibetan-Sanskrit, and Chinese-Sanskrit. These follow the pattern of Professor Nagao's earlier publication, *Index to the Mahāyāna-sūtrālamkāra* (Tokyo: Nippon Gakujutsu Shinkōkai, 1958, 1961), and constitute a further important contribution to Buddhist lexical studies.

J. B.

ABDUL KARIM: *Dacca: the Mughal capital*. (Asiatic Society of Pakistan Publications, No. 15.) xii, 514 pp., 5 maps. Dacca: Asiatic Society of Pakistan, 1964. Rs. 20, 40s.

Dacca has been well treated over the years in the general political histories and in monographs, and her antiquities in particular have received a fair share of attention; this monograph gives us a different view, for it looks at the vicissitudes of Dacca in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in terms of the administrative system and the economic factors obtaining during the Mughal rule of the *ṣūba* of Bengal.

There is certainly ample material for such a

study in the information and records collected from a wide range of sources by the officials of the East India Company. These documents are preserved in the India Office Library, and it is those with special reference to Dacca which have been published here in the 13 appendixes which make up four-fifths of the volume of the book. To these, which offer a wealth of information on such subjects as receipts in the various markets and bazaars, the rate of taxes on commodities of every description in the Dacca markets, the average prices of goods, individual accounts of the revenues, and so on, the author has added half a dozen chapters in the form of an extended essay on the rise and fall of Dacca under the Mughals and its earlier days under the Company, based largely on the IOL documents but also well documented with references to other sources.

The Dacca documents have been published as they stand, and will be of great value to all specialists in the late Mughal and early British period; but it must be mentioned that they may be bewildering, even misleading, to the layman. The numeration system of Arabic has been described as 'the nightmare of a bankrupt financier'; but Arabic numeration falls into a serene lucidity beside the incubus of a trading system where no less than 16 different denominations of the rupee might obtain simultaneously, all of them liable to be filed and punched and pared by the unscrupulous, so that 'no person can tell the value of the coin he is possessed of until a shroff be consulted upon the matter'. James Steuart's *Principles of money applied to the present state of the coin in Bengal*, London, 1772 (from which the above quotation is taken), is an essential work for the economic historian who might wish to pursue Dr. Karim's studies further.

There are a few misprints and infelicities in the text, and the maps should have been redrawn by a competent cartographer; but these are not such grave deficiencies as to detract from the book's general utility and interest.

J. BURTON-PAGE

HELLMUTH HECKER: *Das Staatsangehörigkeitsrecht von Indien, Pakistan, Nepal*. (Sammlung Geltender Staatsangehörigkeitsgesetze, Bd. 26.) 187 pp. Frankfurt am Main: Alfred Metzner Verlag, 1965. DM. 36.

This highly compressed volume belongs to the series of publications put out by the Research Division on International Law and Foreign Public Law of the University of

Hamburg. The intention is to give the effect of legislation, treaties, and other international instruments on the subject of nationality and naturalization (including case-law) in a clear German text, followed by German translations of the texts of the relevant documents or in some cases their substance. Extraordinarily difficult even for specialists of the countries concerned, this task becomes baffling for any jurist who is bound to approach the materials at second and eventually at first hand in the dry, succinct, and difficult language of Anglo-American legal documents. On the whole this is a marvellously efficient piece of work, giving the information with sufficient exactitude, and with a bibliography more extensive than in any publication by a native Indian, Pakistani, or Nepalese lawyer. Much of the Nepalese material will be new. Though the German text will not be needed by an English-speaking inquirer into these topics, the bibliographical information will certainly be valuable; and for this reason the book certainly deserves to be bought outside the confines of areas (e.g. Greece, Turkey) where German is the usual medium for international jurisprudence.

J. D. M. D.

MARTIN HÜRLIMANN: *Delhi, Agra, Fatehpur Sikri*. Translated from the German by Jean Carroll and Isobel Hatton. 150 pp., including 141 photos. London: Thames and Hudson, [1965]. 42s.

This is a mere collection of the author's photographs of the three towns in many aspects, mostly architectural but partly of human interest; perhaps 'touristic' is the fitting adjective here. Some are excellent and may assist the memories of the serious student—little, however, appears which has not already received adequate and competent treatment in the specialist literature; some are tediously repetitive and pointless, as the dozen snaps (one can call them nothing more) of the Delhi bazaars; some are of that indifferent quality which the popular photographic press describes as 'artistic', such as pl. 39 where the superb *pietra dura* of the *hammām* in the Delhi Fort is so out of focus as to be futile. The author's sense of the inapposite appears at its most banal in pl. 101, the *Motī masjid* of Agra Fort, which shows a bare-headed Hindu girl picking her nose and a bare-headed Hindu youth both sprawling on the floor of the *iwān* with their backs to the *mīhrāb*.

The author has added his own text, replete

with the sort of information, credible and incredible, which is properly the province of the tourist guides; he seems unaware that constant research, in India and outside, has now brought an extensive precision to the historical and archaeological matters of which he speaks.

In a 'postscript' the author asserts that 'as the spelling of proper names differs in almost every book, it cannot be claimed that the "right" spelling has been adopted'; certainly a popular spelling is called for in a book of this sort, but 'Zinat-ul-Masjid' is hardly an acceptable popularization of *Zinat al-masājid* (pl. 63), and 'Nahabat Khana' is unrecognizable as the *Nawbat-khāna* of Fatehpur Sikri. That no pretence of a "right" spelling of 'Dr. Sarvepalli Rhadhakrishnan' has been made amounts to a slovenly discourtesy.

J. BURTON-PAGE

P. V. BAPAT (ed. and tr.): *Vimukti-mārga-dhutaḡaṇa-nirdeśa: a Tibetan text*. (Delhi University Buddhist Studies, No. 1.) xxx, 123 pp. London: Asia Publishing House, [1964]. 65s.

Ever since the publication of his *Vimuttimāgga and Visuddhimagga: a comparative study* in 1937, Professor Bapat has continued, by means of several learned articles, to give us more and more information on the *Vimuttimāgga* of Upatissa, available now only in its Chinese translation. As early as 1933 he found a fragment of it, from the chapter on *dhutaṅga*, in a Tibetan translation attributed to Vidyākara-prabha and Lo tsā ba Dpal Brtsegs. Professor Bapat has now for the first time edited this Tibetan text and has presented a lucid translation, affording us the opportunity to compare at least one whole chapter of the *Vimuttimāgga* with the corresponding chapter in the *Visuddhimagga*.

In preparing his Tibetan text (printed both in roman and Nāgarī characters) the editor has used, in addition to the two MSS based on the xylograph of Kanjur (Narthang edition), three photostat copies—one obtained from the State Library of Berlin and two (W1 and W2) from the Library of Congress, Washington. With the exception of W1, all the four MSS are enlarged texts containing seven interpolations of irrelevant quotations from several Mahāyāna texts not found in the Chinese version of *Vimuttimāgga*. With the help of W1, the editor has been able to reconstruct the original Tibetan text. Some of the interpolations have been identified, and are given separately in Appendix II.

In his introduction Professor Bapat once more reiterates his celebrated views on the date and authorship of the *Vimuttimāgga* and particularly on its ascription to the Abhayagiri school in Ceylon. The present edition seems to support his original thesis and is thus a welcome addition to our scanty sources for the study of the Abhayagiri school. The glossary of Tibetan words at the end should prove to be of great assistance to students engaged in handling Tibetan texts of this nature.

P. S. JAINI

NICHOLAS POPPE: *Bashkir manual: descriptive grammar and texts with a Bashkir-English glossary*. (Indiana University Publications. Uralic and Altaic Series, Vol. 36.) x, 181 pp. Bloomington: Indiana University; The Hague: Mouton and Co., 1964. \$3, guilders 11.

Bashkir belongs to the north-western branch of the Turkic language family and is spoken by almost one million people in the Bashkir Autonomous Socialist Republic of the U.S.S.R.

This grammar of Bashkir is written on the same lines as the author's Tatar manual which was published as Vol. 25 of the same series. It is in three parts. Part I is the grammar, part II the texts, and part III is a glossary.

Part I is divided into six sections. The short introduction and bibliography are followed by section 1, the phonology. Phonemes and morphophonemic alternations are dealt with under this heading. Bashkir is written in the Cyrillic orthography and a table is provided setting out the Cyrillic alphabet with a transliteration into the Roman alphabet and a phonemic transcription. Section 2 deals with the inflection of such classes as substantive, pronoun, verb, participle, and gerund. Here the more traditional terms 'possessive suffix' and 'declension suffix' are used in preference to the more cumbersome 'concrete-relational suffix' and 'pure-relational suffix' of the Tatar manual. Examples of inflected forms are provided and paradigms of noun and verb forms are given. Section 3 is headed 'form- and function-classes'. The functions of the various parts of speech are dealt with briefly and are illustrated by examples. Section 4, 'word formation', lists suffixes most of which are used to change one class of word into another. Examples are given. Section 5 deals with phrase-structure. Phrases are divided into two main types: (1) co-ordinate and (2) contrastive, and these are further analysed into nominal, adjectival, pronominal, adverbial, and postpositional phrases, and verbal complement.

Section 6 is on clause structure. Clauses are classified into declarative, interrogative, and exclamatory by the type of intonation used. The information on intonation is very brief and the marking of contours is very approximate with little indication of the relationship between the syllables and the lines marking the pitch levels, e.g. on p. 95, § 6.21, 2°: 'Falling-level intonation (comma intonation/,/). The pitch is high at the beginning of the clause, falls and remains level', with the example:

бер көңдө һыуға барам тип, сығып китеп,
мәкәгә төмөп, шунда вафат булған. Ике көн
үткәс көнә барып табып алдылар

— — — — /, / — / /

The texts (part II) are selected for the purpose of providing material for reading and translation. Texts typical of modern Bashkir literature are chosen and are photographed direct from the originals. The quality of the printing of these originals, as in the case of several Soviet publications, is not of uniform quality, with the result that the reproduction is generally poor and on some pages, e.g. pp. 111, 112, 115, 119, hardly readable. The same weakness was a feature of the reproduction of the Tatar texts in the same author's Tatar manual. The technique used to reproduce the texts of the Kirghiz manual of R. J. Hobert and N. Poppe (Vol. 33 of the same series) resulted in the texts being neat, clear, and legible and it would be an advantage if this technique were used (in spite of the greater cost) in future publications instead of direct photography of the original texts.

Part III is a Bashkir-English glossary of the words contained in the texts.

This Bashkir manual is primarily intended to be a reference grammar but in view of the lack of material available on the Bashkir language in English, it will no doubt prove to be a useful teaching grammar as well. The manual is a welcome addition to the slowly expanding stock of Turkic language material written in English.

NATALIE WATERBSON

JOSEPH NEEDHAM: *Time and Eastern man: the Henry Myers Lecture, 1964*. (Royal Anthropological Institute. Occasional Paper No. 21.) ix, 52 pp. [London]: Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 1965. £1.

Were it not for the attention that naturally centres on his great history of *Science and*

civilisation in China, Joseph Needham would have a separate fame, great enough to satisfy most men of learning, earned by his extraordinary record of monographic studies. While most of these are by-products of the major work—supplements to themes in the volumes already published, or anticipations of themes in future volumes—each of them is an independent contribution to knowledge. Sometimes Dr. Needham writes alone, sometimes with one or several collaborators, but always the product bears the imprint of one of the great minds of our time—a polymath of the sciences, and also a notable humanist. The range of topics is extraordinary—'Hygiene and preventive medicine in ancient China', 'The past in China's present', 'The earliest snow crystal observations', 'An eighth century meridian line', 'An early mediaeval Chinese alchemical text on aqueous solutions', 'Efficient equine harness: the Chinese inventions', and many others.

In this latest treatise Dr. Needham is concerned with the mechanical, philosophical, and social aspects of time, and his point of departure is that 'Western Man had no monopoly of the sense of linear continuous time, and . . . the "timeless Orient" is nonsense'.

Quoting Granet, Dr. Needham notes that one very ancient Chinese concept was 'that time . . . was always divided into separate spans, stretches, blocks or boxes, like the organic differentiation of space into particular expanses and domains'. They also had, however, both cyclical and linear notions of time; of these the former, not surprisingly, was especially congenial to the Taoists. The cyclical notion of time was convenient in accounting for the rise and fall of dynasties, but linear time served the strong sense of history of the Chinese even better, and also favoured the idea of history as growth and evolution. Against the deeply-entrenched Western conviction that the Chinese culture was endlessly stagnant, Dr. Needham comes forward to show that the sequence of the stone, bronze, and iron ages, not clearly accepted in Europe until the nineteenth century, was understood by the Chinese in the first century A.D.—perhaps even several centuries earlier. Similarly, he shows that veneration for ancestors and for the sages of the past did not prevent Chinese scholars from accepting new ideas and improvements. 'Those who can think, learnt from themselves and not from the Sages', says one quotation from the eighth century A.D., and in the century before that, a memorial to the throne, proposing the geodetic survey of a meridian arc, begs his Majesty 'not to give credence to the worn-out theories of former times, and not to use them'.

On one of the great open problems of history—the failure of the Chinese to develop modern natural science, after being far ahead of ancient and medieval Europe in many ways—Dr. Needham's conclusion is that at least this has nothing to do with the Chinese attitude toward time.

OWEN LATTIMORE

JEAN CHESNEAUX and JOHN LUST:

Introduction aux études d'histoire contemporaine de Chine, 1898-1949. (Maison des Sciences de l'Homme. Matériaux pour l'Étude de l'Extrême-Orient Moderne et Contemporain. Travaux, II.) 148 pp. Paris, La Haye: Mouton, 1964.

In the words of the authors the present work 'ne cherche pas tellement à fournir encore une nouvelle bibliographie sur la Chine contemporaine, mais à faire brièvement le bilan des sources et des travaux disponibles, et à suggérer des directions de recherche'. The two most important sections of it discuss the half-century according to chronological divisions and topic headings; for every question discussed the authors give as much space to what is left undone as to what has been done already. It is, then, a kind of didactic bibliography; it lays down an impeccable line on the need for professionalism in the study of modern China, and enjoins researchers particularly to know their traditional China, and to see recent developments in China in their world context. Comments on deficiencies in existing appraisals are pertinent, and proposals for review or research are radical and constructive, though some of them might not be taken up in a hurry. The scope of the work could hardly be more comprehensive: it ranges from bibliographies, archives, and society papers to cartoons and telephone directories. I am not absolutely clear whom it is meant for, but it should be very handy for tutors, and good reading for all interested parties.

D. E. P.

EDWARD J. M. RHOADS: *The Chinese Red Army, 1927-1963: an annotated bibliography.* By Edward J. M. Rhoads, in collaboration with Edward Friedman, Ellis Joffe, Ralph L. Powell. (Harvard East Asian Monographs, 16.) xiv, 188 pp. Cambridge, Mass.: East Asian Research Center, Harvard University, 1964. (Distri-

buted by Harvard University Press. Distributed in G.B. by Oxford University Press. 26s.)

This is the first bibliography of its kind devoted exclusively to the Chinese Red Army to be made available in a Western language. Other compilations exist which include material on this subject—notably the Hoover Institution bibliographies edited by Hsueh Chün-tu¹ and a recent bibliographic survey published in Washington²—and they contain many specialized items not listed here. Dr. Rhoads has very sensibly not attempted to provide an exhaustive bibliography, however, concentrating rather in the 600 items which he lists on giving a representative selection of the available literature.

I notice no omissions or inaccuracies of which one could fairly complain. But it is a pity that the physical location of the items included is not given. One assumes that most are available at Harvard, but since the bibliography is based upon the personal file of Professor Powell at the American University, one cannot be sure even of this. Some indication should have been given at least of the location of the rarer Chinese-language items.

The user of this bibliography will find the short evaluative notes attached to most items very useful in sifting the chaff from the grain. There is also a welcome emphasis upon articles in Western and Japanese periodicals, which help to fill some major gaps in the early years of the People's Republic. The sectional arrangement and indexing is altogether admirable. Any student of contemporary Chinese affairs, whether or not he is a military specialist, should find much to interest him here.

JOHN GITTINGS

G. B. ENDACOTT: *Government and people in Hong Kong, 1841-1962: a constitutional history.* xiv, 263 pp., front., 12 plates. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1964. (Distributed in G.B. by Oxford University Press. 45s.)

Government and people is a misleading title for this work, for 'people' play little part in it. Indeed, one could wish for far more information

¹ Hsueh Chün-tu: *The Chinese Communist movement.* Vol. I, 1921-1937.—Vol. II, 1937-49. Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, 1960, 1962.

² *Communist China: ruthless enemy or paper tiger? A bibliographic survey.* Washington, D.C.: Headquarters, Dept. of the Army, 1962.

both on personalities and on the effect of the government upon the people at large. One almost forgets the fact that the population of Hong Kong is predominantly Chinese, so little do they enter into the picture; and while this no doubt reflects the attitudes of the colonial government of much of the colony's history, one would feel happier if the author had devoted a section of the book to explaining the reasons for this and to giving some account of what was happening in Chinese circles.

The failure of the title to describe the book accurately does not detract from its merits. As a history of the evolution of government in the colony, of the formation and development of the Executive, Legislative and Urban Councils, as well as of the position of the Governor and colony in relation to the home government, it is a useful and irreproachable work. The appendixes showing historical changes in table form are illuminating, while the careful footnoting shows the amount of work which went into the writing of the book.

It is a pity that the same amount of care was not bestowed on the printing and proof-reading. Mistakes are numerous and range from small typographical errors, such as the 'wanted to replaced' on p. 104, to omission of footnotes, as with the unidentified quotation at the bottom of p. 207. Some of the figures quoted are apparently inaccurate—for example the census total given on p. 4, and the figures for the electorate on p. 207.

A solid work, poorly produced, this book is perhaps of more interest to the student of colonial affairs and political institutions than to the specialist in Asian studies, but the latter may still use it for much valuable background material.

HUGH D. B. BAKER

JOHN F. EMBREE: *Suye mura: a Japanese village. Seventh impression.* (Phoenix Books, P173.) xxxi, 354 pp., 18 plates. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1964. \$2.95, 21s.

The Manyōshū: the Nippon Gakujutsu Shinkōkai translation of one thousand poems with the texts in romaji. (Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies, No. LXX; Unesco Collection of Representative Works, Japanese Series.) [iv], lxxxii, 502 pp., 5 maps. New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1965. 90s.

Suye mura first came out in 1939, and *The Manyōshū* in 1940 and they re-emerge now

with new forewords respectively by Richard Beardsley and Donald Keene. Both, of course, are masterpieces in their fields, and neither needs amendment. Each is a classic of the interpreting of Japan to the West and will be read with profit by generations of students to come. Both forewords are written with discretion, doing no more than is necessary to place the books in their setting. It is with great pleasure that we welcome the reappearance of these two old friends.

C. J. D.

E. M. UHLENBECK: *A critical survey of studies on the languages of Java and Madura.* (Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde. Bibliographical Series, 7.) viii, 207 pp., 3 plates, 2 maps. 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1964. Guilders 16.

Professor Uhlenbeck deserves our thanks for his latest publication. Apart from Bahasa Indonesia, which has been dealt with by Professor Teeuw in the fifth volume of this series, the three languages spoken in Java are Sundanese, Javanese, and Madurese, so that the island of Madura was quite naturally included. In view of the fact that the *literatures* of adjacent Bali and Lombok have borrowed to a very considerable extent for centuries from the Javanese literature, just like the Sundanese and Madurese, it would not have been arbitrary to extend the scope of this bibliography in the eastern direction, but as *language* is the main object of this series (no. 1, languages of Sumatra; no. 2, languages of Borneo; no. 5, Malay and Bahasa Indonesia), the author is perfectly right in limiting his scope to Java and Madura. Quite naturally his book is subdivided into the three linguistic sections; each section is subdivided into an analytical study and a bibliography arranged alphabetically. For Sundanese and Madurese, being 'minor languages', the author found room to be exhaustive; for Javanese this was utterly impossible, but fortunately he could refer to several existing bibliographies. The Javanese section has been split up into two parts: (i) Javanese, and (ii) Old Javanese and Javanese literature. There is a nice balance between the analytical studies and the purely bibliographical pages. When dealing with Madurese and Sundanese the author did not make any subdivisions in the studies; for (i) Javanese he makes 4 subdivisions, for (ii) 13. They are well chosen, and though at first sight the sequence of headings may look surprising, there is good sense in it. The author, who holds the chair of Javanese in Leiden, is impartial

and fair to his colleagues and predecessors, never spending too much praise or blame. He has succeeded in being an excellent guide, and complete as far as possible. The print is excellent, the illustrations and maps very welcome, misprints are almost entirely absent, though on p. 155 the citation of a review by C. C. Berg in *BSOAS*, xix, 2, 1957 under *The Old-Javanese Rāmāyana: an exemplary kakawin* should have been 11 lines higher up under *The Old-Javanese Rāmāyana kakawin* and has replaced the citation of a review by J. Gonda in *JAOS*, LXXXII, 1, 1962. Private information about books to come is included; this unusual constituent of a bibliography is most welcome. To sum up: author and Royal Institute are to be congratulated.

C. HOOYKAAS

C. HOOYKAAS: *Āgama tīrtha: five studies in Hindu-Balinese religion*. (Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, Deel LXX, No. 4.) 253 pp., 23 plates, 5 maps. Amsterdam: N. V. Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij, 1964. Guilders 35.

In what is certainly the most illuminating book yet written on the subject of Hindu religion and Śaiva literature in Bali and Java, Dr. Hooykaas has drawn on personal contact and observation, as well as on Dutch and Indonesian sources and a large unpublished manuscript literature ranging from impeccable classical Sanskrit (often bafflingly miswritten, but not exposed to the textual corruption and conflation of the Āgamic literature of India) through Archipelago macaronic to Old Javanese and Balinese. The material, well illustrated with excellent photographs, is arranged under five headings: (i) the cult of Sarasvatī, (ii) the *Yamarājastava* genre (the striking and probably original association of the yamaka alamkāra with Yama is not obvious in literature preserved in India: cf., pp. 63 and 66, *YAMARāja . . . niRĀMAYā*), and the ritual and liturgy of (iii) Āsanapūjā, (iv) Śivalinga, and (v) Śivarātri. The material has great importance for the elucidation of the scarcely comprehensible early Śaiva ritual texts of India, as well as for the reconstruction of the role and development of Śaivism in the culture of Indonesia.

Āgamatīrtha, designating Indonesian Hinduism, is now understood as 'religion (*āgama*) of holy water (*tīrtha*)', and such secondary reinterpretation is, of course, prevalent. The interpretations of Sanskrit

texts imposed by context or offered to the author give the language a more debased appearance than is really the case. The text cited on p. 32, for example, styled *Prajñāpāramitāstuti* and *Saradevatīstuti* [sic] by compilers who must have deemed it a collection of feminine attributes, consists of good (by Āgamic standards) Sanskrit phrases and need not have been misunderstood at the time of its composition (in India or Indonesia?); the anacoluthon and hyper-sandhi of *mantrāḥ aītha hi* and the prosody would not be surprising in an Āgamic or late Vedic text. It may be restored: *prajñāpāramitāṃ devaṃ jayānti tuṣṭikāraṇam/ satteṣu vyūpinaṃ mitraṃ mūrāhṇā prapamya ahīnam// bhagavatīṃ namasyāmi surādīmātrdevatām/ kumārāmāḍī- nām devīm, sarvopadravadāhane tvām namāmi mahādevi (om ah um iti mantrāḥa hy evam apohitā [?]) kṛtam aham bandhanamuktaye//* It is not made clear in such cases whether Dr. Hooykaas has any basis in the form of Balinese glosses or modern informants for his renderings ('. . . o Goddess Prajñāpāramitā who bringeth about the contentment of the worlds . . .'), i.e. whether in fact such an 'Archipelago Sanskrit' existed as opposed to a gradual and uneven forgetting of standard Sanskrit.

J. C. WRIGHT

C. HOOYKAAS: *Perintis sastera. Terjemahan Raihoel Amar gelar Datoek Besar*. (Pustaka Bahasa dan Sastera.) xvii, 477 pp. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1965. M\$ 11.50.

This is a second edition, 'rearranged and enlarged by inclusion of works of Malay writers (in addition to Indonesian writers), in order to make it suitable for use in Tanah Melayu', the contents having been compiled by Dr. C. Hooykaas and translated by Raihoel Amar gelar Datoek Besar.

I take it that 'translated' means that the spelling has been adapted to Malay usage, and this has generally been done, though in most cases words such as *ai-*, *-lah*, and *-nya* are, contrary to Malay practice, joined on to the next word without a hyphen. When the proposed unified system of spelling called *Melindo*, held up for several years by politics, is officially introduced, this and other more important differences will doubtless be ironed out.

Starting with a long literary survey of the two branches of what is basically a 'Malay' language, the book proceeds to a collection of synopses of classical Malay writings, followed by extracts from modern prose and poetry,

criticisms of modern writings, including an essay in his usual lucid style by the celebrated Malay writer Za'aba, and winds up with extracts from classical prose and poetry down to Munshi Abdullah.

The book as a whole should be of value to any serious student of the two branches of the 'Malay' language.

I feel, however, that there might well have been a more generous allocation of space to the section devoted to modern prose, especially to modern Malay, as opposed to Indonesian, writers of fiction, who now employ a more naturalistic style than their predecessors. Perhaps in the next edition they will get more space.

However, this defect, if it is one, does not seriously detract from the essential value of the book.

A. B. C.

SIEGMUND BRAUNER and JOSEPH K.

BANTU: *Lehrbuch des Swahili*. (Lehrbücher für das Studium der Orientalischen und Afrikanischen Sprachen, Bd. VIII.) 220 pp. Leipzig: VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie, 1964. OM. 22.

After Dr. Margarete Höftmann's excellent Swahili-German dictionary, Swahili studies in East Germany are now provided with a grammar. Dr. Brauner, of the Karl Marx University, Leipzig, writes in the preface that the book is meant to be a practical introduction, made necessary by the many changes in the language since the war. 'Previous grammars . . . could not give a true picture of the African peoples because they were written from a colonialistic and racist point of view. It has been the purpose of the author . . . to create a grammar that witnesses to humanism and to respect for the African peoples. Therefore, problems of the national battle for liberation, of the upbuilding of the economy . . . occupy a large part of the work.' They do. Some examples from sentences in the exercises: 'Every teacher in Africa is a politician as well, and all children, boys and girls in every school, are little politicians and followers of their teacher. . . . Our teacher has two wives and many children from his two wives. . . . In Kenya, the English are farmers and the Indians are traders. All these people are foreigners in Kenya' (p. 27). 'British and American traders and company managers are powerful in Africa. They have many African employees and some are very severe to their employees' (p. 28). 'The greatest plan is to oust the colonialists from Angola and Mozambique and to put an end to segregation in

South Africa' (p. 35). 'The Europeans came to Africa and took all the beautiful cultivated fields of the Africans' (p. 50). 'It is the duty of every government to give help of every kind to the freedom fighters whose purpose is to oust the colonialists' (p. 178).

In the list of classes on p. 14 the place classes (16, 17, 18) are not mentioned. On p. 15 the author writes: 'Relationship of *case* is not formally distinguished in Swahili. The subject is in the nominative, the object in the dative or accusative, a formal distinction between them does not exist'. Surely, however, the object infix does distinguish object from subject?

The book is divided into 18 lessons, each with numerous examples and an exercise. All important subjects of Swahili grammar are duly treated, e.g.: noun classes (lesson 1-8), relatives (9), locative relations (10), numerals (11), derived verbs (13), prepositions and conjunctions (15), syntax (18). A chrestomathy (pp. 163-95) contains *inter alia*: 'Colonialism cursed in a meeting'. A word-list of 23 pp. ends the book.

JAN KNAPPERT

Proceedings of the East African Academy, first symposium, Makerere University College, June 1963. [v], 145 pp. Nairobi: Longmans for the East African Academy, 1964. 50s.

This is the first product of a new African scientific association, organized by African scholars and scientists to cover Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda, and Zanzibar. The volume (produced by Unesoprint) is divided into four sections: (A) physical sciences, with six papers dealing with the land and the atmosphere; (B) arts and social sciences, with three papers; (C) medical sciences, with one paper; and (D) biological sciences, with eleven papers. Most of the material deals with physical and biological subjects, but there are five papers which cover human studies: 'Problems of land and population in the Lake Districts of western Kenya', by S. H. Omidia, a useful study of the area which used to be known as Kavirondo (section A); 'Formal and informal learning in a second language', by Jonathan Silvey (section B); 'Progress and the one-party state', by Donald S. Rothchild (section B); 'Explorers and East African history', by R. C. Bridges (section B); and 'Olorgesailie—a study of the natural history of a Middle Pleistocene lake basin', by G. Isaac (section D). The general quality of these papers, so far as a non-scientific reader

can evaluate the scientific sections, seems to be high; the sociological papers are somewhat slighter in content. It is to be hoped that future volumes issued by the East African Academy will give more space to the history and problems of Man.

G. W. B. H.

University of Ghana Law Journal. Vol. 1, No. 1. 74 pp. London: Sweet and Maxwell Ltd.; Lagos: African Universities Press Ltd., 1964. 25s. per part, 42s. per annum.

A flood of African legal periodicals is now beginning to flow from the recently established law faculties of English-speaking tropical Africa. Such journals provide a welcome vehicle at a more specialized level for reports of current research and thinking in the field of African law. The first number of the *University of Ghana Law Journal* includes four useful articles by then members of the Legon Law Faculty; it is a melancholy commentary on the transient character of some of these faculties that none of these authors is now at the University of Ghana. Two (including the Dean and the then Editor of this *Journal*) were deported from Ghana; the other two are now on the staff of other universities. The difficulty of ensuring any continuity in the affairs of a fledgling journal such as this one can be readily appreciated. This is a pity, as such house journals obviously have a considerable contribution to make to African legal studies.

One of the novel features of the *University of Ghana Law Journal*—explicable both by its derivation from the cyclostyled *Legon Law Journal*, and by the American influence that was then preponderant at the Faculty—is the appointment of a 'Board of Post-Graduate Student Editors'. It is standard practice to entrust the management of law journals published from American law schools to a board of student editors; indeed, service on such a board is one of the most coveted honours that can be bestowed on a law student there. However successful the institution may be in the U.S.A., and however praiseworthy it is to give the chance of experience in legal writing to law students, one must have some reservations about the adaptability of the institution to African circumstances. So far as one can see from the first copy of the *Journal*, the role of the student editors was advisory rather than executive in the particular periodical under review.

A. N. A.

M. M. GREEN: *Igbo village affairs, chiefly with reference to the village of*

Umueke Agbaja. Second edition. xvii, 262 pp., map. London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd., 1964. 35s.

A book should be assessed not only within the discipline, but also within the period, in which it is written. Since the book under review was first published in 1947 (by Sidgwick and Jackson) social anthropological theory and technique have greatly developed and one therefore should expect this book to be, to some extent, out of date. But what is surprising is that the book is in fact now more in keeping with recent developments in the discipline than it was in 1947. At that time, the author was criticized for her failure to cast her analysis in terms of lineage theory which was then in its hey-day. In recent years that theory has been subjected to a great deal of criticism and to-day many anthropologists believe that social life in even the simplest of societies is governed by a multiplicity of organizational principles which cannot be subsumed under a monolithic principle like that of descent.

The field-work on which the book is based was carried out at a time when the British administration was looking for indigenous 'natural rulers' in Iboland in order to incorporate them within the system of rule through 'Native Authorities'. Miss Green's study, however, shows that power and authority in Ibo society are diffused and that law and order in it are (or were) maintained through the many cleavages and counter-cleavages cutting across each other so that people thrown apart by one line of cleavage are held together by virtue of other cleavages—a theme which has been greatly developed in social anthropology in recent years.

Miss Green's book is lacking in quantitative data and her three appendixes on 'Temperament' remain, as in 1947, unnecessary and even irrelevant. But the student of Ibo society and culture will still find this book a mine of authentic ethnographic data and of sociological insights.

ABNER COHEN

SYLVIA LEITH-ROSS: *African women: a study of the Ibo of Nigeria*. Reissued. 367 pp., 8 plates, map. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1965. 42s.

A rumour circulated in 1929 in Iboland that the Administration was planning to extend taxation to the women. The reaction of Ibo women was immediate, dramatic, and of far-reaching consequences. In the course of a few days, thousands of simple, illiterate, half-naked women, acting on their own, without any

encouragement or support from their men, mobilized around their leaders and staged violent riots against Europeans and Warrant Chiefs, attacking trading stores, banks, and prisons, and dictating terms to District Officers. In encounters with police and troops scores of their number were killed or injured.

The rapidity, efficiency, and effectiveness with which the women organized and acted astonished everyone, including the Ibo men themselves. The Administration wondered: 'Where did we go wrong?'. Two commissions of inquiry were appointed and one of them observed that the government did not understand native institutions.

Mrs. Leith-Ross begins her book, first published in 1939, with an account of the 'Women's War' and then proceeds to discuss various aspects of the position of women in Ibo society in an attempt to explain how these women organized their forces. She considers the Ibo woman in four different contexts, presumably representing four stages of development towards 'civilization': 'primitive woman' in the purely farming community of Nneato, 'sophisticated woman' in the farming-trading community of Nguru, 'woman in transition' in the urban-farming community of Owerri Town and, finally, 'sophisticated woman' in the purely urban community of Port Harcourt.

The discussion is not confined to overt social and cultural behaviour, but also covers attitudes and psychic processes. The author not only reports what she saw and heard, but also diagnoses, and discusses 'solutions'. In conclusion she expresses her anxiety about the women's future and wonders: 'Where are they going to? What will become of them? What use will be made of their . . . startling energy . . .?'

In the course of her discussion, Mrs. Leith-Ross points out some simple facts which are directly relevant to the understanding of the women's uprising of 1929. In traditional Ibo society, it is the women, not the men, who are the main breadwinners for the household. Their role in both agriculture and local trade is crucial. The tax imposed a few years earlier on their men had already hit their household economy. The world-wide economic crisis at the time affected the prices of their palm oil. The Warrant Chiefs imposed on their villages by the central administration were mostly corrupt and arbitrary. The threat of direct taxation of the women themselves proved to be the last straw. Under those conditions, women anywhere could indeed have reacted violently and thus Ibo women need not be especially 'problematic' or a cause for anxiety.

ABNER COHEN

DILIM OKAFOR-OMALI: *A Nigerian villager in two worlds*. 159 pp. London: Faber and Faber, 1965. 12s. 6d.

The success of a book like *Baba of Karo* by M. F. Smith indicates how valuable can be the record from the living memory of an African, of his, or her, own biography, as a source of ethnographic and historical data, as a literary theme in its own right, and as a medium showing how Africans view their own society and culture. The book under review is a short account of some episodes in the life history of an Ibo man, Christopher Nweke Okafor, who was born in 1898 in a village in Onitsha Province of the Eastern Region of Nigeria, and who, after a remarkable career which took him to many places in Nigeria, returned to his home village to die in 1944. The story is told by Dilim, Christopher's son, against the background of the general history of Iboland during the first half of the present century.

After a short description of the social organization of the village, the writer traces events in his father's childhood and education, and then proceeds to describe the coming of the white man, the imposition of the Warrant Chiefs on the village population, and the impact of Christian missionary activities on local politics. The underlying theme of the whole book is how the Ibo left their villages to adopt the white man's culture in the towns and how, in the end, they returned to the villages as the only source of their cultural and spiritual life. The theme is dramatic and at some points very moving, but whether it is an authentic description of reality is a different matter. The reader is told in the introduction by Dr. Hair that ' . . . up to the present day, the author has never had the fortune to live for any length of time in the "home" village about which he writes so lovingly and longingly'. The author was 17 when his father died and he writes the book finally in England, 20 years later, in a very polished and sophisticated manner, though attempting to maintain naïveté of narration and of style. Nevertheless, the reader cannot fail to learn much from the book about Ibo society and culture. The discussion of the formation and activities of Ibo tribal unions in Nigerian towns is particularly interesting and instructive.

ABNER COHEN

ARTHUR NORTON COOK: *British enterprise in Nigeria. Second impression*. xi, 330 pp. London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd., 1964. 45s.

This is an unchanged reprint of a work first published by the University of Pennsylvania

in 1943, which has been for many years quite unobtainable in this country. It is a sound, well-constructed narrative of the evolution of the British Nigerian administration from the mid-1880's to the 1930's. It has dated badly in tone and in its total neglect of the African side of the story, but nevertheless remains, within these limitations, probably the best short account of its subject available. The lengthy annotated bibliography, in spite of some curious judgments, is an especially valuable feature. Its appearance therefore is welcome, though a new edition, if incorporating only minor changes and corrections, would have been much more useful and acceptable to African students and teachers.

D. H. JONES

GEORGES NIANGORAN-BOUAH: *La division du temps et le calendrier rituel des peuples lagunaires de Côte d'Ivoire*. (Université de Paris. Travaux et Mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie, LXVIII.) 164 pp. Paris: Institut d'Ethnologie, 1964. Fr. 30.

This book describes the indigenous calendrical systems of a number of African peoples who, though not apparently comprising a homogeneous ethnic group, live adjacent to one another in the coastal lagoon region of the southern Ivory Coast. Some general principles of identification of days of the week, months, seasons, and years are given, and then a more detailed account of the particulars for each of the eight peoples concerned. The third part of the book deals with 'the ritual calendar': proscriptions and rites of weekly, monthly, and annual significance. The principal concern is to describe the facts of these indigenous calendars rather than to make an interpretative analysis.

P. H. GULLIVER

SHEILA T. VAN DER HORST: *African workers in town: a study of labour in Cape Town*. ix, 140 pp. Cape Town, etc.: Oxford University Press, 1964. 35s.

This book is probably the most detailed quantitative analysis of aspects of African urbanization ever published. The author and her co-workers have managed to avoid discussing the wider political implications of urbanization in South Africa, and their results may usefully be compared with studies made elsewhere in Africa.

The author specifies very clearly the criteria

to be used in assessing urbanization. Her general theme is to elucidate each of these criteria, but there are many other useful findings peripheral to the general theme. One is that, among her sample, educational level is not particularly correlated with occupational status, a fact reflecting perhaps the relative glut of 'semi-educated' urban migrants in South Africa.

The author acknowledges that this book does not claim to offer a qualitative analysis, for which we must turn to anthropological literature.

D. J. PARKIN

RAGHAVAN IYER (ed.): *The glass curtain between Asia and Europe: a symposium on the historical encounters and the changing attitudes of the peoples of the East and the West*. xii, 356 pp. London, etc.: Oxford University Press, 1965. 42s.

To write a review, in the ordinary sense of the term, of a work consisting of 20 separate contributions would clearly be impossible. Even to give a complete list of these contributions would be out of place. I will merely give a few specimen titles: 'Historical context of encounters between Asia and Europe', by Geoffrey Hudson; 'Chinese attitudes to the West', by Evan Luard; 'Modern Turkish attitudes to Europe', by Geoffrey Lewis; 'Dialogue between Asia and Europe', by Joseph Needham; 'A dialogue on the glass curtain between Arnold Toynbee and Raghavan Iyer'. Many of the articles are straightforward historical summaries or descriptions of current situations; others are more general and speculative, and these, one feels, would have gained in depth and unity by treating the mutual attitudes of East and West as part of a larger problem—the ambivalent attitude of cultural groups towards one another, manifesting itself not only in irrational hostility but also frequently in equally irrational admiration. Such hostility is of course the main theme of this book; but examples of wildly exaggerated admiration are also not wanting, such as that of eighteenth-century Europe for the supposedly ideal political system of China, ruled by Sages of unparalleled benevolence and sagacity. A book of this kind is almost bound to contain incautious generalizations. An example (p. 348) is Raghavan Iyer's statement 'in Eastern languages you don't get a separate word for rights and a separate word for duty'. There are hundreds of Eastern languages and no generalization about them could fail to be absurd; in this case it at once occurs to one

that in Japanese *kenri* means 'rights' and *sekinin* 'duties'. There are some failures of communication. Hajime Nakamura (p. 248) talks about the doctrines of someone he calls Chia-hsiang-tai-shih without any indication of who he is or when he lived. I wonder how many readers would know that he means the

Chinese monk Chi-tsang, who died in A.D. 623. On the next page he speaks of the 'turbulent days of the so-called Chu'un-ch'iu up to the beginning of ch'in [*sic*] in China'. No hint as to when this turbulent epoch occurred.

ARTHUR WALBY

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THE HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF LATER ANŠARĪ POETRY—II¹

By W. 'ARAFAT

A second group of poems share the same characteristics with the poems discussed in part I of this article, and are of equally late authorship. However, they lack the explicit evidence of a later date. These are nos. VII, X, XIX, LXXXIX.²

Poem no. VII is yet one more of those 'defensive' poems which seem to indicate that not only the poet, but the whole tribe, in the wider sense, are on the defensive. Although it can be argued that the poem is not by Ḥassān, there is evidence of a deliberate attempt to give the impression that it is. At the same time there is evidence, too, of even later interpolations. There is a marked and abrupt deterioration in the structure of the verse at more than one point in the poem, and some unexpected and inexplicable changes of person and number.

From the very beginning one forms the impression that the poet and his tribe are being attacked and are defending themselves. At the beginning, however, there is a note of defiance, which later on in the poem gives place to a much weaker psychological attitude. The poem opens :

ألا أبلغ المستسمعين بوقعة تخفُّ لها شمطُ النساء القواعدُ

'Tell those who are awaiting the news, of a battle [approaching] which will force the old grey-haired woman to flee nimbly'.

The poet then continues the boasting in the first person singular :

'Their opinion is that I am a defender of my clan in all circumstances (l. 2) ; and if I do not confirm their opinion, then may the clouds not water my grave (l. 3). My equals among men know that I am the knight-defender and fighter (l. 4), that my enemies know no weakness of mine, and never encroached upon me (l. 5), and that ever since I grew up³ I had enemies and envious people to suffer from (l. 6). Yet I repaid such twice over, or even more'.

In l. 8 the poet addresses his lady, 'If thou should'st ask people about me, I come from an ancestry from which [good] ancestries trace their descent'.

From l. 9 to l. 16 we find the first person singular and the first person plural alternating in a confused manner. There is also some obscurity and anachronism. It is only necessary, however, to quote ll. 9-13 in full :

أنا الزائرُ الصقرُ ابنَ سلمى وعنده أبي وبعمانٌ وعمروٌ ووافدُ
فأورثنا مجداً ومن ينجنٍ مثلها بحيثُ أجتناها ينقلبُ وهو حامدُ
وجدي خطيبُ الناسِ يومَ سميحةٍ وعمى ابنُ هندٍ مطعمُ الطيرِ خالدُ

¹ For part I see *BSOAS*, xxix, 1, 1966, 1-11.

² In Barqūqī's edition of the *Dīwān* of Ḥassān b. Thābit (Cairo, 1929) pp. 113-21, 392-7, 425, 286, respectively.

³ Barqūqī seemed uncertain of the meaning of the Arabic. In a footnote (*Dīwān*, p. 114) he suggests tentatively that 'منذ أدركتُ' may mean: 'from the time I attained my desire'. This is difficult to sustain, and is unnecessary.

ومنا قتيلُ الشعبِ أوسُ بنُ ثابتٍ شهيداً وأسنى الذكرِ منهُ المشاهدُ
ومنْ جدهُ الأذنَى أبي وابنُ أمه لأمِ أبي ذاكَ الشهيدِ المجاهدِ

' I am he who visited the hawk, son of Salmā, when he had [in prison] Ubayy, Nu'mān, 'Amr, and Wāfid.

He thus gave us glory to inherit, for he who earns similar [glory] where he did, returns thankful.

And my grandfather was the chief speaker on the day of Sumaiḥa, and my uncle is the feeder of birds, Khālid son of Hind.

From us came the " martyr at the mountain ", Aus b. Thābit, of whom the noblest memories are the battles [he fought] ;

And he whose nearest grandfather is my father, and the son of whose mother is [the son] of my father's mother, he, that warring martyr '.

Certain points stand out concerning these lines :

- (1) uneasy alternation of first person singular with first person plural ;
- (2) ambiguity as to the exact meaning of certain lines, the exact identity of persons, and the relation between ideas and persons ;
- (3) certain unusual expressions and, in the case of l. 13, a highly complicated, tortuous, and contradictory statement.

According to the notes attached to this poem in various editions, as well as in manuscripts, Ibn Salmā (l. 9) is al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir, Nu'mān III, of Ḥīra. The four people mentioned in the second half of the line, are, according to these notes where the names are given in full, Madinese who were imprisoned by Nu'mān but later released as a result of Ḥassān's intercession. The incident is worth boasting of, and is mentioned elsewhere in the poems.⁴ It is quite likely that the incident did actually take place, and even if these lines were doubtful in themselves, they could have been based on a fact then well known. It is of no particular consequence whether the word ' hawk ' refers to Ibn Salmā, or to the poet, as Barqūqī seems to have taken it, influenced no doubt by poem v, l. 9 where the same word is used, unmistakably referring to the poet.

In l. 10 we find the first person plural in the first word. Complication is added by the meaning ' he left to us as a legacy ', while the rest of the line does not help to clarify the exact sense of the whole line. Even if one takes the first two words in the simple sense of ' thus he gave us glory ' and refers them to Ibn Salmā in the preceding line, who then is the logical subject of the rest of the line and who is the grammatical subject of the verb اجتنها in the second half of the line ? To this is added the obscurity of the word بجيث. It generally denotes place, which would not be very acceptable here.

Barqūqī⁵ seems to have noticed the unusual change to the first person plural in this line (as well as other changes in the passage under discussion) and amended it to فأورثني. This, however, does not solve the essential problem.

⁴ v, 9, and probably, by implication, cccx.

⁵ *Diwān*, p. 115.

In l. 11 the first person singular is again used: 'And *my* grandfather . . .'. The reference in the first half of the line is clear both in the manuscripts and in other sources such as Ibn al-Athīr.⁶ Ḥassān's grandfather al-Mundhir was made arbiter at the end of a long war between the Aus and the Khazraj which had started over the blood-money to be paid by the Aus for the murder by an Ausite of an 'ally' of the chief of the Khazraj. The convention demanded that blood-money payable for the death of an 'ally' should be half that payable for a free member of the tribe. The powerful head of the Khazraj, however, insisted on the full amount, and the Aus, resenting the indignity and unable by any means to change the position, preferred to fight. This 'war' went on for many years until finally they referred the case to Ḥassān's grandfather, all previous arbitration having failed. He satisfied everyone and obtained lasting glory by his compromise judgment. For he ruled that the full amount should be paid on that occasion only, but that the accepted convention should otherwise stand. Arbitration took place at the well of Sumaiḥa, whence the boasts associated with the name.

As for the poet's uncle Khālid, 'son of Hind' and 'feeder of the birds', mentioned in the second half of the line, neither the notes nor any other sources seem to offer a clue as to his identity.

The next two lines boast of two people not on the grounds of Jāhili qualities and pre-Islamic fame, but for their record of service to Islam.

Reverting once again to the first person plural the poet boasts 'and from us [came] Aus b. Thābit', who is usually identified as Ḥassān's brother, and who, according to the notes attached, as well as to a large proportion of other sources, was supposed to have fallen at Uḥud. According to the same notes the person intended in the following line, 13, is Shaddād b. Aus b. Thābit.

These references to Aus and Shaddād are the only ones in the poetry attributed to Ḥassān, and that is the more remarkable because both are described as martyrs.

It can be seen at first sight, however, that these two lines must be an interpolation in the main body of the poem, regardless of the questions of authorship and date. The two lines go together as one unit, in spite of the fact that the first person singular is used in the second line, because the first word in the first line 'and from us' is the predicate to the first word in the second line 'and he whose . . .' in addition to being predicate to the subject immediately following it. The interpolation is clear from the sudden introduction of the first person plural 'and from us [came]', which is a sudden jump from the personal and particular in 'and my grandfather is . . .' in l. 11 preceding, to the general and more or less impersonal. The word itself 'from us' clearly indicates that the poet is thinking as an Anṣārī, a Madinese, not as a Khazrajite or Ausite, and the reference to 'the battles' (*al-mashāhid*) as 'memories' (*dhikr*), in the second half of the same line is further proof of that.

⁶ al-Kāmil, I, 495.

Strong suspicions concerning Ḥassān's, or even an early Anṣārī's, authorship of these lines can be confirmed by the following evidence.

(1) The absence of any elegies on Ḥassān's brother, which throws very grave doubts on the possibility of Aus having been killed at Uḥud. Even if it is argued that much of Ḥassān's poetry must have been lost, it must be remembered that such an incident as the death of the poet's brother and the resulting poetry would certainly have received some special attention from any person who became interested in Ḥassān's poetry.

(2) Historical evidence. Ibn Ishāq lists Aus b. Thābit among the dead at Uḥud. More authorities, however, deny that. Ibn Sa'd⁷ mentions that Aus attended, not only Badr, Uḥud, and the siege of Madīna, but all the battles (*mashāhid*) fought by the Prophet. He also states that Aus died during the caliphate of 'Uthmān.

He does, however, quote one of the Anṣār as saying that Aus fell at Uḥud, but dismisses that quickly on the grounds that his first authority did not know that.

Ibn Ḥajar⁸ is particularly helpful because he quotes various authorities, and is very revealing. First he states that Aus died at Uḥud, and quotes the line now under consideration (VII, 12), as proof.

He then quotes Wāqidi to the effect that Aus attended Badr, the siege of Madīna, Khaibar, and all the *mashāhid*, and lived till the days of 'Uthmān. This, says Ibn Ḥajar, is supported by Ibn Zabālah in his book *Akhbār al-Madīna*.

He then draws his own conclusion to the effect that the first version must be right, and that Aus must have died at Uḥud. Proof is found in the line in question (VII, 12). Thus Ibn Ḥajar actually gives a clue to the mistake of later authors.

Yet in Ibn Ḥajar one finds what may be the source of the story of Aus's martyrdom at Uḥud. For on the same page, the next biography (no. 315) is that of 'Aus b. Thābit al-Anṣārī'. The sole claim of this man to his place in the book appears to be that his death was the occasion of a legal ruling by the Prophet. When he died, we are told, his two brothers tried to take possession of the property he left, upon which his widow complained to the Prophet.

Two statements follow which are very significant. One is to the effect that 'Ibn Manda' mentioned the story and identified the man with Ḥassān's brother—which is evident confusion.

The second is that 'Muqātil' mentions the story with two very important differences: (i) that the person concerned was Aus b. Mālik; (ii) that he died at Uḥud.

Thus, though it cannot be said with certainty, it is quite possible that the confusion of these stories and persons over a long time was the source of the belief that Aus fell at Uḥud. Such a story would naturally appeal to Anṣārīs in later years, who either did not have the means or did not have the will to verify

⁷ *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 2, 63.

⁸ *Iṣṭabāḥ*, I, 157.

it. It is interesting that Ibn Ḥajar himself noted one instance of confusion, or what may be one phase in the development of the story.

As for the person referred to in l. 13, the only indication as to his identity is in Barqūqī's notes to the poem, where he is stated to be Shaddād b. Aus b. Thābit, Ḥassān's nephew. Assuming that this is so, two points may be noted.

(1) Shaddād died in A.H. 58 (according to Ibn Kathīr) ⁹ or A.H. 64 (according to Ibn al-Athīr).¹⁰

(2) There are no grounds for calling him 'warring martyr'.

The line itself with its tortuous reference to the person intended indicates not only the author's inferior powers, but also a deliberate desire to give the impression that some kind of relation exists which actually does not. Whatever meanings one tries to give to the word *al-adnā* after 'his grandfather' or 'ancestor' in this line one cannot avoid the plain contradiction. 'He whose near (?) (close (?)) grandfather is my father (or ancestor ?)' could only mean that the person concerned is the poet's nephew, whereas the other statement 'he the son of whose mother [is the son of] the mother of my father' seems to indicate the opposite relationship.

One need hardly say that Ḥassān would not have referred to his brother or nephew in that manner, nor used such a form as *min-nā* 'from us came'. There is no need to state, either, that the inferiority of the verse, the tortuous character of the second of the two lines, as well as the more probable dates of those two persons, make it out of the question for Ḥassān to have been the author. The question is who interpolated them and when. This question will be discussed later.

The alternation of the first person plural and first person singular continues until l. 23. One can see a continuation of the general characteristics noted above, for the lines in the first person singular are uniformly better than those which use the first person plural. The latter, on the other hand, are mostly of inferior power and looser structure. Some reveal a much weaker spirit, and a number are distinctly out of place.

In l. 14, the poet clearly shows that he is thinking as an Anṣārī and not as an Ausite or a Khazrajite, a clear indication of a date much later than the time of the Prophet. 'In the summit of every noble house, Khazrajite or Ausite, I have an ancestor (l. 14). Thus none of us would do harm to his neighbour or mock him while he is worshipping [God] (l. 15), for we consider neighbourly rights as a trust, which the noble amongst us keep (l. 16).'

The poem reflects a defensive attitude. 'Thus whatever I say, I always find among my "people" a witness to its veracity (l. 17). Every tribe has a "stamp to stamp others", and our stamp is immortal rhyme (l. 18). When we do stamp [someone] with it, it is commonly recognized (l. 19). Our marks appear on him like the streams on black land (l. 20). Thus they [the rhymes] give relief even to him who is difficult to relieve, and last as long as eternal mountains (l. 21). They

⁹ *al-Bidāya*, VIII, 87.

¹⁰ *al-Kāmil*, IV, 143.

give ill luck to him who harbours enmity towards us and felicity " in this world, through us, to him whom we help " (l. 22). Whenever we break the standard of one poet, we feel the urge again and repeat the action (l. 23).'

The remaining five lines form one unit and are a simile elaborating the idea of the poet who exposes himself to punishment by the present author. He would be like the ' ill-starred one of Thamūd ' who killed the she-camel and brought destruction on the whole tribe.

Looking at the poem as a whole one notices that there are three distinct sections : ll. 1-9, 10-23, and 24-8.

The first section is all in the first person singular. It is on the whole good verse, has a smooth and easy flow, and reflects a somewhat spirited author, who is conscious both of the need to defend himself and his tribe against rival poets and of his ability to do so effectively.

The third section, in all probability an interpolation, has already been discussed.

In the second section, ll. 10-23, one sees two strands of thought intertwined. One is seen in those lines which employ the first person singular and which are clearly a continuation of the first section. The other is seen in the lines which employ the first person plural and which alternate irregularly with the first. There is an exception in each of these two groups which is easily explained. Line 13 employs the first person singular but is clearly a part of the second group because it is grammatically connected with the line before it. Similarly ll. 18 and 23, and probably 19 and 20, belong to the first group although they employ the first person plural. For the use of the first person plural in them comes naturally after the word *qawmi* ' my people, my tribe ' in l. 17.'

The first of these two groups, where the first person singular is employed, has on the whole a better standard of verse and is clearly a continuation of the first section of the poem. The lines represent the same spirit.

The second group, on the other hand, is clearly much inferior. The lines are looser, they lack power, and are full of padding. Further, they reveal a very much weaker psychological attitude. Lines 15 and 16, for instance, illustrate both points. ' None of us offers harm to his neighbour or mocks him deliberately ' ¹¹ (l. 15), or, according to another reading, ¹² ' . . . mocks him when he worships God '. The various readings, ¹³ however, do not alter the significance of this particular ground for boasting. Ḥassān and other poets did boast of keeping good manners towards their companions in drunkenness, but when an Arab of that period *boasts* of being harmless, there must be something wrong.

The same two points are made clearer in the following line, 16, which shows the reason for this attitude, ' for we consider the right of " neighbourliness " a

¹¹ This is according to both the oldest manuscripts.

¹² The reading ' *ʿAbid* ' is found in the British Museum and the Bibliothèque Nationale manuscripts, on which Hirschfeld based his edition of the *Dīwān*.

¹³ Barqūqī gives وهو عائد which he explains : ' when he returns as of habit, to seek our customary help '. This, however, is rather forced.

trust, which is kept by the noble . . . amongst us who are pledged to it'.¹⁴ For the line as a whole, it is a sure sign of febleness to try and give a feeble reason for an even more feeble boast. In boasting, no reasons are given and no justification offered. Any elaborations are usually intended to enhance the boast.

Lines 20 and 21 reflect as clearly as any similar line in the poems already discussed in these articles, the complete loss of power and prestige that the Anşār must have suffered during the Umayyad period and later. Line 21 is almost pathetic, for in spite of the rhyme-word 'him whom *we help*', one feels very strongly that the dominating feeling is fear of enmity being harboured against the Anşār, and a kind of pious reliance on their own 'sanctity'. Hence the claim that (the poems) give felicity 'through us', to whomever 'we help'. This, and the tone of the lines, indicate clearly a poor state of helplessness.

The only conclusion, therefore, is that this poem is a composite work of two, perhaps more, authors. The first and earlier part would be ll. 1-9, 11 (probably 14), 17 (possibly 18, 19), 23. The second part, ll. 10, 12, 13 (probably 14), 15, 16 (probably 18, 19), 20-2, 24-8.

The first part is more personal, better poetry, and more spirited. The second part is inferior verse and reflects weakness.

There is no doubt that the second part is a deliberate interpolation by a later Anşārī. That it is deliberate interpolation is clear from the way the lines were distributed in the poem. That it is one individual who is responsible is clear from the uniform character of the lines as well as from the deliberate distribution.

The question is, who is the author of the first, the better, part which is the 'original'? Such lines as line 9, 'I am he who visited the hawk, son of Salmā', if the notes are right, certainly point to Ḥassān as author, as does, on the face of it, l. 11 concerning his grandfather's judgment at Sumaiḥa. The verse is not very inferior, though it has a slight raciness, and the diction tends on the whole to be common.

On the other hand, the treatment and certain information in the lines seem to suggest that Ḥassān is not the author. Though the lines are spirited and have a threatening attitude, they are not as aggressive as one expects Ḥassān to be. Instead of saying that his tribe know he is their defender (l. 2) Ḥassān would have addressed himself directly to the 'enemy', or else threatened him, more likely by threatening his tribe, firmly and in unmistakable terms, that he would say something unless . . . More likely than not, he would either actually say what he threatens to say, or give a foretaste of it.

Secondly, in l. 6 the poet says that he has had enemies attacking him since his adolescent years and surrounding him with their envy. This is a clear revelation, but there is nothing whatever, either in Ḥassān's more authentic poetry or in any information about him, creditable or otherwise, to suggest that

¹⁴ This is the best that can be made of the rhyme-word *أعداء*, which is evidently forced in order to provide a rhyme for the line.

he ever had a sense of persecution, even though it is accompanied by confidence in his ability to look after himself (l. 7).

So also, the obscurity of the person mentioned in the second half of l. 11 makes one wonder if Ḥassān could possibly boast of a person who was likely to sink into oblivion so quickly, considering that Ḥassān not only had confidence in his own value, but never forgot that his close relatives and personal friends were the Ghassānid kings.

It is perhaps more likely that the author of these lines is either : (i) Ḥassān's son, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, or grandson, Sa'īd ; or (ii) an Anṣārī who deliberately fathered them on Ḥassān to give the lines prestige.

The possibility of 'Abd al-Raḥmān being the author is supported by the fact that he was a good poet, though inferior to his father, that he lived early enough to have the spirit to make a strong stand, yet late enough to have the occasion to need it, that he actually was deep in poetic ' battles ' early in life, and lastly, that the personal boasts would not be completely out of place with him.

Poem no. x is not found in the Tunis edition or in those which are based on it. Hirschfeld states, without giving a reason or providing a reference, that the poem is ' of doubtful authenticity '. Nevertheless, there is enough internal evidence in the poem to support this contention.

The poem can be divided into two main sections. The first (ll. 1-16) represents an introduction, and the second (ll. 17-37) is boasting in very general terms.

The poem opens in a traditional manner :

لَمَنْ مَنَزَلٌ عَافٍ كَأَنَّ رَسُومَهُ خِيَاعِيلُ رِيْطٍ سَابِرِيٍّ مِرْسَمٍ

' Whose is the ruined abode ; its traces are like cloaks of fine patterned cloth of Sapūr '.

Then follow eight more lines on the traces, which give a very strong impression of being both stilted and hackneyed. The ' three [stones of the fire-place] resembling sitting doves ', as well as the ' peg with a " notch " in the back of its " head " ' (ll. 2-3) sound very hackneyed. Worse is the reference to the stones by the adjective only, and from a root which is not, in its real sense, very appropriate. Thus the use of the word رُكْدٌ for the stones seems to represent a departure from the primary sense of the word which a Jāhili poet could not make. When this form of the plural is followed in the same line by another example in the rhyme-word, which is meant to give exactly the same meaning, the artificiality becomes too striking to be passed over. Similarly, one wonders if a Jāhili poet, or a good poet of any age, is likely to use in two successive lines rhyme-words which derive from the same root. In this poem rhyme-words from the root صَرَمٌ ' to cut ' appear in ll. 6-7 and again in ll. 13-14. Moreover, the same root appears in l. 10 and again in l. 13 with only one word to separate it from the rhyme-word, also of the same root. Parallel to this, one finds, between ll. 6 and 11, the repetition, three times, of the metaphor of ' cutting

the cord (of love) ', and four times of the word ' cord '. This is all the more significant because one is struck by the same quality of emptiness in the latter part of the poem which is devoted to boasting ; in ll. 17-37 very few points are made and the same points are merely repeated.

The first part of the introductory section of the poem is followed by a passage of love poetry, ll. 10-16. The lines are clearly artificial, for they are not only void of feeling, but are wholly made up of a collection of traditional expressions put together, and the effect is soulless.

' If " Lailā " has gone far, and withheld the desires of the loving heart, (l. 10), and intended to cut the " cord " [of love], and listened to the words of an inimical liar (l. 11), the " cord " [of my love] is not weak, nor is it liable to change with separation—" though she did not speak " (l. 12). Nor would her love, had she entrusted me with keeping the ties, have been cut short (l. 13). I haven't lost the secret [of your love] so that you should reward me by separation and cut me off, (l. 14), nor did I find love too much nor was my bosom filled with too much " suppressed conversation ", (l. 16), and all that " they " have talked about me was no more than random suspicion.'

As for ' Lailā ' she does not appear anywhere else in the poems attributed to Ḥassān. In these lines one gets the impression that the name could have been anything that suits the metre. At the same time except for Sha'athā who was Ḥassān's ' lady ' for poetical purposes, and for two other women who appear in poems with stories, all other female names to whom love poetry is addressed in the poems attributed to Ḥassān, appear in poems which are of doubtful authenticity.

The remainder of the poem is devoted to boasting in the first person plural.¹⁵ The boasting in these lines is in very general terms and rests on the nobility, generosity, and bravery of the tribe, as well as on the noble qualities of its chiefs. One feels that the same things are being repeated and that the poet is moving in a circle around himself. The ' we ' and ' our ' and ' us ' are repeated so often that the effect becomes unpleasant. Yet the whole of this section is both lifeless and colourless.

The generalities and exaggerations—lacking any personal touch, thus giving the impression of remoteness and emptiness—are the same here as in the other poems already discussed ; the inferiority of the verse has been illustrated ; repetitions and many instances of padding and unusual or forced expressions or forms of the word can be quoted. The fifth form of the verb and its derivatives are used very often without any justification in the sense, and merely because this form and its derivatives help more than others to complete the lines. Thus the form *الْمُتَزَعَم* in l. 11 is unusual in the sense required and no doubt has been forcibly formed to complete the line and provide a rhyme-word. The same applies to the rhyme-word of l. 20 and to a lesser extent to the rhyme-word of

¹⁵ In Hirschfeld's edition the line contains a grammatical mistake which was clearly due to a scribe's error in the British Museum MS.

l. 29. Other examples can be found, some acceptable, some clearly forced into their places. They are all rhyme-words, and the inevitable result in each case is to give a short final syllable instead of the long one in the penultimate 'foot' of the line. Although strictly speaking this is not a fault in prosody, these lines jar a little with the more regular lines. Coupled with the artificiality of the form, the resulting effect of slight irregularity appears worse than it might have been.

Lines 15 and 16 offer instances of padding. Line 16 in particular presents a glaring instance of versifying, of words used to make up the line. Thus in the first hemistich we find 'And there did not happen of that which happened of what they invented about me, . . .'.

Finally, of special interest are ll. 29 and 30. Here amid all the boasting in the first person, there are references to another party. In l. 29, the poet boasts, 'We . . . all the time . . . repay the foolish among them with patient forgiveness'. Then in l. 30, 'Thus had they understood or been guided rightly in their affair, we would have brought them blessings after misery'.

These two lines in particular re-echo sentiments expressed in poems already discussed and found to be by later generations of the Anṣār. They betray the defensive attitude of the poet, and the bankruptcy of that section of the community which has come to rely for power on pompous but empty boasts, of a past from which they had been completely cut off, and a present which seems to have nothing glorious. Again there is the attempt to claim some kind of sanctity or inherited privilege, providing only an empty boast.

Whatever the reasons, then, for the absence of this poem from the Tunis edition, it is justified in so far as the poem is not by Ḥassān, but most probably by an Anṣārī of a later generation.

Poem LXXIX is another which shows the same traits as the group previously discussed. The poet boasts, in the first person plural, that they are 'kings and sons of kings', of their relation to the Ghassānids and the Lakhmids, then of the help they, both Aus and Khazraj, gave to the Prophet, and ends by the general boast that they are better and wiser than everybody else.

The poem opens :

ألم تَرَنا اولادَ عمروِ بنِ عامرٍ لنا نسبٌ يعلو على كلِّ مرتقي |

'Didst thou not see us, the sons of 'Amr b. 'Āmir—our lofty nobility is too high for every aspirer ?'

'Amr b. 'Āmir, better known as Muzaiqiyā', was the ancestor both of the Ghassānids and the Anṣār.¹⁶

The poet continues in l. 2 to elaborate the 'height' of the *sharaf*, thinking of it, as in l. 1, simultaneously in an abstract and concrete sense, thus producing a compound metaphor and playing with subtlety on the word *sharaf*, which means both honour or nobility, and high ground. Thus in l. 2 the poet tells us that this *sharaf* stands firm on the ground, while branches have shot out of it rising as high as the stars.

¹⁶ Wüstenfeld, *Tabellen*, No. 12.

He then goes on to elaborate and make full and rather exaggerated use of the blood relationship between the Aus and Khazraj on the one hand and the Ghassānids on the other. The boast, however, is carried farther, one would think too far, to include the Lakhmid kings as well ; there is far less justification for boasting of a relationship with them.¹⁷

With an exaggeration that a Madinese of the Jāhiliyya would not think of, the poet calls his tribe 'kings and sons of kings' (l. 3). More points will be put forward to support the contention that this is the poetry of a member of a later generation of the Anşār, but one would say here that such a boast of being kings and sons of kings is the natural reaction of the Anşāris who found themselves reduced to a position of no consequence, when the real kings who held the power in their hands were the Umayyads. Hence all this insistence and all the repeated emphasis on this supposed kingship.

Those kings and sons of kings are like stars in the east (l. 3). When one star sets another makes the earth bright (l. 4). Every noble member has an equally noble father (l. 5), such as Jafna, the hero 'Amr b. 'Āmir (Muzaiqiyā'), the sons of Mā' al-Samā', and the two sons of Muḥarriq (l. 6) as well as Ḥāritha al-Ghiṭrīf—or else, such as the son of Mundhir or Abū Qābūs, the lord of the Khawarnaq (l. 7).

The members of the first group of these names are supposed to be Ghassānids, whereas the last two are Lakhmids. It can be seen, however, that the first group listed indicates a lack of skill and perhaps a lack of knowledge, for it involves a good deal of overlapping. Ḥāritha al-Ghiṭrīf¹⁸ is grandfather of 'Amr b. 'Āmir ; and Mā' al-Samā', his son, is the father of 'Amr b. 'Āmir, the most illustrious ancestor who is also mentioned in the first line. Thus when the poet mentions 'the sons of Mā' al-Samā'' he really includes everyone mentioned, except al-Ghiṭrīf, as well as the rest of the Ghassānids and the Anşār. Instead, however, we find the list containing, as different people, 'Amr b. 'Āmir, Jafna, his son and direct ancestor of the Ghassānid kings, and the 'two sons of Muḥarriq'.

Barqūqī¹⁹ mentions in a note to the poem two more names, among the Lakhmids, who are sometimes called Muḥarriq, no doubt on account of their having used fire as a means of punishment. These are Imru al-Qais b. 'Adiyy and 'Amr b. al-Mundhir III. It is more likely, however, that the poet intended a Ghassānid of this name because the name is the last but one of a group of Ghassānid princes, and because the Ghassānid group is clearly separated from the other by 'or'. In any case, it is not clear at all who exactly are 'the two sons' of Muḥarriq.

Very conspicuous in these two lines, however, is the alteration in the name of Mā' al-Samā', who is spoken of as Mā' al-Muzn. One would think that a first-class poet would not succumb in this way to the exigencies of the metre, but to

¹⁷ Wüstenfeld, *Tabellen*, No. 12.

¹⁸ Wüstenfeld, *Tabellen*, No. 12, item 15.

¹⁹ *Diwān*, p. 287.

a later poet these are all mere names. Again, apart from the fact that Ḥassān would not make such a violent alteration in the name to suit the metre, his personal acquaintance with the Ghassānids, with whom he felt a genuine personal affinity, would prevent him from committing this fault. The same feeling and his love and respect for the Ghassānids would also prevent him from listing the names in this way, for there is something disrespectful in lining up so many names, taking the names that suit best, altering as is necessary, and filling the gaps with epithets. Ḥassān had love and respect for them, and yet he did know his place. To him they were real, to the poet of two or three generations later, they were mere names.

With a broad hint directed at the Qurashites and, one may think, at the Qais section of the Arabs, the poet continues in l. 8, 'Those, and not the base ones, repel the army bristling with bright spears', by stabs with the lance and blows with the sword (l. 9).

The poet then deals with one particularly bright spot in the history of the Madinese: 'The Apostle of God came to us when the world frowned upon him' and when he was attacked by everyone (l. 10). He was ruthlessly driven out by the riff-raff of Qais and Khindif (i.e. the non-Yamanī tribes) (l. 11), but 'we were an impregnable and lofty stronghold for him against everyone else' (l. 12). The heights [of this stronghold] are crowned with swords and spears (l. 13). In it Khazrajis defend their land like lions (l. 14) assisted by men of the Aus (l. 15).

So the arrival of the Prophet at Madīna and the support he received are treated as history. It is also used to bring out strongly the contrast between the hospitable, loyal, noble, and religious Anşār on the one hand, and the Qaisites in general on the other, who showed the opposite qualities. Some generations after the death of the Prophet it became natural for the poets to be more general than particular, and for the Madinese to think as Anşāris *vis-à-vis* the Qurashites, and again as Yamanīs *vis-à-vis* the Qaisites, rather than as Aus opposed to Khazraj.

The next two lines are boasts in traditional terms. 'In every battle our devastating "stabbing" saved us from being disparaged (l. 16), as did our hospitality to our guests and fulfilment of our trusts (l. 17).'

In the last two lines, however, the pompous note common to all poems previously discussed, reappears. 'Thus we are the lords of men in every place; whenever we say anything among men we are believed (l. 18).' 'In their decisions, our wise men are guided to the right judgment when others are not similarly guided (l. 19).' Both in the exaggerations contained and in the hint at the 'other party', one finds more indication of the closeness of this poem to the rest of those discussed earlier.

There remain four poems, mostly short pieces, which may be classified as poems of boasting by later Ausites, but which have individual characteristics. They too recount or hint at earlier events, but they do not reflect the political and social atmosphere which prevailed after the battle of al-Ḥarra.

PETITIONS FROM THE MAMLŪK PERIOD
(NOTES ON THE MAMLŪK DOCUMENTS FROM SINAI)¹

By S. M. STERN

(PLATES I-VII)

I. THE MAMLŪK DOCUMENTS FROM SINAI

The monastery of St. Catherine in Sinai possesses a large collection of documents concerning its own affairs and dating from the Fāṭimid, Ayyūbid, Mamlūk, and Ottoman periods. They were used for historical purposes as early as the seventeenth century by certain writers belonging to the monastery, but, if exception be made for the pioneer (but limited) work done by B. Moritz in the early years of this century, they remained unexploited by modern scholars. The American expedition of 1950, which has microfilmed about one-half of the library's manuscripts in various languages, brought back microfilms of the entire collection of Arabic and Turkish documents, thus making a thorough study of them possible for the first time. There is no need to specify the earlier bibliography of the Sinai documents, since readers of this *Bulletin* can obtain the necessary information from an article of mine published in an earlier volume.² In that article I also described in greater detail the documents from the Fāṭimid period, and published the earliest of them, announcing the publication of all the Fāṭimid documents from Sinai in a volume which has now been published under the title *Fāṭimid decrees*.

Simultaneously with that article there appeared a volume by H. Ernst³ containing the edition of the greater part of the documents belonging to the Mamlūk period. Thus the contents of the Sinai archives are being revealed with all speed, and most of the medieval chancery documents are either published, or due to be published in the foreseeable future.⁴

¹ Abbreviations :

Ayalon = D. Ayalon, 'Studies on the structure of the Mamluk army—III', *BSOAS*, XVI, 1, 1954, 57 ff.

CIA = M. van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un corpus inscriptionum arabicarum*. I. Égypte, I. - Cairo, 1894-1903.

Fāṭimid decrees = S. M. Stern, *Fāṭimid decrees*. London, 1964.

Gaudefroy-Demombynes = M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*. Paris, 1923.

'Petitions from the Ayyūbid period' = S. M. Stern, 'Petitions from the Ayyūbid period', *BSOAS*, XXVII, 1, 1964, 1 ff.

Quatremère = E. Quatremère, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks, de l'Égypte*. Paris, 1837-45.

'Three petitions of the Fāṭimid period' = S. M. Stern, 'Three petitions of the Fāṭimid period', *Oriens*, XV, 1962, 172 ff.

² 'A Fāṭimid decree of the year 524/1130', *BSOAS*, XXIII, 3, 1960, 439 ff.

³ *Die mamlukischen Sultansurkunden des Sinai-Klosters*. XXXIX, 353 pp. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1960. DM. 44.

⁴ Two Sinai documents of the Ayyūbid period, containing petitions with the sultan's decree on their back, are published (together with a third of different provenance), in the article 'Petitions from the Ayyūbid period'. The remaining two decrees from the Ayyūbid period are

I have been asked to review Ernst's edition of the Mamlūk documents, but since some points with which I propose to deal at length demand a certain amount of space, the review has assumed the character of an article.

It is self-evident that the publication of a considerable corpus of documents such as the present one (containing over 70 items) deserves the gratitude of students of Islamic history. The dates of the documents extend throughout the whole period of Mamlūk rule. Thus, there are pieces issued in the name of Quṭuz (1), Baybars (3), Qalā'ūn (2), Khalīl (2), Baybars II (1), Muḥammad b. Qalā'ūn (2), his sons Ḥājji (1), Ḥasan (3), Ṣāliḥ (2), and Sha'bān (1), Barqūq (3), Faraj b. Barqūq (2), Shaykh (1), Jaqmaq (1), Ināl (2), Khushqadam (6), Temir Boghā (1), Qā'itbāy (22), Qanṣūh (15), Tūmānbāy (1). It is true that the contents of the documents are far less varied. Most of them consist of the reiterated confirmation of the privileges granted by the rulers of Egypt to the monks of Sinai, safeguarding them against the encroachments of government officials or of the Bedouins of the peninsula. Some provide information on the history of the monastery, its relation with the Mamlūk government, its possessions, its bishops, and even its quarrel with the Melkite patriarchate of Alexandria. Nevertheless the importance of the documents lies less in their actual subject-matter than in the light which they throw upon medieval Islamic diplomatic and the practice of the Mamlūk government bureaux. In fact, the splendid collection of Mamlūk documents in the Sinai monastery is *facile princeps* in the field, and the one which is next in importance—the collection preserved in the Franciscan Custodia Terrae Sanctae in Jerusalem—follows it at some distance. The first complaint which we have to bring against the volume is that none of the documents is photographically reproduced, so that the external features (script, arrangement, signature of the ruler, entries of registration), which make for a great part of the interest of the documents, cannot be studied at all. In order to get some idea of the appearance of the documents the reader must turn to the few photographs in A. S. Atiya's hand-list,⁵ where on plates XIV–XVI parts of six documents (i.e. the signature of the sultans and two to six lines from the beginning) are reproduced.⁶ The Franciscan collection of Mamlūk decrees which we have just mentioned has not yet been as exhaustively published as the Sinai one—but those documents which have been published are accompanied by full illustration. Yet there too the student of Islamic diplomatic is pursued by misfortune: the volume in question seems never to have been on sale and is absent from many of even the

published by me in *Documents from Islamic chanceries* (Oxford, [1966]) under the title 'Two Ayyūbid decrees from Sinai'. Thus the only medieval chancery documents still awaiting publication are Mamlūk documents which emanate from officials rather than the sultans themselves and which are therefore not included in Ernst's volume (cf. below, p. 260).

⁵ *The Arabic manuscripts of Mount Sinai: a hand-list of the Arabic manuscripts and scrolls microfilmed at the library of the monastery of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai, Baltimore, 1955.*

⁶ The documents in question are nos. v, ix, xix, lx; one document—Atiya, no. 964 add.—is omitted in the present volume, while a document by Qā'itbāy, dated according to Atiya 5 June 1473, cannot be identified, either because the editor dates it differently, or has omitted it.

greatest libraries.⁷ In order to provide some further illustrations, photographs of the documents discussed in the present study are provided.⁸

The editor has acquitted himself fairly well of his main tasks, which are the transcription and translation of the texts; the first of these, as a glance at the photographs will show, was not an easy one. Fairly well—since the decipherment is not perfect. There are many words left undeciphered and there are some erroneous readings. To justify this statement I refer to the textual notes accompanying the re-edition of some of the documents in the following pages: here the reader is also able to check the readings in question against the photographs of the originals. Elsewhere I have also pointed out errors of reading and translation in some of the other documents.⁹ One could go on, but it is not my purpose to re-examine text and translation exhaustively.¹⁰

The explanatory material—introduction, notes, bibliography—bears witness of great industry and wide reading, and is very informative even beyond the strict limits of the subject in hand. In the extensive bibliography, listing in four sections studies concerning Sinai (monastery and peninsula), Islamic diplomatic, the Mamluk period, and some general works, the second is especially useful. The notes also contain many references which render good service. They are put together a little too mechanically—instead of proper explanation a mass of references is flung at us, some of them relevant, some less so. What is especially felt is the lack of a real diplomatic commentary:

⁷ The volume, containing 26 decrees and deeds, was published by N. Risciani as *Documenti e firmani*, Jerusalem, 1931; but it—or at least my copy of it—has no title-page. The decrees are photographically reproduced in their entirety. A hand-list of the documents conserved in the Custodia Terrae Sanctae ranging from the Ayyūbid to the most recent Ottoman period (listing 2,644 items) was published by E. Castellani: *Catalogo dei firmani ed altri documenti legali emanati in lingua araba e turca concernenti i santuari le proprietà i diritti della Custodia di Terra Santa conservati nell'archivio della stessa Custodia in Gerusalemme*, Jerusalem, 1922. I am most grateful to the authorities of the Custodia, and more especially Father E. Tonini, and to Father A. S. Rosso in Rome, for their generosity in procuring for me copies of these works.

⁸ As in my former studies on documents from Sinai, I am again indebted to the Manchester University Library for providing me with prints from the duplicates, preserved in the Library, of the microfilms taken by the American expedition to Sinai.

⁹ In the article 'Petitions from the Ayyūbid period'.

¹⁰ Some further corrections, taken at random. In no. iv, l. 21, the word بِلَاوَلَان does not, of course, mean 'by messengers' (such a word does not exist) but 'in the Jawlān', and belongs to the date, which is 12 Ramaḍān 670/12 May 1272. In that year Baybars, after having concluded peace with the Crusaders in Caesarea on 22 April (R. Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades*, III, 663; correct misprint 'mai' in title) left that city on 3 Sha'bān for Damascus, where he arrived on 2 Shawwāl (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, I, 598). The document was issued on the way, while he was encamped in the district of the Jawlān, the biblical Golan. In nos. lxxv and lxxvii the words *ruhbān al-Kurj* are absurdly rendered as 'the monks of the Kurds'; al-Kurj or al-Gurj are, of course, the Christian Georgians. These documents are valuable additions to the evidence about a fairly well-known episode. Indeed, most curiously the text of no. lxxvii is also extant in the form of an inscription which used to be to the left of the door of the Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre and has been published by M. van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un corpus inscriptionum arabicarum*, II, 1 (Jérusalem 'ville'), pp. 348–98. (Cf. also E. Cerulli, *Etiopi in Palestina*, Rome, 1943, I, 379–81. Ernst quotes in his notes to no. lxxv the title of Cerulli's book, but did not notice that the episode is treated in it!) I shall re-edit these documents on another occasion.

the official procedure culminating in the issue of the documents is nowhere explained. True enough, in his introduction the editor meticulously (and somewhat pedantically) tabulates the phraseology employed in the various parts of the actual decrees, and some of the notes contain summary references to passages occurring in the handbooks for secretaries, such as al-Qalqashandī's *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, which describe this or that phase of the bureaucratic machinery which produced the documents. These occasional references cannot, however, compensate for the lack of a systematic description confronting the actual documents with the literary evidence.

To mention one particular point. Many of the documents contain entries referring to their registration in various government offices—a practice which left its traces also in documents of the preceding periods of the Fāṭimids and Ayyūbids.¹¹ These registration marks have been rather unsatisfactorily treated in the present edition. Admittedly, they are most difficult to read, since they are frequently written in an extremely cursive hand. At any rate, since they have often been left undeciphered, and at other times have been wrongly deciphered,¹² if one wishes to study this aspect one has to examine again the originals or their photographs—the edition alone cannot serve as sufficient basis.

Again, one could continue raising one point after another and supply the diplomatic commentary which the editor has failed to give. I am not proposing to do that here, but have chosen one particular subject, since in treating of it I can supplement some former studies of mine, doing for the Mamlūk period what I had done in them for the Fāṭimid and Ayyūbid periods. This concerns one important feature of the administrative practice which seems to have been missed completely by the editor, namely, that it was a petition submitted to the sultan, or his ministers, which set in motion the whole apparatus culminating in the issue of the decree. In order to make up for this omission I supply a detailed account of the petition in the Mamlūk period and the different ways in which it was submitted to the authorities and was subsequently dealt with by them. Such a commentary is indispensable for the understanding of the documents in general, and the interpretation of some particular documents has been vitiated by the fact that the editor did not realize the role of the petition and that the texts in question contained the actual petitions.

Before turning to the interpretation of these documents—which is the main business of the present article—it is only right to stress again that in spite of the serious shortcomings which have been pointed out, the volume as a whole is of great value.

¹¹ cf. *Fāṭimid decrees*, section 10 of the diplomatic commentary, and the article on the Ayyūbid decrees quoted above, p. 233, n. 4.

¹² A fundamental error consists in that the editor has not recognized that many of these marks contain two complementary entries: one of them being an order to register the document, the other a note that the registration has been effected. In such cases the first entry begins with a jussive, *li-yuthbat*, the second with the perfect *uthbita—li-yuthbat* has, however, been usually misread by the editor as *uthbita*. Cf. below, p. 248 and n. 60.

تسلمه الشوكي
 من يوم باعنا حبه
 الخادم ونخله
 اوقفه للام
 26
 بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 لله العون
 سلطاننا
 له الامور على ما اراد
 واما في المطر والحر
 والبرد والحر والبر
 سلطاننا
 له الامور على ما اراد
 واما في المطر والحر
 والبرد والحر والبر
 سلطاننا
 له الامور على ما اراد
 واما في المطر والحر
 والبرد والحر والبر

26
 سلطاننا
 له الامور على ما اراد
 واما في المطر والحر
 والبرد والحر والبر
 سلطاننا
 له الامور على ما اراد
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 سلطاننا
 له الامور على ما اراد
 واما في المطر والحر
 والبرد والحر والبر

I RECTO

PETITION ADDRESSED TO BAYBARS
BSOAS, XXIX]

I VERSO

BAYBARS'S DECREE

١١

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
الحمد لله رب العالمين
والصلاة والسلام على
سيدنا محمد وآله الطيبين
الطاهرين

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
الحمد لله رب العالمين
والصلاة والسلام على
سيدنا محمد وآله الطيبين
الطاهرين

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
الحمد لله رب العالمين
والصلاة والسلام على
سيدنا محمد وآله الطيبين
الطاهرين

٧

3 RECTO
PETITION ADDRESSED TO A HIGH DIGNITARY
IN 750/1349

(36)

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

كَلِمَاتُ

لِلْمُسْلِمِينَ وَالْعَمَلُ الْكَلِمَاتُ

أَنْ تَمْلِكُوا بِهَا وَافْعَلُوا بِهَا كَمَا تَوْفَّقُوا

بِحَسْبِ عِلْمِكُمْ وَالْحَقِّ الْمُسْتَقِيمِ

وَأَوْطَأْتُمْ بِهَا كَمَا تَوْفَّقُوا

عَلَيْهِمْ وَأَوْعَدُوا بِهِمْ بِالْعَمَلِ

كَلِمَاتُ الْمُسْلِمِينَ وَالْعَمَلُ الْكَلِمَاتُ

عَلَيْهِمْ وَأَوْعَدُوا بِهِمْ بِالْعَمَلِ

كَلِمَاتُ الْمُسْلِمِينَ وَالْعَمَلُ الْكَلِمَاتُ

وَأَوْعَدُوا بِهِمْ بِالْعَمَلِ

خَوَافِ عَمَلِكُمْ وَالْحَقِّ الْمُسْتَقِيمِ

أَعَادَ لَوْ تَمْلِكُوا

كَلِمَاتُ الْمُسْلِمِينَ وَالْعَمَلُ الْكَلِمَاتُ

حَسْبِ عِلْمِكُمْ وَالْحَقِّ الْمُسْتَقِيمِ

3 VERSO (a)
THE DIGNITARY'S DECREE
[BSOAS. XXIX]

3 VERSO (b)
THE DIGNITARY'S DECREE



3A (a)
DECREE BY ḤASAN B. MUḤAMMAD
DATED 750/1349

وَبِشْرَافِ الشَّرَفِ الْعَسْكَرِ الْمَوْلِيِّ
عَلِيٍّ
 عَلَى الْمَلِكِ النَّاصِرِ النَّاصِرِ
 اَعْلَانًا وَمِنْهُ وَلِفَعْدِهِ وَفِيهِ لَمَنْعُ الْعَمَلِ
 مَا تَعْمَلُ فِي عَمَلِهِ مِنْ شَيْءٍ مِمَّا لَا يَحِلُّ لَكَ
 عَلَى كِلَيْهِ مِنَ الشَّرَفِ الَّذِي يَدُلُّ عَلَى الْعَمَلِ
 بِاللَّامِ الْكُوفِيَّةِ نَسَبًا وَالْمَوْلِيِّ وَنَعْنُ امْرَأَةً
 الْقَعْرِ الْمَهْمُ وَالْوَشْمُ وَالْعَمَلُ الْمَعْمُورُ
 وَمَنْعًا لِمَنْعِكَ وَمَنْعًا لِمَنْعِكَ
 بِمَنْعِكَ الْمَعْمُورِ الْمَعْمُورِ الْمَعْمُورِ

بِمَنْعِكَ الْمَعْمُورِ الْمَعْمُورِ الْمَعْمُورِ

بِاللَّامِ الْكُوفِيَّةِ نَسَبًا وَالْمَوْلِيِّ وَنَعْنُ امْرَأَةً
 الْقَعْرِ الْمَهْمُ وَالْوَشْمُ وَالْعَمَلُ الْمَعْمُورُ
 وَمَنْعًا لِمَنْعِكَ وَمَنْعًا لِمَنْعِكَ
 بِمَنْعِكَ الْمَعْمُورِ الْمَعْمُورِ الْمَعْمُورِ
 بِمَنْعِكَ الْمَعْمُورِ الْمَعْمُورِ الْمَعْمُورِ
 بِمَنْعِكَ الْمَعْمُورِ الْمَعْمُورِ الْمَعْمُورِ
 بِمَنْعِكَ الْمَعْمُورِ الْمَعْمُورِ الْمَعْمُورِ
 بِمَنْعِكَ الْمَعْمُورِ الْمَعْمُورِ الْمَعْمُورِ

3A (b)

DECREE BY ḤASAN B. MUḤAMMAD DATED 750/1349

3A (c)

DECREE BY ḤASAN B. MUḤAMMAD DATED 750/1349

II. THREE PETITIONS AND THEIR CONSEQUENTIAL DECREES

In the Mamlūk empire, as in all medieval Muslim states, subjects with a grievance had the right to approach the ruler and submit to him, or his deputies, their petitions; this was an important means of making justice prevail, which was, theoretically at least, the chief *raison d'être* of rulership. The petitions preserved among the Mamlūk documents of Mount Sinai allow us, taken together with the detailed information provided by al-Qalqashandī, to form a clear picture of this important feature of Mamlūk administration. Moreover they take their place in a series of extant specimens which makes it possible to follow the development of this particular kind of document: we have a number of petitions from the Fāṭimid period, three from the Ayyūbid period (two of which also come from Sinai), and they show the continuity of the tradition on the one hand, and the gradual change in details on the other.¹³

Many decrees in the volume published by Ernst begin with the statement that they have been granted in response to a petition (called *ruq'a* or *qiṣṣa*) submitted (the verb *rafu'a* is used in Arabic) to the sultan by the monks.¹⁴ In effect, three petitions are actually preserved among the documents, though the editor has not recognized them as such. Since this has seriously impaired his interpretation of the documents in question, I re-edit them here with the necessary comments.

¹³ cf. 'Three petitions of the Fāṭimid period', and 'Petitions from the Ayyūbid period'. In these articles too the evidence of the actual documents has been combined with literary information in order to provide as full a description as possible of the administration of this particular branch of justice, viz. the ruler's investigation of grievances (*al-naẓar fi 'l-maẓālim*). The Mamlūk practice has been described on the basis of the literary authorities only by É. Tyan, *Histoire de l'organisation judiciaire en pays d'Islam*, Leiden, 1960, 500 ff. In W. Björkman's *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten*, Hamburg, 1928, 52-3, the Mamlūk petition is described chiefly after al-Qalqashandī, VI, 202 ff. The article by the same author entitled 'Die Bittschriften im diwān al-inṣā', *Der Islam*, XVIII, 1929, 207-12, is based, as far as the Mamlūk period is concerned, on the same passage; for the suggested antecedents of the Islamic petition cf. my remark in the article 'Three petitions of the Fāṭimid period', p. 189, n. 1.

¹⁴ Such a statement is contained in nos. ix-xii, xvi, xix, xxv, xxviii, xxix, xxxii-xlix, li-lv, lviii-lx, lxii, lxiii, lxv, lxix, lxxii. Similarly in the decrees of the Franciscan archives (above, p. 235, n. 7) nos. i-viii, x-xii, xv-xvi, xx, xxv-xxvi. The contents of decrees were, as is well known, often inscribed on stone (G. Wiet, 'Répertoire des décrets mamlouks de Syrie', *Mélanges syriens offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud*, Paris, 1939, II, 521-37; J. Sauvaget, 'Décrets mamlouks de Syrie', *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* (Institut Français de Damas), II, 1932, 1-52, III, 1933, 1-29, XII, 1948, 5-60; and for the unique case where we have both the decree and the inscription see above p. 235, n. 10). In some of these inscriptions the petitions which led to the issue of the decrees are mentioned: 'according to the petition (*qiṣṣa*) submitted by his exalted excellence the qāḍī Bahā' al-Dīn' (Sauvaget, *BEO*, II, 1932, 25); 'a petition (*qiṣṣa*) in the name of the inhabitants of Sarmin, in which they reported' (*idem*, *BEO*, XII, 1948, 38); 'a number of the inhabitants of Ḥimṣ . . . complaining . . . the petition (*qiṣṣa*) distinguished by the noble handwriting' (M. van Berchem, 'Arabische Inschriften', in M. von Oppenheim, *Inschriften aus Syrien, Mesopotamien und Kleinasien*, 9 ff.). A great number of references to the word *qiṣṣa* in the meaning of 'petition' are listed by Quatremère, I, 236 (note 111); for additional examples for *qiṣṣa* and *ruq'a* see my articles 'Three petitions of the Fāṭimid period', 190, 195, 198-200, 208, and 'Petitions from the Ayyūbid period', p. 26, l. 4 of text, and p. 27, l. 38.

No. iii = Atiya, no. 26 (plate 1).

Petition addressed to Baybars in 659/1261 and the sultan's decree.

Recto¹⁵:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 المملوك
 سلامة الشوبكي يقبل الأرض وينهى
 ان المملوك رجل صعلوك ذو عائلة وأطفال
 وهو مقيم بالطور وله نخل بالطور يقوم بعائلته
 5 والمترددين اليه وسؤال المملوك من صدقة
 مولانا السلطان عز نصره توقيع أمر ان
 لا يعارض المملوك في نخله المذكورة وان يجرى
 على السنن القديمة على ما بيده من التواقيع
 وان لا يعارض بظلم ولا بحيف
 10 طالع المملوك بذلك
 16... (?) والحمد لله وحده

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

The slave, Salāma al-Shawbakī, kisses the earth and reports that the slave is a pauper, with a family and children, residing at al-Ṭūr, where he has palm trees to support his family and visitors. The petition of the slave from the bounty of our Lord the Sultan (may his victory be glorious!) is that an order be written to the effect that the slave should suffer no interference in respect of the aforementioned palm trees of his, and that he should be treated according to time-honoured customs as defined in decrees in his possession, and that he should not be met with injustice and oppression. The slave has made his account about this.¹⁷ Praise be to God alone...¹⁸

Salāma was obviously a Christian, native of al-Shawbak, the well-known place to the east of the Araba, famous in Crusader times as Montreal, but

¹⁵ Ernst calls this the verso. Moreover, since he did not realize that one side of the document contains the petition, the other the decree, he writes that 'the recto is the same as the verso'—without asking why the same thing should be written twice. (In the collection of microfilms too the petition is called 'no. 26. Part 2', the decree 'Part 1'.) The dimensions of the document are 38 × 11.5 cm.

¹⁶ In ll. 4–5 the words *yaqūmu... ilayhi* are not read by Ernst, nor are the words '*azza naṣruhu*' in l. 6. In l. 6 he reads *lahum* instead of *amr*, in l. 7 *wa-* instead of *fī*. In l. 8 he does not read *al-qadīma*. He offers no reading for l. 10 in the text, but in the notes he has: *ḫāla'a* (?) *al-dīwān*.

¹⁷ The reading *ḫāla'a 'l-mamlūk bi-dhālik* is suggested by the use of the same formula in reports submitted by government officials, see below, pp. 241–2, where also a passage by al-Qalqa-shandī is quoted according to which the formula *ḫāla'a 'l-mamlūk* was sometimes used in private correspondence (modelled on the style of the petition). In the other petitions published below the phrase is more legible than in ours.

¹⁸ I cannot read the last words.

retaining a large Christian population even after its capture by Saladin.¹⁹ He lived in the town of al-Ṭūr,²⁰ where he had a plantation of palms, which sufficed for the livelihood of his family and the needs of 'visitors'. It is not quite clear who these visitors are; was Salāma an agent of the monastery and had he to entertain monks visiting al-Ṭūr? That there was some connexion between him and the monastery follows of course from the fact that the document is preserved in the monastery archives, though it is possible that this is because, as we shall see (p. 249), his property passed into the possession of the monks. It is not stated what Salāma's trouble exactly was. To judge from the analogy of the complaints of the monastery itself in its petitions, it may have been Bedouins who interfered with Salāma's palm trees. He seems to have had similar troubles before, since he refers to previous decrees issued in his favour. One of the salient impressions received from these documents is how the central government had to be approached again and again about quite trivial business. We are, however, less interested in Salāma and his particular affairs than in what we can learn from his petition about the form of the petition in the Mamlük period.

For comparison, we have material of two kinds: the description by al-Qalqashandī of the type of petition current in the Mamlük period, and the extant petitions of the Fāṭimid and Ayyūbid periods which inform us about its antecedents. The following is a translation of al-Qalqashandī's passage (vi, 203). 'The custom in this matter is to leave some empty space at the beginning of the sheet and make its margin according to its breadth. One starts with the *basmala* and writes under its beginning: "The slave²¹ so-and-so kisses the earth and reports thus" (*al-mamlūk fulān yuqabbil al-arḍ wa-yumhī ka-dhā wa-ka-dhā*) upon which follows the whole of the report. Then it is said: "and his petition is such-and-such". If the petition is addressed to the sultan, one says: "his petition from the noble bounties (*al-ṣadaqāt al-sharīfa*)²² is such-and-such"; if to someone else: "his petition from the all-embracing bounties

¹⁹ cf. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, first ed., s.v. 'al-Shawbak'.

²⁰ cf. R. Weill, *La presqu'île du Sinaï*, Paris, 1908, 93 ff., the article 'al-Ṭūr' in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, first ed., and 'Petitions from the Ayyūbid period', 22-3.

²¹ Ernst has failed to recognize that the word 'slave' in the phrase 'the slave (*al-mamlūk*) Salāma' is merely a formula required by protocol, and describes therefore the decree as concerning 'a *mamlūk* living in al-Ṭūr' (whatever this is supposed to mean). Similarly in no. xiii B (see below, p. 250) the petitioners, who describe themselves as 'the slaves, the monks of the monastery of Mount Sinai in the wilderness', are made into '*mamlūks* of the monastery of Mount Sinai'; in xiii C (below, p. 257), owing to an erroneous reading (*al-mamālīk li 'l-ruhbān bi-dayr Ṭūr Sina* instead of *al-mamālīk al-ruhbān*, etc.), they become 'the *mamlūks* for the monks in the monastery of Mount Sinai'!

²² One will have noted that our petition also has 'from the bounty of our Lord the Sultan'—though here the word *ṣadaqa* is in the singular. That the plural *ṣadaqāt* is often used in the Mamlük chancery in connexion with petitions has already been pointed out by M. van Berchem (in the study quoted above, p. 237, n. 14), 11, who refers to the documents published by Amari (*I diplomi arabi del R. Archivio Fiorentino*), pp. 166, 167, 185, 207, and more especially p. 227, in connexion with *sa'ala*, *marsūm*. See for *al-ṣadaqāt al-sharīfa* also Ernst, no. xxxi, l. 14, and Khalil al-Zāhiri, *Zubdat kashf al-mamālīk*, ed. Ravaisse, 137, *wa-sa'ala min al-ṣadaqāt al-sharīfa*.

(*al-sadaqāt al-‘amīma*) is such-and-such”. In the case of a petition in which one asks for the issue of a letter one says, if addressing the sultan: “his petition is for a noble command (*mithāl sharīf*) ordering so-and-so”; if addressing someone else: “a gracious command (*mithāl karīm*) ordering so-and-so”. Then one says: “if God (may He be exalted) wills”, and adds a praise to God (may He be exalted) and a blessing upon the Prophet (may God bless him), as well as the formula “God is sufficient for us; how excellent a Keeper is He”. Sometimes the words “the slave so-and-so” are written at the side of the petition, outside the line of the *basmala*. The formula “so-and-so, who is in need of God (may He be exalted)” is sometimes substituted for the words “the slave”; in this case instead of “kisses the earth” one says “beseeches God (may He be exalted) with pious invocations” or “continually offers pious invocations”, or something to this effect.’

The style of the Mamlūk petition as described by al-Qalqashandī and exemplified in the specimen under discussion (and the others dealt with in this study) follows the tradition of the Fāṭimid and Ayyūbid periods. The Fāṭimid petition has been analysed in the article repeatedly referred to.²³ In another article devoted to the Ayyūbid petition²⁴ I have shown how on the whole it directly continues the Fāṭimid practice, introducing, however, some innovations due to the changed circumstances. As I have said there, the Mamlūk petition is modelled on the Ayyūbid one, with some of the innovations carried a step further. In the Ayyūbid period the petitioner wrote his name, preceded by the words ‘the slave’, in the upper left corner, just above, or almost in line with, the *basmala*, which was followed by the phrase ‘kisses the earth’; in the articles quoted above I have explained how this convention was derived from that obtaining in the Fāṭimid period. Under the Mamlūks this was simplified and the name of the petitioner, preceded by the words ‘the slave’, was put at the beginning of the first line after the *basmala*, yet so that the words ‘the slave’ and the name were written one beneath the other; this formula was immediately followed by the words ‘kisses the earth and reports’. In a preliminary note on the form of the petition²⁵ I quoted the passage from al-Qalqashandī concerning the exordium of the petition. However, being acquainted with no actual specimen, I misinterpreted al-Qalqashandī’s words about the position of the petitioner’s name: judging from Fāṭimid practice, I took his words to mean that the name was in the upper left margin (‘outside’ = above). In fact, al-Qalqashandī says that the name was sometimes ‘outside’—i.e. to the right—of the actual written body of the document. This is not so in our specimen, where the words in question are in line with the rest; but if we turn to the second petition published here, we can verify that the relevant phrase there (‘the slaves, the monks of Mount Sinai in the wilderness’) are slightly out of line—as described by al-Qalqashandī (who

²³ ‘Three petitions of the Fāṭimid period’.

²⁴ ‘Petitions from the Ayyūbid period’.

²⁵ See *BSOAS*, xxxiii, 3, 1960, 449.

himself stresses that this practice was not general and was only followed 'sometimes'.²⁶

As regards the body of the petition, the arrangement is similar in Fāṭimid, Ayyūbid, and Mamlük practice: there is first the 'exposition' (or as al-Qalqashandī calls it: the 'report') in which the grievance is concisely described, then the 'request', in which the issue of an order for the redress of the grievance is sought. The whole ends with the final formulae (which may contain the 'motivation'—that the granting of the petition will manifest the justice of the régime). In regard to the particular formulae there is a general correspondence between al-Qalqashandī and our document, with discrepancies in details. The 'request' is introduced in the document by the words ' (the petition of the slave) from the bounty of our Lord the Sultan (is)', instead of 'from the noble bounties'. The final formulae are very different: the *in shā'a 'Ulāh* is missing in our document, and so is the *ḥasbala* ('God is sufficient...').²⁷ In no. 3, published below, both phrases are included.²⁸

In this passage al-Qalqashandī does not refer to the formula before the final eulogies: 'The slave has made his account about this'—which also has its counterparts in the following petitions, with the difference that instead of the verb *ṭāla'a* the synonymous *anḥā* is used. In his suggestive description of the form of reports submitted by government officials (VIII, 54 ff., cf. also pp. 390 ff.) which still under the Mamlüks is similar to that of petitions²⁹ (though the reports have some features absent in petitions), he quotes, however, in addition to the exordium '... kisses the earth and reports', the final formula 'the slave has made his account about this (*ṭāla'a 'l-mamlük bi-dhālik*), and increased excellence belongs to the exalted opinion',³⁰ or other similar phrases. Moreover, the formulae of the petition also influenced ordinary correspondence

²⁶ In a petition by the Ragusan consul to the governor of Egypt from the early Ottoman period, when Mamlük practices were still followed, the name of the petitioner is in the left margin, quite far down—the petition is very long. (See my review of F. Bajraktarević, *Les documents arabes aux archives d'état à Dubrovnik*, in *Oriens*, XVIII, forthcoming.) I do not think, however, that al-Qalqashandī's description refers to such a method. It is not clear why in that document the name of the petitioner is put so far down in the margin; the length of the petition is no sufficient reason in itself.

²⁷ The 'praise to God' demanded by al-Qalqashandī takes here the form (if the reading is correct) *wa 'l-ḥamd li 'Ulāh waḥdah*; in nos. 2 and 3 published below: *al-ḥamd li 'Ulāh rabbi 'l-'ālamīn*. The Ayyūbid petitions have *wa 'l-ḥamd li 'Ulāh waḥdah*. No 'praise upon the Prophet' is included. It may be pointed out that the characteristic phrase which comes in the Ayyūbid petitions before the final praise: 'And the opinion [of the sultan] is the highest' does not recur in our petitions. All this shows the continuous change of phraseology characteristic of the history of such documents.

²⁸ In this case, however, one can hardly assume a historical development, since no. 2, written only a year before no. 3, lacks the phrases: here we have another feature, namely that there is no absolute consistency even in one given period.

²⁹ For the similarity between petitions and reports in the Fāṭimid period cf. 'Three petitions of the Fāṭimid period', 190. For the Mamlük period this similarity was pointed out in the article by Björkman quoted above (p. 237, n. 13), p. 211, n. 2.

³⁰ This phrase derives from the Ayyūbid convention referred to in n. 27, above.

from the Ayyūbid period onwards, and al-Qalqashandī, when discussing the type of letter in which the initial formulae of the petition are employed, attests that it ended with the formula 'has made his account' (*tāla'a*) or 'has reported' (*anhā*).³¹ Thus again our documents tally very well with the evidence of the literary texts.

Having prepared his petition according to the prevailing form, Salāma had to present it. In order to do so, had he to betake himself to Cairo? Al-Qalqashandī (VI, 204) quotes the words of Abu 'l-Faḍl al-Ṣūrī,³² who, in order to stress the importance of ensuring that the officials dealing with petitions should be uncorruptible, points out that 'it is a known fact that most of those with a grievance come from the far ends of the empire, and that amongst them are women (and some of them unused to public appearances), orphans, and poor people, all of whom undertake the journey to the capital in the firm belief that there they will find someone to help them, redress their grievance, and aid them against their adversary'. But it is not impossible that petitions could also be presented through a representative. In the Syrian provinces, petitions could be presented to the governors, who held audiences, modelled on those of the sultan, in their provincial capitals³³; but this is irrelevant for Egypt. We see the inhabitants of Ḥimṣ presenting to the governor their petition in which they ask for the abolition of some vexatious economic measures, with the

³¹ The whole passage is instructive, so that it may find place here: 'The seventh method is to begin the letter with "kisses the earth", make the transition to the subject-matter with the words "and reports", and end up with "has made his account" or "has reported"'. This style of correspondence is found in some of the letters of al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil; I have seen no earlier example. It is as if they, having been accustomed to write in the preambles of letters to the caliphs "kisses the earth" or "the threshold", etc., adapted this formula for the beginning of letters and used it in addressing those who were of high rank—such as the sultan and others of his kind—in relation to their subordinates'. There follow some pertinent remarks about obeisance by prostration: it had been the custom of the pre-Islamic empires, was condemned in early Islamic times, and came back—though not in actual fact, but as a verbal flourish of courtly style—with the recrudescence of Persian customs. (I think al-Qalqashandī is wrong here; there are innumerable passages which show the subjects actually 'kissing the earth' in front of the prince.) It seems that what al-Qalqashandī means to say is that it was al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil, Saladin's famous secretary, who transferred the pattern with 'kisses the earth . . . and reports' from its exclusive use in letters and petitions addressed to the (Fāṭimid and 'Abbāsid) caliphs to a more general use. Al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil did indeed use the formula, as attested e.g. by a letter by him to Saladin quoted by al-Qalqashandī, VII, 90. It also occurs in private letters of the Ayyūbid period (written by Jews) preserved in the Cairo Geniza, of which I hope to treat on another occasion. (For the pattern—beginning with 'the slave kisses the earth' and ending with 'has made his account'—in letters addressed to the caliphs cf. also Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *al-Ta'rif bi 'l-muṣṭalaḥ al-sharīf*, 4–5 = al-Qalqashandī, VII, 119–20.)

³² As a matter of fact, the passage in question ultimately comes from Ibn al-Ṣayrafī's *Qānūn dīwān al-rasā'il*, written under the Fāṭimids; see ed. Bahjat, pp. 150–1 and the translation in my article 'Three petitions of the Fāṭimid period', 187. From there it was borrowed, with slight stylistic changes, by Ibn al-Ṣūrī, whose book, apart from quotations in al-Qalqashandī (see Björkman, *Beirāge*, 76–7) is lost, and about whom nothing is known. I quote the derivative version in preference to the original, since it is closer in point of time to our texts.

³³ Governor of Damascus, al-Qalqashandī, IV, 194–7 ('petitions are submitted . . .', p. 196, last line ff.); Aleppo, 222–4 (petitions, p. 224, ll. 13 ff.); Tripoli, 234; Ḥamāt, 238–9 (the corresponding passages for Ṣafad and al-Karak are missing, cf. 240, 242).

request to forward it to the sultan ³⁴; but that also happened in Syria, and we do not know whether one is justified in drawing conclusions about it for Egypt. A more comprehensive examination of the Mamlūk chronicles and other sources will perhaps yield some information about the practice in this respect; our document gives no clue.

On the other hand it indicates exactly the official who dealt with Salāma's petition. Petitions could be submitted to the sultan himself or to some of the highest dignitaries such as the lieutenant-general of the realm (*nā'ib al-salṭana*), the commander-general of the army (*atābak al-'asākir*), the vizier, or the major-domo (*ustādh al-dār*). In the last section of this study (below, pp. 265 ff.) I shall describe at length the various methods of submission of petitions, chiefly following the systematic accounts of Ibn Faḍl Allāh, and more especially al-Qalqashandī, who wrote in the first half of the fourteenth, and the first half of the fifteenth century, respectively. It will make, I think, for greater clarity if we anticipate here the study of the procedure followed in the present case.

The present petition was not dealt with by the sultan, but by the *atābak*.³⁵ It is a moot point in general why some petitions went to the sultan, others to officials, and why to one official rather than to another—and as we shall see (below, p. 268) it is not at all easy to give a satisfactory answer to these questions. In this particular case, however, there is perhaps no mystery. This document dates from the first year of Baybars's reign and he may have been too busy to deal personally with petitioners, leaving this for his ministers.³⁶ Both the present petition, and the one which gave rise to the decree no. ii (dated a few months earlier, namely 7 Dhu 'l-Ḥijja 658/13 November 1260) were dealt with by the *atābak*. The evidence is of course insufficient to allow us to decide whether this is a coincidence, and other officials were also hearing cases in the same period, or whether most cases were in fact being decided by the *atābak*. The systematic accounts belong, as we have said, to later periods and do not allow us to discern possible fluctuations in the practice.

In the first years of Baybars's reign the *atābak* ³⁷ was Fāris al-Dīn Aqṭāy al-Ṣāliḥī al-Najmī, who was appointed to this high office by al-Malik al-Manṣūr in 655/1257 ³⁸ and administered the realm during the absence of Quṭuz in 657.³⁹

³⁴ See the inscription published by M. van Berchem in the study quoted above, p. 237, n. 14. For a discussion of the problem of how provincials submitted their petitions in the Fāṭimid period see 'Three petitions of the Fāṭimid period', 196-7.

³⁵ Properly speaking the petition was submitted to the sultan (of the sentence: 'the petition of the slave from the bounty of our Lord the Sultan . . . is'), but dealt with by the *atābak*. We shall see, when dealing with the third petition published here, that a petition could also be addressed to an official. Al-Qalqashandī is silent on this subject, so that we do not know when a petition was addressed to the sultan, when to an official.

³⁶ Both in Dhu 'l-Ḥijja 658, date of decree no. ii, and Sha'bān 659, date of our decree, Baybars was staying in Cairo, so that the delegation of this kind of business to the *atābak* is not due to his absence.

³⁷ For the office see *CIA*, p. 290, n. 3; Gaudesfroy-Demombynes, p. lvi, n. 3; Ayalon, 58-9.

³⁸ Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira*, ed. Cairo, VII, 43.

³⁹ *ibid.*, 78. He was in the entourage of Quṭuz during Baybars's unsuccessful attempt to invade Egypt in 656/1256.

After the murder of Qutuz by Baybars (15 Dhu 'l-Qa'da 658) he seated the latter on the throne,⁴⁰ and served as the new sultan's emissary to Tripoli (4 Shawwāl 659/1 September 1261).⁴¹ He died in 672/1273-4.⁴² When Baybars set up, in imitation of the Ayyūbid practice, a Palace of Justice—this occurred in 661/1263-4, two years after the date of our document—he made the *atābak* sit in it; in the words of a contemporary authority: 'Then he [Baybars] set up the Palace of Justice in the form in which it had existed before and appointed there the amīr Fāris al-Dīn the *atābak* to deal out justice among the people.'⁴³ It was the *atābak* who dealt with Salāma's petition and gave the order to issue a decree forbidding interference with his palm trees. This is indicated by an endorsement in the margin of the decree (on the back of the petition): 'At the gracious instruction of the *atābak* Aqtāy'. We shall speak in greater detail about these notes of 'authorization' by which there was indicated in the decrees the identity of the person who gave the order for their issue: either the sultan or one of the competent officials (see below, pp. 266, 270-4). The note in our document is such a *mustanād*, or authorization, and its form corresponds to that described in the handbooks for secretaries. So also does its position, since, according to them, though in independent documents such notes of authorization were written at the end just after the date, in decrees which were written on the back of the petition these notes were written in the right margin, exactly as is found in our document.⁴⁴ Though the decision was taken by the *atābak*, the decree was made out in the name of the sultan and bore the sultan's signature; this is the usual form observed with petitions dealt with by officials.

[ببیرس]
 رسم بالأمر العالی المولوی السلطانی
 الملكی الظاهری الرکنی أنفذه الله تعالی
 ان یجرى رافعها سلامة الشوبکی
 علی ما بیده من التواقیع المستمرة ولا یمکن احد من نخله
 5 ولا من ظلمه ولا من الحیف علیه والنواب كافة

⁴⁰ Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, *Sirat al-Malik al-Zāhir*, ed. S. M. Sadeque (*Baybars I of Egypt*, OUP, Pakistan, 1968), 17 (transl., 97); Ibn Taghribirdī, VII, 84.

⁴¹ Ibn Taghribirdī, VII, 152.

⁴² *ibid.*, VII, 242 and 344-5. Baybars's own mausoleum was built on the site of a house which had belonged to Aqtāy; *ibid.*, VII, 263.

⁴³ Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, 23 (transl., 103; I have revised the wording of the translation). The institution of the Palace of Justice (situated at the entrance to the Citadel of Cairo) was taken over from the Ayyūbids; cf. 'Petitions from the Ayyūbid period', 14, and Gaudefroy-Demombynes, lxxix; *CIA*, p. 812.

⁴⁴ Ibn Faḥl Allāh, *al-Ta'rif bi 'l-muṣṭalah al-sharīf*, 91; al-Qalqashandī, VI, 264-5. Since al-Qalqashandī's text is more informative, let it be quoted in translation: 'The formula is written in the margin in the case of small decrees which are written on the back of petitions Its position is opposite the first two lines, from below upwards, so that the end of the formula of authorization is level with the first line'. See also XIII, 131 (below, pp. 247, 264); and p. 273, n. 154.

يعتمدون ما رسمناه ومثلناه
 كتب في ثامن شهر شعبان المبارك
 سنة تسع وخمسين وستمائة⁴⁵

[In the right margin :]

بالإشارة الكريمة الأتابكية أقطاي

[BAYBARS]

It has been decreed by the exalted order of the Lord, the Sultan, al-Malik al-Zāhir Rukn al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn (may God establish it firmly) that Salāma al-Shawbakī, who has submitted this petition, be dealt with according to the decrees which are in his hands and which continue in force, and no one be allowed to interfere with his palm trees, or to act towards him unjustly or oppressively. Let all governors obey what we have ordered and prescribed.

Written this ninth day of the blessed month of Sha'bān in the year six hundred and fifty-nine.

[In the margin :] At the gracious instruction of the *atābak* Aqṭāy.

The decree is here written on the back of the petition, and the document was returned to the petitioners and so survived—whereas in most cases a separate decree was written out and the petition—filed in the chancery—has not been preserved. In this respect, too, the Mamlūk practice continues that of the Ayyūbids, in whose times also the decree was written either on the back of the petitions (as is the case with nos. ii and iii, both from Sinai, of the Ayyūbid petitions edited by me⁴⁶) or as an independent document. I pointed out⁴⁷ that there is no text from the Ayyūbid period to enlighten us about when the decree was in the form of an endorsement and when it took the form of a separate decree ; nor is there such a text from the Mamlūk period, in spite of its voluminous handbooks. To be sure, it was only in the case of the least important decrees that such an informal procedure was admissible, and we can easily understand that the decree about Salāma's petty business was so classified. On the other hand, much of the business with which the independent documents granted to the Sinai monastery are concerned is hardly more important. Thus one is necessarily led to conclude that the choice between an endorsement and the issue of a separate document was to a certain degree arbitrary.

In analysing the form of this and the following decrees we shall continually refer to al-Qalqashandī, especially to passages in which he describes 'smaller decrees'. An observation is, however, called for about al-Qalqashandī's terminology. The word 'petition' (*qiṣṣa*) is used in Mamlūk chancery practice not only for the statement of a grievance submitted by a subject, but also for a request for an appointment or the grant of a fief. In speaking of 'smaller decrees' (*al-marāsīm al-ṣiḡhār*), written either on the back of the petition or as

⁴⁵ In l. 3 Ernst has *as'adahu* instead of *anfadhahu* ; he does not read the word *rāfi'uhā* in l. 4 and the words *min nakhlīhi* in l. 5. He does not read the words after *ya'tamidūna* in l. 6. The reading *rasamāhu* was suggested to me by Dr. J. D. Latham.)

⁴⁶ In the article 'Petitions from the Ayyūbid period'.

⁴⁷ Pp. 18-19 of the article.

an independent document, al-Qalqashandī mainly refers to the least important letters of appointment or diplomas of grant. This is clear from his large section devoted to letters of appointment (vols. x–xi). Indeed, if I am not mistaken, he does not speak at all of administrative decrees such as ours in his enormous summa of chancery practice: a curious omission in that comprehensive work. On the other hand, the ‘smaller decrees’ quoted by al-Qalqashandī, and the various rules which he gives for them, clearly show that their form, though not their content, was similar, we may say identical, to the administrative decrees of lesser importance such as the decrees with which we are dealing in this study. The form of these ‘smaller decrees’ obviously cuts across the classification by subject-matter, followed by al-Qalqashandī. Keeping this in mind, we may now examine the features of our decree in comparison with what al-Qalqashandī has to say.

Our decree bears no formula of *basmala*—that it was the custom to omit it when the decree was written on the back of a petition is attested by al-Qalqashandī (vi, 220): ‘[The secretaries] are accustomed to omit it [the *basmala*] at the beginning of smaller decrees, e.g. those written on the back of petitions, etc. It seems that in this they were following the tradition related by Abū Dāwūd and Ibn Māja in their *Sunan*, and Abū ‘Awāna al-Isfarā’inī in his *Musnad*,⁴⁸ on the authority of Abū Hurayra, according to whom the Prophet said: “All important affairs which are not begun in the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate, are crippled”, i.e. lacking in blessing; now the contents of lesser decrees are not important things, and therefore the omission of the *basmala* at their beginning is quite appropriate’. The omission of the *basmala* is also mentioned in XIII, 128, in a passage discussed below (p. 264).

The opening formula ‘It has been decreed by the exalted order . . .’ (*rusīma bi ‘l-amri ‘l-‘ālī*, etc.) is the one used for documents of minor importance.⁴⁹ The main part of the document repeats the terms of the request.

The marginal note indicating that the decree was issued on the instruction of the *atābak* has already been mentioned.⁵⁰ It reads: بالإشارة الكريمة

⁴⁸ The references are inexact: Ibn Māja (*Nikāh*, 19) and Abū Dāwūd (*Adab*, 18) quote this tradition (with small variants) as follows: ‘All important affairs which are not begun with the praise of God . . .’—i.e. they refer to the formula *al-hamd li ‘llāh*, not the *basmala*. Nor does the variant ‘in the name of God . . .’ come from Abū ‘Awāna’s text: it is true that the tradition does not, as far as I see, occur in the partial edition, Hyderabad, 1362/1943, but it is quoted from Abū ‘Awāna by al-Subkī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, I, 3, ll. 11 ff., and the text reads ‘with the praise of God’. Al-Subkī begins his great collection of biographies of the Shāfi‘ī doctors with a long dissertation on these traditions, registering the different texts and splitting hairs about them (*al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, I, 2 ff.) The variant with *bismi ‘llāhi ‘l-raḥmāni ‘l-raḥīm* (instead of the usual ‘praise of God’, or else ‘mention of God’) is registered on p. 6, ll. 4 ff., and is referred to on p. 3 last line, p. 8, ll. 6–7, p. 9, ll. 17 ff. (where the difficulty raised by the differences is resolved). Al-Qalqashandī quotes again the tradition in a similar context (xi, 128), but this time in the form ‘with the praise of God’.

⁴⁹ The exordium *rusīma bi ‘l-amr al-‘ālī* was inherited from Ayyūbid practice, where also it was used for documents of minor importance; see ‘Petitions from the Ayyūbid period’, 33.

⁵⁰ Above, p. 244. Some decrees carved in stone (of. above, p. 237, n. 14) also mention that their original was issued on the instruction of the *atābak*: ‘There was promulgated a decree of

الأتابكِيَّة أَقْطَايَ ; the first words ('at the gracious instruction of the *atābak*') are clear, the last ('*Aqṭāy*') is not so, owing to a blur, and has been supplied more or less by conjecture. The position of the note, high up in the margin near the beginning of the text, is the one prescribed by al-Qalqashandī for smaller decrees: 'in the case of a small *marsūm* and a small *tauqī*', written in the form of a passport or on the back of the petition'⁵¹ the notes of authorization are written in the margin, level with the interval between ll. 1 and 2 (XIII, 131). Otherwise, the note of authorization is placed at the end of the decree, between the date and the formula *al-ḥamd li 'Ulāh waḥdah*. This is the position of the notes in the Sinai decrees other than the 'smaller decrees' published in this study.⁵²

When the document had been prepared, the signature of the sultan was appended. In the decrees of the type to which the Sinai documents belong, the signature consisted of the name of the sultan (or if his father had already been a reigning sultan, of his and his father's name) written in an especially large script, the *ṭūmār* script.⁵³ There is a great deal to say about the different forms of signature in the Mamlūk period, but since the subject does not directly concern us here, I reserve it for another occasion; a short preliminary account can be found in the chapter on signature in my *Fāṭimid decrees*.⁵⁴ The signature is usually put in the interval between the first and second lines of the text, which is therefore called *bayt al-'alāma*, the 'house', i.e. space, 'for the signature'. This placing goes back to Fāṭimid and Ayyūbid practice.⁵⁵ In the 'smaller decrees', such as those published here, the signature is, however, placed at the top of the text, before the first line.⁵⁶

Nor can I deal at length with the final phase of the procedure, which left

our lord the sultan . . . Sha'bān . . . at the gracious and exalted instruction of the lord the Great Amīr, the Protector, the *atābak*, Yalbughā al-Ashrafī, *atābak* of the victorious armies' (G. Wiet, 'Un décret du sultan Malik Ashraf Sha'bān', *Mélanges Louis Massignon*, III, 383 ff.); 'According to the noble decree at the exalted instruction of the *atābak* Sayf al-Dīn Barqūq al-Manṣūrī' (M. Sobernheim, 'Die Inschriften der Zitadelle von Damascus', *Der Islam*, XII, 1922, 16; note the phrase 'according . . .' together with the 'authorization', exactly as in the decrees). Cf. also 'at the exalted instruction of the lord Sayf al-Dīn Ṭaṭar al-Muẓaffarī, regent (*nizām*) of the noble kingdom', *Matériaux pour un corpus inscriptionum arabicarum*, II, 2 (Jérusalem 'Ḥaram'), no. 183. (These examples are quoted by Wiet, p. 397.) For the origin of the formula 'on the instruction of . . .' see below, p. 270, n. 141.

⁵¹ For the interpretation of this passage see below, pp. 263-4. Cf. also p. 244, n. 44.

⁵² For the detailed discussion of the various notes of authorization see below, pp. 266, 270-4.

⁵³ For the *ṭūmār* script used for signatures see al-Qalqashandī, III, 53 ff. A 'specimen of the writing [of the sultan's name] in smaller correspondence' [to which category our decrees obviously belong] is given on p. 57: it is the signature of Ḥasan b. Muḥammad and is more or less identical with the actual signature which appears on the decree published below as no. 2, see plate II. The reader will, I hope, also appreciate being able to inspect the signature of Baybars on the photograph on plate I.

⁵⁴ Pp. 157-9.

⁵⁵ *ibid.*, 131.

⁵⁶ I found no reference to this in the handbooks for secretaries, but may have overlooked it. The practice is derived from the Ayyūbids; see the decrees published in 'Petitions from the Ayyūbid period'.

its imprint on the document in the form of registration marks. After the document had received the sultan's signature, it went round the various government offices concerned with its subject. The first stage is reflected in a note of *exsequatur* between ll. 2 and 3: *يمثل الأمر العالی أعلاه الله تعالى* 'Let the exalted order (may God exalt it) be obeyed'. It is obviously by a high dignitary of the court, but I cannot make a reasoned suggestion as to his identity.⁵⁷ Perhaps it was by the *nā'ib al-saltāna*. Another unidentified official made a corresponding remark between ll. 3 and 4: *امتثل الأمر العالی* 'The exalted order (may God give it glory) has been obeyed'. It must be admitted that the exact purpose of these countersigns, and the similar notes which appear in the other documents is not altogether clear, since we do not know by whom they were made.

The interpretation of the registration marks is also very difficult. They occur in pairs: an order that the decree should be registered in a certain office, and a note to the effect that the order has been complied with. A decree was obviously circulated to those offices which were concerned with the affair to which it related and had therefore to take notice of the order of the ruler. Similar registration marks occur in some of the Fātimid and Ayyūbid decrees⁵⁸ as well as in those of the Mamlūk period published in Ernst's volume—though we immediately come up against the first problem: why is it that some of the documents bear no such marks? The choice of the offices is also not always quite obvious—quite apart from the fact that their identity is often doubtful. Moreover, there is an even more elementary difficulty: since these registration marks are, for obvious reasons, written in an extremely cursive script, it is a most difficult task to decipher them. The study of the registration marks ought to be taken up anew⁵⁹; here I simply reproduce those to be found in our document, though I must confess that I have not succeeded in deciphering much more than the editor.

The first note is in two parts on the right side between ll. 3 and 4 and 4 and 5: *ليثبت في ديوان النظر على || الدواوين المعمورة ان شاء الله تعالى*⁶⁰ 'Let it be registered in the Office of the Supervision of the State Offices, if God (may He

⁵⁷ Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, VIII, 209, describes a document bearing the sultan's signature and *exsequatur* by the lieutenant-general and the vizier (*wa-tashmaluh 'alāmat al-sultān wa-khatt nā'ibih wa-wazīrih bi 'l-imsitihāl*). Al-Qalqashandī (XII, 153-4) mentions the formula *yumtathal al-marsūm al-sharīf* in connexion with documents concerning the Office of the Army (*dīwān al-jaysh*), in which this *exsequatur* was appended by the head of that Office: *ثم يكتب تحته ناظر*. الجيش ما مثاله يمثل المرسوم الشريف.

⁵⁸ See *Fātimid decrees*, section 10 of the diplomatic commentary; 'Two Ayyūbid decrees from Sinai' (as above, p. 233, n. 4), 38-8.

⁵⁹ This can, of course, only be done by a fresh scrutiny of either the originals or the photographs.

⁶⁰ Ernst reads *uthbita*. Admittedly, the word is not quite clear, but the first letter seems to be a *lām* rather than an *alif*; also it seems that ordinarily the phrase *in shā'a 'Ullāh* is added to the order, while the clerk who notes the execution of the order of registration adds his *'alāma*.

be exalted) wills'.⁶¹ On the left side between the same lines there is a note which could be the mark that the registration has taken place or another order of registration; unfortunately I am not able to decipher the first part, while the second can be read with the editor: الحمد لله على نعمه 'Praise be to God for His bounties'. Two general remarks about the registration marks. (1) As a rule, there are two corresponding entries in regard to each office: one the order to register, the second a note to the effect that the registration has been done. (2) These latter notes are signed by a clerk of the office concerned, who uses a motto ('*alāma*'). In the present document there are no orders of registration, but registration marks only, eight in number. The term used is *nuzzila* 'it has been registered',⁶² which is mostly abbreviated by the sign ل (the final *lām*); underneath are the various mottoes. Between ll. 5 and 6 there are six marks: (a) . . . ||⁶³ نزل; (b) ||⁶⁴ والحمد لله على نعمائه نزل; (c) ||⁶⁵ الحمد لله نزل; (d) . . . ||⁶⁶ نزل; (e) ||⁶⁷ الحمد لله على احسانه نزل; (f) ||⁶⁸ نزل ||⁶⁹ الحمد لله على منته نزل. In front of l. 6: ||⁶⁸ والحمد لله على منته نزل. Between ll. 7 and 8: (a) ||⁶⁹ بديوان النظر المعمورة . . . نزل; (b) ||⁶⁹ بديوان النظر المعمورة (?) نزل.

After the different offices had inspected the decree it was delivered to the petitioners for keeping. The document was rolled up and covered by a piece of cloth glued to its head, and fastened by a thread. On the cloth is written a short indication of the subject-matter: من || لسلامة الشوبكي مرسوم بإعفاء نخيله || 'For Salāma al-Shawbakī, a decree exempting his palm trees—with which he has endowed the monastery—from impositions'. From the fact that the body of the document does not mention that the palm trees were given to the monastery, and that there is altogether a discrepancy between the tenor of the document and the label, we may infer that the label is not due to the chancery, but was added in the monastery for identification purposes.

2

No. xiii = Atiya, no. 37 (plates II-III).

Petition addressed to Ḥasan b. Muḥammad in 749/1348 and the sultan's decree.

⁶¹ For the Office of the Supervision see al-Maqrizī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, II, 224; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, p. lxxviii. It was the central financial office and was taken over from the Ayyūbids (cf. my article on the Ayyūbid decrees [above, p. 233, n. 4], 37).

⁶² For *nazzala* 'to register' see *Fāṭimid decrees*, 168.

⁶³ Ernst reads *uthbita* in the first line, and reads the second line (which I cannot decipher) as *al-ḥamā li 'Ulāh wa-kafā al-tawki' alayh*.

⁶⁴ Ernst reads *uthbita*.

⁶⁵ Ernst reads '*ala 'l-tawakkul*.

⁶⁶ Ernst reads *uthbita*.

⁶⁷ Ernst reads *iḥsānih*.

⁶⁸ Ernst reads *ni'amih*.

⁶⁹ Ernst reads *uthbita*.

Recto⁷⁰:

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

المماليك
رهبان دير طور سينا يقبلون الأرض وينهون ان
بالبرية

المماليك ضعفاء ومساكين ومقيمين
بالبرية الشاسعة وقائمين بالحجاج الواردين
5 من الحجاز الشريف وقد تسلطوا عليهم العرب
عرب البرية وصارو يدخلو الدير وينهبوا
جميع ما للرهبان جوا الدير وبراه ويضربو الرهبان
ويثاقلونهم وسؤالهم لوجه الله تعالى مرسوم شريف بأيديهم
بان لا يتعرض اليهم ولا يعبرو لهم دير صدقة عن
10 مولانا السلطان خلد الله ملكه وأذاق هذه الدولة العادلة
نعيم أجرهم ودعاهم أنها المماليك ذلك
والحمد لله رب العالمين⁷¹

[For the entries in the lower right corner and the right margin see below, p. 252.]

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

The slaves, the monks of the monastery of Mount Sinai in the desert, kiss the earth and report that they, the slaves, are weak and poor persons staying in the distant desert and looking after the pilgrims who come back from the noble Hijāz.⁷² The Bedouins of the desert overpowered them and took to entering the monastery, plundering the belongings of the monks both inside and outside the monastery, and beating and molesting the monks. Their petition, for the sake of God (may He be exalted), is [the issue of] a noble order (which should remain) in their hands that they should not be interfered with, and that they (the Bedouins) should not enter their monastery—as an act of bounty on the part of our Lord the Sultan, may God prolong his reign, and may He bestow upon this just government the benefit of their reward⁷³ and their prayer. The slaves have reported this; praise be to God the Lord of Creation.

⁷⁰ Under no. xiii Ernst unites Atiya, no. 37, parts 1–3, which he calls A, and part 4, which he calls B, as well as no. 36, which he calls C. The last does not belong here at all—it will be treated under the next item (see below, p. 257); B is the present petition, A the decree resulting from it. The dimensions of Atiya, 37 are given as 123.5 × 14 cm.

⁷¹ The three words after *wa-su' alukhum* in l. 8 are not read by Ernst; the decipherment of the first of these I owe to Dr. J. D. Latham who proposed *li-wajh*, a reading which is confirmed by a phrase in the repeatedly quoted inscription from Hims published by M. van Berchem (see above, p. 237, n. 14): *wa-sa' alu sadaqtihī li-wajhi 'Ulāh ta'ālā*. L. 10: the word *khallada* is not read by Ernst; *wa-adhāqa* is read by him *wa-adāma*, *na'ima ajrihim* (l. 11) is not read by him. Admittedly, the phrase is somewhat peculiar, but most of the letters seem to be fairly clear. The last three words of l. 11 are not read by Ernst.

⁷² For the argument, often adduced by the monks of Sinai in their petitions, that they entertain the Muslim pilgrims, cf. 'Petitions from the Ayyūbid period', p. 19, n. 50.

⁷³ i.e. the reward due for the good act done to the petitioners.

This petition, as is shown by the minutes found on it, was not, as was the preceding one, dealt with by an official, but was read out to the sultan, who gave his orders to the *dawādār* for transmission to the chancery through a messenger. I shall again anticipate the systematic survey of the different methods of dealing with petitions (below, section III), and quote the relevant passage of al-Qalqashandī (VI, 209), who contrasts the old practice with the new: 'Know that in the old days the practice was as follows: If the sultan gave orders for one to write [a decree] through the intermediary offices of one of the *dawādārs*, a messenger of the post (*barīd*) brought the relevant message from the *dawādār* in question to the *kātib al-sirr*. The latter listened to what the messenger had to say, and wrote upon the petition—if there was one—or on a separate piece of paper the following words: "A message has been brought by so-and-so, messenger of the post, to such-and-such an effect"; after which he appointed a secretary of the chancery to write [the decree]. The new arrangement, introduced in the reign of Muḥammad b. Qalā'ūn [first half of the eighth/fourteenth century] by Shihāb al-Dīn b. Faḍl Allāh, consisted of the appointment of a special secretary who wrote upon the petition or separate paper the note previously written by the *kātib al-sirr* himself; after which the matter was brought before the *kātib al-sirr* who then gave instructions for the writing of the decree. A further change was introduced later under the *dawādār*ship of Yūnus al-Nawrūzī, when one of the secretaries of the *dast* was allowed to note down the formula regarding the 'message' of the *dawādār*. The new practice was in force in al-Qalqashandī's own day.

The custom of transmitting the ruler's command to the chancery through the 'message' of an amīr was taken over by the Ayyūbids from the Seljūq practice. We find a note recording the name of the amīr to whom the 'message' was given, but also that of the *jāndār*, i.e. bodyguard, who actually delivered the message to the chancery, in an Ayyūbid document.⁷⁴ In the Mamlūk period the message was always entrusted to a *dawādār* 'holder of the inkpot', i.e. a kind of private secretary of the sultan,⁷⁵ whereas the actual task of delivering the command was a duty of the corps of the *barīdiyya*, couriers of the post.⁷⁶ As we shall see in the systematic survey, sending a message through the *dawādār* and the courier to the chancery was one of the methods for the sultan to deal with a petition, the others being a direct order to the head of

⁷⁴ For the history of the convention of the *risāla* see 'Petitions from the Ayyūbid period', 15–18.

⁷⁵ For the *dawādārs*, recruited from the military officers, see Gaudefroy-Demombynes, pp. lvii–lviii, Ayalon, 62–3. There is an amusing anecdote about the *dawādār* Balabān (in the reign of Baybars) delivering his message to the head of the chancery in a confused manner. This allegedly gave rise to the later custom of the sultan giving his order directly to the *kātib al-sirr*. (See Ibn Taghrībirdī, VII, 332–3.) The anecdote suggests that sometimes the message was actually delivered by the *dawādār* himself rather than by a *barīdī*.

⁷⁶ For the *barīdiyya* (singular: *barīdī*) cf. J. Sauvaget, *La poste aux chevaux dans l'empire des mamelouks*, Paris, 1941, 18–20, who does not, however, deal with this 'internal' service of the couriers, but only with their main role as couriers of the postal service proper.

the chancery in attendance during an audience in the Palace of Justice, or a similar order to the same official in the course of the sultan's daily business.

That the petition under discussion was dealt with by the sultan, and that his command was transmitted to the chancery through the message of the *dawādār*, can be seen from the note in the lower corner of the right margin, which corresponds closely to the formula given by al-Qalqashandī:

حضر . . . البريدى (?) || برسالة المقرّ السنيّ طشبحا الدوادار || النلصرى عزّ نصره
ان يوقع بما سأله || كتب في عاشر شهر ربيع الآخر سنة تسع واربعين وسبعماية⁷⁷

'[So-and-so] son of [So-and-so] the messenger (?) has presented himself, delivering the message of his excellency Sayf al-Dīn Ṭashbughā the *dawādār* al-Nāṣirī (may his victory be exalted) that a document be drawn up granting their petition. Written 10 Rabī' II 749'.⁷⁸ As the document belongs to the period following Ibn Faḍl Allāh's reform, we may conclude that this is not the handwriting of the *kātib al-sirr* (whose task it would have been to write this note prior to the reform) but of the special secretary appointed 'to record the message' (*li-ta'tiq al-risāla*). The petition was then brought to the *kātib al-sirr* who 'gave instructions for the writing of the decree' by adding, in the right margin and written from below upwards, his minute: *يوقع بمضمون الرسالة*: 'Let a document be drawn up according to the gracious message concerning this', and appointed one of his subordinates to write out the decree. (The entry on the margin against l. 8—which contains the words 'their petition is'—is perhaps also by the *kātib al-sirr* and could perhaps be read as *مجاب* 'it is granted' (?).) The decree itself bears the note 'Message of his exalted excellency the Amīr Sayf al-Dīn Ṭashbughā the *dawādār* al-Nāṣirī, may God prolong his prosperity'. Since document no. iv has a similar note ('Message of his excellency the Amīr Ḥusām al-Dīn the *dawādār*') it is clear that it also came into being by the same procedure. The same applies to no. vi, though it is not immediately apparent from the text as it appears in the edition. The opening words of the note: 'Message of his excellency the most exalted amīr, the fighter in the holy war, the chosen one, Bahā' al-Dīn' obviously suggest that the document was drawn up in accordance with the message of the *dawādār*; but the following words have not been deciphered by the editor. Nor can I read with certainty the name of the official—but afterwards the word *al-dawādār* can be clearly recognized, so that the rest of the notice reads: 'So-and-so the *dawādār*, official of the sultan al-Manṣūr (i.e. Qalā'ūn; *al-Manṣūrī*), may God prolong his glory'.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ *Ḥaḍara* . . . *al-barīdī* (the last word conjectural) was not read by Ernst, *bi-risālat* was read as *risālat*, *al-Nāṣirī* 'azza *naṣruh* not read.

⁷⁸ Ṭashbughā is well known from the chronicles (see the references quoted by Ernst). Ernst also gives some references for the common title *al-maḥarr*.

⁷⁹ *Yuwaḡga* was read by Ernst as *tauḡī*.

⁸⁰ cf. for the reading 'Petitions from the Ayyūbid period', p. 18, n. 47.

The decree reads as follows (plates II-III) :

[حسن بن محمد]
 رسم بالأمر الشريف العالی المولوی
 السلطانی الملکی الناصری
 الناصری أعلاه الله تعالى وشرفه
 ان يتامل إنهاء رافعها باطنا
 5 ويتقدم بان لا يتعرض اليهم
 ولا يعبر لهم دير وليعتمد ذلك
 ويعمل بحسبه ومقتضاه،
 بعد الخطّ الشريف أعلاه
 ان شاء الله تعالى
 10 كتب في عاشر شهر ربيع الآخر
 سنة تسع واربعين وسبعمائة

رسالة المجلس السامی الامیری السینی
 ظشبحا الدوادار الناصری أدام الله نعمته
 حسبنا الله ونعم الوکیل⁸¹

[In the margin :]

حسب المرسوم الشريف

[The signature, with large letters :]

[ḤASAN B. MUḤAMMAD]

It has been decreed by the noble and excellent order of the Master, the Sultan, the Victorious King, Nāṣir al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn,⁸² may God exalt and ennoble it, that the report submitted on the recto by the petitioners be accorded consideration and that it be enjoined that they shall suffer no interference and that their monastery should not be entered. Let this be done and executed in accordance with the provisions thereof, after the noble hand has been set thereover, if God—be He exalted—so will.

Written this tenth day of the month of Rabī' II, of the year seven hundred and forty-nine.

Message of his exalted excellency the Amīr Sayf al-Dīn Ṭashbughā the *dawādār* al-Nāṣirī, may God prolong his prosperity.

God is sufficient for us ; how excellent a Keeper is He !

[In the margin :] According to the noble decree.

⁸¹ For the final sign (*s*) which appears on many documents see Ernst, p. xxxvii.

⁸² In the title of the sultan the word *al-nāṣirī* is put twice, in the first instance as part of the title al-Malakī al-Nāṣirī, in the second as the (regular) abbreviation of Nāṣir al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn, another title of Ḥasan. Ernst reads the second word as *al-nāḍirī*, without, however, being able to explain it.

This decree too, like the preceding one, is written on the back of the petition—yet it is more formal than the preceding one. The lack of formality in the preceding decree is manifest from the way in which the lines follow each other without the wide spacing *de rigueur* in more formal documents emanating from the chancery. Here we have the spacing and the document is in the usual format of the decrees. Thus it required more space than provided by the back of the petition, and this was supplied by a further sheet glued on to it. I suggest that the form of decrees written on the back of petitions was changed between the date of no. 1 and no. 2. Originally, if a decree was written on the back of the petition, one made do with the verso of the original sheet, by writing the lines closely together. We have an example from the Ayyūbid period: of the two decrees which, as we have said above,⁸³ were written on the back of petitions, one (no. 2) is such and Baybars's decree—above, no. 1—is in the same form. The Ayyūbid document no. 3 shows that occasionally there might arise the need to glue on additional sheets: but that was a case in which there was genuine need for a longer text, and the additional paper was not merely required for empty spaces between the lines. At some date or another it was decided to write out all petitions in the form of the usual decrees, i.e. leaving those spaces between the lines, so that the gluing on of extra paper now became a regular feature. That the form exhibited by the present document became the normal practice is shown by the handbooks, in the first instance by Ibn Nāzir al-Jaysh's heavily revised edition of Ibn Faḍl Allāh's *Ta'rif* called *Tathqīf al-Ta'rif* and belonging to the generation next to that of the original work, and then by the manual of al-Qalqashandī, who yet a generation later reproduced the paragraph of the *Tathqīf*.⁸⁴ The passage of the *Tathqīf*⁸⁴ occurs at the end of the discussion of the various types of letters of appointment; but it has already been explained⁸⁵ that what applies to the form of a decree on one particular subject may also apply to a decree of similar 'rank' on another subject. Indeed, the author says this in so many words. Petitions were submitted not only in order to ask for the redress of grievances, but also for obtaining the grant of fiefs and—as we learn from the present passage—appointments to offices. The passage belongs to the section about appointments, and so the petitions in question are in the first instance concerned with appointments; but almost as an afterthought the author—who has no section at all about petitions as such including those about grievances—adds that the petitions could also be about this subject (at least if I correctly understand him).

⁸³ Above, p. 245.

⁸⁴ I used the Oxford MS Pococke 142 (catalogue, II, 363); the passage is on fols. 76v–77r. Since the beginning of the paragraph, which, as can be seen from the discussion in the text, is not devoid of interest, has not been reproduced by al-Qalqashandī, let it stand here in the original:

وأما التواقيع على ظهور القمص سواء كانت بولاية كالحمل على حكم الولاية الشرعية أو على حكم ما بيده من التواقيع الشريفة أو بما يتعلق بدفع المطالبة وكفّ الحوادث وأداء الحقوق وصورتها أن يلصق على القصة وصلان ويكتب في ظاهرها بغير بسملة قبل الوصل الذي وصله بنحو أربعة أصابع: رسم الخ

⁸⁵ Above, p. 248.

'As regards decisions written on the back of the petitions, whether they concern appointments—such as [orders] to conform with an appointment prescribed by the canon law,⁸⁶ or to conform with the noble decisions which are in his hand⁸⁷; or such as are concerned with warding off exaction or keeping away innovations or giving one one's due.⁸⁸ The way to do it is to glue on to the petition two sheets of paper and to write on the verso, without putting the *basmala*, and at a distance of about four fingers before the additional sheet: "It has been decreed by the noble and exalted order of the Master, the Sultan al-Malik So-and-so, So-and-so, may God exalt and ennoble it, have it executed and carried out, that the report submitted on the recto by the petitioners be accorded consideration and that there be enjoined such-and-such", explaining the contents of the reply written on the margin of the petition.⁸⁹ One goes on: "Let all whom it reaches execute the noble decree and do in accordance with the provisions thereof without deviating from it or contravening its meaning, after the noble handwriting (may God ennoble it) has been set thereover, if God wills".⁹⁰ Then there follows the date, then the *ḥasbala* without the *ḥamdala*.⁹¹ The authorization is written on the margin of the aforementioned *ṭawqī'*, as has been explained in the case of passports.⁹² Nothing except the *ḥasbala* is written after the date, excepting one sole case: if the document is written through the message of the *dawādār*, when one writes a note such as is described in connexion with the passports'.⁹³ Al-Qalqashandī (XI, 126) reproduces the passage, though as we have seen with some cuts, in part two of a section headed

⁸⁶ I take this to mean an order confirming a legal right to an appointment—such as the trusteeship of a pious endowment.

⁸⁷ That is, an order confirming previous decrees of the sultan. Whereas petitions were often submitted for the granting of fiefs, it is obvious that there was usually no place for petitions in the case of appointments to offices; in such cases, however, as are quoted here, when it was a question of confirming an appointment, it was appropriate to petition the sultan.

⁸⁸ I hope I have correctly rendered this sentence, which would then refer to petitions about grievances, such as those with which we are concerned here. This whole introductory sentence is left out by al-Qalqashandī, who begins his corresponding section as follows (XI, 126): 'The second kind [of the smaller *ṭawqī'*, which is the lowest rank among the letters of appointment] is what is written on the back of petitions. The method followed is to glue the petition—on which is the reply of the head of the chancery, or of another official—on to two sheets of paper of the small ordinary format. The author of the *Taḥqīf* says: "The way to do it is to write on the verso of the petition, without putting the *basmala*, and at a distance . . ."; there follows the text as reproduced.

⁸⁹ The 'reply' in our case is the message transmitted by the *dawādār* 'that a document be drawn up granting their petition'; and indeed the operative words of the decree: 'and that it be enjoined that they suffer no interference and that their monastery be not entered' merely repeat the wording of the petition.

⁹⁰ What follows afterwards is omitted by al-Qalqashandī.

⁹¹ Indeed, whereas Baybars's decree treated above under no. 1 has no *ḥasbala*, our decree has it; the *ḥamdala* is absent, also conforming to the description.

⁹² The author explained that passports (which in their forms are similar to small decrees) bear the authorization in the margin, not at the end after the date; indeed, our document too has the formula *ḥasab al-marsūm al-sharīf* in the margin.

⁹³ Since our document was drawn up in consequence of the message of the *dawādār*, the note appears, exactly as described, after the date.

'small *tauqī's*'.⁹⁴ Further details in the *Tathqīf* (also reproduced by al-Qalqashandī), concerning petitions by men of rank, do not relate to our subject. The passage itself is the best commentary upon our document, which follows the formulae set out in it almost literally and conforms in other details too with the description given there.

We have discussed, in connexion with Baybars's decree, the formula of authorization (*mustanād*) for decrees issued on the instruction of the *atābak*. The formula for decrees issued by the order of the sultan was *ḥasaba 'l-marsūmi 'l-sharīf* 'According to the noble decree'; below (pp. 266-7) we shall discuss the different variations of the formula. Usually the formula is placed near the end of the document, immediately after the date. Yet it is not by an irregularity that in our decree it is written in the margin near the beginning: we are informed by Ibn Faḍl Allāh (*al-Ta'rīf*, 91) and al-Qalqashandī (VI, 264-5) that this was the position of the formula in decrees written on the back of petitions.⁹⁵

As in the case of the preceding document, ours too was signed at the top by the name of the sultan written in large letters. Since Ḥasan's father, Muḥammad b. Qalā'ūn, had been a reigning sultan, his name is included in the signature, which therefore reads 'Ḥasan b. Muḥammad'.⁹⁶

Between the first two lines of the text there are two entries in large letters: *yu'tamad* 'Let it be done', and in another hand: *yumtathal* 'Let it be obeyed'. The entries are countersigns by high officials. We have seen that a similar formula ('Let the exalted order be obeyed') is found in Baybars's decree. In other documents there appear formulae exactly corresponding to those of the present decree; in the absence of sufficient evidence I cannot establish to which officials they have to be attributed.⁹⁷

Finally it may be pointed out that our decree contains no registration marks.

⁹⁴ Al-Qalqashandī's section on the classification of the different kinds of letters of appointment (XI, 101-7) is essentially based on the much shorter chapter in the *Tathqīf*, which is commented on and elaborated; sometimes there are also small differences, reflecting the evolution of chancery practice. This is not, of course, the place for more detailed comparisons.

⁹⁵ The passage from al-Qalqashandī is quoted in translation on p. 244, n. 44.

⁹⁶ cf. above, p. 247, n. 53, where it was also pointed out that a facsimile of Ḥasan b. Muḥammad's signature, more or less identical with that appearing in the present document, is given by al-Qalqashandī. It may be worthwhile to point out that on his accession to the throne in Ramaḍān 748/December 1347 Ḥasan was 11, or according to others 13 years old, so that at the date of the present decree he was a mere boy.

⁹⁷ Al-Qalqashandī (XII, 5), speaking of diplomas of appointment, says that they are always issued in the name of the sultan, and the lieutenant-general of the realm (*al-nā'ib al-kāfil*) only countersigns them: 'writes *yu'tamad* on the documents signed by the sultan' (I think this is the right rendering of *yaktubu bi 'l-i'imād 'alā mā yaktubu 'alayhi 'l-sultān*). Al-Qalqashandī adds that he had dealt more fully with this matter before; I could, however, find no passage in which he discusses the *i'imād* formula added by dignitaries of the central government. In IV, 184, he explains that the governor (*nā'ib al-sākhāna*) in Damascus writes the formula on all kinds of documents issued by the sultan and referring to his province; similarly the governor of Aleppo (217; Gaudefroy-Demombynes's translation, p. 204, ll. 6-8 is incorrect). Thus the note *yu'tamad* in sultanian decrees preserved in the Custodia Terrae Sanctae (nos. ii, iii, xxv) is evidently the countersign of the provincial governor—not, as Risolani writes in his note 3 on no. ii, the sultan's signature; the 'noble sign' refers not to this entry, but to the sultan's name

No. xiii C = Atiya, no. 36⁹⁸ (plates IV-V).

Petition addressed to a high dignitary in 750/1349 and the dignitary's decree.

Recto :

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

المماليك

الرهبان بدير طور سينا

يقبلون الأرض وينهون انهم

أقوام مساكين وفقراء ومقيمين بالبرية الشاسعة مرصدين

لخدمة السادة الحجّاج الواردين من الحجاز الشريف في بحر القلزم

وعليهم القيام بكلما يحتاجوه وييدهم مراسيم شريفة بان لا

5 يدخل العرب ديرهم أسوة جميع الديارة وفي هذا الوقت تعرّض اليهم

العربان وقصدوا الدخول الى ديرهم وإيصال الضرر بهم

وسؤالهم لوجه الله تعالى مرسوم كريم بان لا يدخل العرب ديرهم

وحملهم على حكم المراسيم الشريفة التي بأيديهم وتوطيئهم في مكانهم

10 صدقة عليهم وإحسانا اليهم ودعائهم لهذه الدولة العامرة

أنهوا المماليك ذلك ان شاء الله تعالى

والحمد لله ربّ العلمين وهو حسبي ونعم الوكيل⁹⁹

[For the note in the right margin see below, p. 258.]

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

The slaves, the monks of the monastery of Mount Sinai, kiss the earth and report that they are poor and destitute persons residing in the remote desert, stationed for the service of the honourable pilgrims returning from the noble Hijāz in the sea of Qulzum, their duty being to supply all their needs. There are in their hands noble decrees prohibiting the entrance of the Bedouins to their monastery, as is the case with all the monasteries. The Bedouins have lately harassed them and attempted to enter their monastery and do them harm. Their petition for the sake of God (may He be exalted) is the issue of a gracious decree ordering that the Bedouins should not enter their monastery and that they [the

in cipher. See also below, p. 260, where it is suggested that in decrees issued not by the sultan, but by high officials, *yw'tamad* is the signature of the official in question. This much for the *i'timād* formula; for the *imtiḥāl* formula cf. the note on Baybars's decree, above p. 248, n. 57.

⁹⁸ As explained above (p. 250, n. 70) this text was quite erroneously joined by Ernst to xiii (Atiya, 37). The context shows quite clearly that it belongs together with his no. xiv (Atiya, 36), and on the back of the photographic print supplied by the Manchester University Library it is stated that it is no. 36, part 3 (parts 1-2 being the prints of the decree); this I can confirm from a personal inspection of the microfilm. Just as in the previous cases, the petition is to be considered as the recto, since the decree was subsequently written on the back. The dimensions of Atiya, 36 are given as 136 × 13.5 cm.

⁹⁹ In l. 2 Ernst reads *li'l-ruhbān* instead of *al-ruhbān*, cf. above, p. 239, n. 21. In l. 7 he reads *wa-yataṣaddū li'l-dukḥūl . . . wa-li-ṣā'il* instead of *wa-qaṣadu 'l-dukḥūl . . . wa-ṣā'il*. *Li-wajhi 'llāh ta'ālā* is not read by Ernst (for the reading cf. above, p. 250, n. 71). In l. 10 the words *wa-ihsānan ilayhim* were not read by Ernst, nor was the beginning of l. 11.

monks] should be dealt with according to the noble decrees which are in their hands and that they should be allowed to dwell safely in their place; as an act of mercy and kindness towards them; their prayer will be for this government (may it flourish). The slaves have reported this, if God wills.

Praise be to God, the Master of the universe; He is sufficient for me; how excellent a Keeper is He!

The clue to the correct understanding of this petition and the decree which resulted from it is to be found in the words 'gracious decree' (*marṣūm karīm*) when stating the object of their desire. For everything used by the petitioners in connexion with the sultan requires, according to protocol, the adjective 'noble' (*sharīf*); 'gracious' (*karīm*) is appropriate in the case of some of the high dignitaries.¹⁰⁰ Thus we must conclude that the petition was not addressed to the sultan himself but to some high dignitary of the state. We shall see that this is confirmed by some features in the decree too. One cannot be quite sure who the addressee was, since neither the petition nor the decree contains a direct statement in this connexion, and the decree is unique in its form, so that we cannot judge by analogy with others. Since, as we shall see, the amīr Manjak, vizier and major-domo, had certainly something to do with the matter, it can be assumed that the petition was submitted to him. It is rather surprising to find a petition not only dealt with by an official (which is quite in order) but also formally addressed to him rather than to the sultan; as far as I can see the handbooks do not allude to this practice. Thus it is useless, in the absence of evidence, to speculate whether this practice was common or due to particular circumstances. An examination of the documents issued by officials which are preserved in the Sinai archives, but have not yet been published, may provide further information on this matter.

The addressee—if our surmise is correct, the amīr Manjak—gave the following order, noted down in the right margin, in a position corresponding to the autograph note of the head of the chancery in the preceding petition:

يوقع بحملهم على حكم المراسيم الشريفة التي بأيديهم وتوطنهم في أماكنهم ومنع من يتعدى عليهم او يعبر الى ديرهم من العرب حملا على حكم المراسيم الشريفة¹⁰¹

'Let a document be drawn up to the effect that they be treated according to the noble decrees which are in their hands and that they be allowed to dwell safely in their places and that the Bedouins be prevented from trespassing against them or entering their monastery—treating them according to the rules of the noble decrees'. In front of l. 8 we have the word which appears in a similar position in petition no. 2, preceded by another word: *سؤالهم مجاب* 'their petition is granted' (??).

¹⁰⁰ of. al-Qalqashandī, vi, 187: 'The secretaries of our times conventionally describe most things attributed to the sultan as "noble"'. There follow examples, among them *marṣūm sharīf*. The next section deals with the attribute *karīm*: 'It is the convention of the secretaries of our times to treat it as an attribute of lesser value than *sharīf*, and describe by it documents issued by high dignitaries of the state beneath the sultan, such as *nā'ibs*, amīrs, and viziers'.

¹⁰¹ Instead of *yūwaqqa'* Ernst reads *taṣwīf*.

In accordance with this order, the decree was drawn up as follows (no. xiv = Atiya, no. 36, measuring 136 × 13.5 cm.):

الملكي الناصري
 المرسوم بالأمر العالى أعلاه الله تعالى
 ان يتامل لإنهاء رافعها باطنا ويتقدم
 بحملهم على حكم المراسيم الشريفة التي بأيديهم
 5 وتوطنهم في أماكنهم ومنع من يتعدى
 عليهم او يعبر الى ديرهم من العرب حملا على
 حكم المراسيم الشريفة فليعتمد ذلك
 ويعمل بموجبه من غير عدول عنه ولا
 خروج عن حكمه بعد الخط العالى
 10 أعلاه ان شاء الله تعالى
 كتب في ثالث شهر رجب الفرد
 سنة خمسين وسبعائة
 حسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل

AL-MALAKĪ AL-NĀSIRĪ

It is decreed by the exalted order (may God exalt it) that the report herein submitted by the petitioners be accorded consideration and that it be enjoined that they be treated according to the noble decrees which are in their hands, and that they be allowed to dwell safely in their places and that the Bedouins be prevented from trespassing against them or entering their monastery; treating them according to the ruling of the noble decrees. Let this be done and executed, without any deviation therefrom or departure from the ruling thereof, after the exalted hand has been set thereover, if God (may He be exalted) will.

Written this third day of the month of Rajab, in the year seven hundred and fifty. God is sufficient for us; how excellent a Keeper is He!

The first thing to note is that the main part of the text is a literal repetition of the order written in the margin of the petition.

The decree, just as the petition, shows unmistakable indications that it was not issued by the sultan himself. Whereas the other decrees have the formula 'the noble and exalted decree of the lord, the sultan So-and-so', the present one simply qualifies itself as being 'by the exalted order'. Similarly its signature is described at the end as 'the exalted hand' (*al-khatt al-'ālī*), whereas the sultan's signature is always referred to as 'the noble hand' (*al-khatt al-sharīf*). Hence the editor of the volume is quite wrong in assuming that 'the sultan's signature is missing' at the beginning. In fact nothing is missing at the beginning of the document. There is no formal signature, but the issuer of the document is indicated by the words 'al-Malakī al-Nāsirī', which describes the official in question as the servant of the sultan, who bore the title al-Malik

al-Nāṣir. It is known from the handbooks¹⁰² that documents issued by officials were headed in this way.

Underneath the words *al-Malakī al-Nāṣirī* we see the word *yu'tamad* 'Let this be done', written in bold characters. Since the words *al-Malakī al-Nāṣirī* are not distinguished at all in their script from the rest of the text and look as if they were written by the clerk, while *yu'tamad* immediately attracts attention by its bulk and cipher-like form, we are hardly mistaken in assuming that it is the latter which is the signature of the dignitary who issued the decree, the signature to which the words in ll. 9–10 refer: 'after the exalted hand has been set thereover'.¹⁰³

I have said that among the documents published in Ernst's volume the present decree is unique as being by an official, rather than by the sultan himself. This does not mean, however, that there are no more documents of this kind in the Sinai collection: they have been excluded from the volume which is devoted, as its title indicates, to documents issued by the sultans. There are in fact in the monastery a few documents issued by officials, which could be cited as parallels to the document under discussion; since they are unpublished, reference to them would not be of much use without long descriptions, and some illustrations, requiring space. I prefer therefore to quote from that other collection, preserved in the Franciscan Custodia Terrae Sanctae in Jerusalem, for which there is, as we have seen, an excellent, fully illustrated, publication—though it is true, as we have also seen, that the volume is not easily available for most readers.¹⁰⁴ In addition to decrees by Mamlūk sultans, the Franciscan archives contain a number of documents written by officials of the administration in Syria. These are mostly letters from one high official (such as the governor of Damascus) to another (such as his subordinate, the governor of Jerusalem) and are therefore signed with the name of the sender accompanied by the appropriate word prescribed by etiquette ('his brother', 'your brother', 'the slave', 'the slave your brother').¹⁰⁵ There are, however, three documents which illustrate ours. These are nos. xi, xxi, and xxvi, decrees by provincial officials, the first of which emanates, as it seems, from the governor in Damascus, the other two from two officials in Jerusalem. They are headed with the words 'al-Malakī al-Fulānī' and bear underneath the signature *yu'tamad*, exactly as our document.

As I have explained, the decree seems to give no clue—any more than the minute in the margin of the petition—as to the identity of the dignitary who issued it; but since the document dealing with the same affair and issued by

¹⁰² See e.g. al-Qalqashandī, vi, 121; xi, 87.

¹⁰³ The mark *yu'tamad* corresponds, of course, to the *yu'tamad* which appears in the decree published above (no. 2) and in other decrees; but whereas in decrees signed by the sultan the mark *yu'tamad* is a countersign, here and in the other decrees (to be mentioned presently) issued by officials, it is the signature.

¹⁰⁴ See above, p. 235, n. 7. The numbers quoted below are those in Risciani's publication.

¹⁰⁵ I hope I shall have the opportunity to treat of the various signatures of this type on a future occasion.

the sultan two days later was drawn up, as we shall see, on the order of Manjak, vizier and major-domo, I have proposed that he was the person involved in this document too. As to the second decree : since it was issued in the name of the sultan and bears his signature, it must have been in response to a petition addressed to the sultan. But why two petitions—one to the sultan and another to the vizier—about one piece of business, concerning in addition such a simple routine case as Bedouins causing trouble to the monastery ? I have no better answer than the supposition that the monks thought that if they obtained two pieces of paper, one from the sultan, the other from the vizier, this would make a greater impression on those with whom they had to deal—Bedouins and local authorities—than one piece.¹⁰⁶

3A

No. xv = Atiya, no. 30 (plates VI-VII).

The decree issued in response to the above-mentioned hypothetical second petition reads as follows¹⁰⁷ :

Decree by Ḥasan b. Muḥammad dated 750/1349.

توقيع شريف بمنع العرب من الدخول الى دير طور سينا
 [حسن بن محمد]
 رسم بالأمر الشريف العالی المولوی
 السلطانی الملکی الناصری الناصری
 أعلاه الله وشرّفه، وأنفذه وصرّفه، ان يمنع العرب
 من الدخول الى دير طور سينا حملا في ذلك
 5 على حكم المراسيم الشريفة التي بيد الرهبان المقيمين
 بالدير المذكور أسوة سائر الديورة ويمنعوا من
 التعرّض اليهم والوصيّة بهم حملا على حكم العدل
 والإنصاف وليعتمد ذلك ويعمل بحسبه من
 غير عدول عن حكمه ولا خروج عن معناه،
 10 بعد الخط الشريف شرّفه الله تعالى وأعلاه
 أعلاه
 ان شاء الله تعالى
 كتب في خامس شهر رجب الفرد
 سنة خمسين وسبعمايةة
 حسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل

¹⁰⁶ An alternative explanation would be to assume that decrees by officials had to be confirmed by another decree by the sultan ; but this seems far-fetched.

¹⁰⁷ The dimensions are given as 126 × 13.5 cm.

[In the right margin:]

بالإشارة العالية الأميرية الوزيرية السيفية مدبر المالك الشريفة وأستاذ دار العالية
أعلاها الله

A noble *tawqī'*¹⁰⁸ containing the order that the Bedouins be prevented from entering the monastery of Mount Sinai.

[ḤASAN B. MUḤAMMAD]

It has been decreed by the noble and exalted order of the Lord, the Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Nāṣir al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn (may God exalt and ennoble it, and cause it to prevail and be duly executed): that the Bedouins be prevented from entering the monastery of Mount Sinai, following the ruling of the noble decrees which are in the hands of the monks residing in the aforementioned monastery as well as in other monasteries; that they be prevented from harassing the monks; that care be taken to deal with the monks in accordance with the demands of justice and equity. Let this be obeyed and be acted upon, without any deviation from its ruling or departure from its intention, consequent upon the noble handwriting (may God ennoble and exalt it) being set thereover, if God will.

Written this fifth day of the month of Rajab, in the year seven hundred and fifty. God is sufficient for us; how excellent a Keeper is He!

This decree was issued on the order of the vizier, who simultaneously held the office of controller of the household (major-domo)—as is shown by the note in its margin: 'At the exalted instruction of the amīr, the vizier, Sayf al-Dīn, governor of the noble kingdoms and controller of the exalted household (may God exalt it)'. During the early reign of Ḥasan (as we have seen, a mere boy) the offices of vizier and major-domo were jointly held by the powerful amīr Manjak al-Yūsufi, who occupied this double position from Shawwāl 748 to Shawwāl 751 (January 1348–December 1350).¹⁰⁹ The vizierate seems to have lost some of its importance, and Manjak perhaps thought that the mere title of vizier was not sufficiently dignified to express his true position as the second most powerful amīr after his brother, who was *nā'ib al-salṭana*, and therefore combined it with the office of major-domo.¹¹⁰ At any rate it is quite natural that this most influential man should deal with petitions.

Since our purpose was to elucidate the form of the petitions in the Mamlūk

¹⁰⁸ This is the short summary—called by Ibn Faḍl Allāh *'umwān* and by al-Qalqashandī *furra*—which is put at the head of Mamlūk documents; there are many examples in the Sinai and Franciscan as well as in the Florentine archives. I hope to give further particulars on another occasion. From the wording we learn that our decree is a *tawqī'*, but it would again lead us too far to discuss the nomenclature of the decrees and try to establish the use of such terms as *tawqī'* and *marṣūm*.

¹⁰⁹ See for him al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, II, 748 ff. *passim*; *idem*, *Khīṭaṭ*, II, 320–4; M. van Berchem, *CIA*, nos. 153, 532, pp. 208–9, 216, 226; G. Wiet, *Les biographies du Manḥal ṣāfi* (as below, p. 270, n. 142), no. 2,535. We shall meet Manjak again at the peak of his career, holding the office of *nā'ib al-salṭana*: see below, p. 271.

¹¹⁰ The temporary abolition of the vizierate under Muḥammad b. Qalā'ūn and the restriction of the functions of the vizier afterwards (see below, p. 273), may have something to do with the combination of the offices of vizier and major-domo. (We shall see that the office of major-domo had a high prestige: below, p. 274.) Similarly, under the Circassians, the vizierate completely lost its importance whereas the major-domo advanced to a position of one of the highest dignitaries: as al-Maqrīzī points out (II, 223–4), the vizierate was then often held together with the office of major-domo.

period, we have hitherto been dealing, as far as decrees were concerned, with those written on the back of petitions. The course of our investigation led us, however, to the present decree, which is—like the majority of those preserved—an independent document. Nevertheless, it is closely related to the type of decree of which we have examined two specimens, being decrees written on sheets glued to the petition. The present decree is also a rather informal document. This is betrayed by certain features, such as the absence of the *basmala* and the placing of the formula of authorization in the right margin, rather than at the end under the date. Thus we can identify in al-Qalqashandī the description of the type to which our document belongs. In fact both the description of the smallest *marṣūm* and the smallest *tawqīʿ* fit our document,¹¹¹ but since it is described in its heading as a *tawqīʿ*, we must obviously opt for the latter. Al-Qalqashandī (XIII, 125–6) distinguishes two kinds among the ‘small *tawqīʿ*s which are the smallest of all letters of appointment’—I need hardly remind the reader that what is said about the form of the letters of appointment (as distinct from the subject-matter) also applies, as has been explained above, to decrees such as ours. The first kind is ‘what is written in a form similar to that of passports’, the second is what is written on the back of the petition—a type which we have already discussed. Both kinds have many things in common. They are always fairly short, being written, as al-Qalqashandī says, ‘on three sheets or thereabouts’, glued together, of course. Other similarities—such as the omission of the *basmala* and the position of the note of authorization—have already been briefly mentioned and will be explained in greater detail presently. We may, however, first reproduce al-Qalqashandī’s prescription for the text of such decrees: ‘The first kind is what is written in a form similar to that of a passport. The way to draw up such documents is to write at the top of the roll: “A noble *tawqīʿ* that So-and-so occupy such-and-such a post, as is explained in it”, this being written in two lines.¹¹² Then one writes at the end of this sheet¹¹³: “It has been decreed by the noble and exalted order of the Lord, the Sultan”—to the end, as described in connexion with the third kind.¹¹⁴ In the eulogy one writes: “May God exalt and ennoble it, and cause it to prevail and be duly executed”, or words to this effect. Then one says “that So-and-so occupy such-and-such a post”, explaining

¹¹¹ Al-Qalqashandī describes the smallest *marṣūm* ‘written in the form of a passport on three sheets’ on p. 112 of vol. XIII, the small *tawqīʿ* ‘written in form similar to the passport’, also on three sheets, on p. 125. Indeed, it is not clear what the difference between the two is, apart from the one being called *marṣūm*, the other *tawqīʿ*. It will be remembered that the passage of al-Qalqashandī deals with letters of appointment, and that he has no section dealing with administrative decrees (see above, p. 246).

¹¹² Al-Qalqashandī insists that all summaries at the top must contain the words ‘as is explained in it’ (XIII, 125) and repeats these words in each formula which he gives for the different *ḥurras*; I do not know why these words are missing in the *ḥurra* of our document.

¹¹³ The implication is that in these ‘small’ documents one does not, as in the more important ones, leave entire blank sheets between the sheet containing the *ḥurra* and the text.

¹¹⁴ See p. 123: ‘... the Sultan, al-Malik So-and-so, So-and-so—giving both the private title (*al-laḡab al-khāṣṣ*) and the sultanian title (*laḡab al-saltāna*), as e.g. al-Malik al-Nāṣir Zayn al-Dunyā wa ’l-Dīn’.

the contents of the reply on the margin of the petition.¹¹⁵ Then one writes : "Let all those who take cognizance of it obey this noble decree and act accordingly, without any deviation from it, or departure from its intention, consequent upon the noble handwriting being set thereover"'.¹¹⁶ Our document corresponds closely to this model.

In the chapter on the outward arrangement of the letters of appointment (XIII, 127 ff.) al-Qalqashandī touches upon various points concerning our form. Thus he brackets (p. 128) *tauqī*'s 'in the form of passports' with those written on the back of petitions in prescribing the omission of the *basmala* in documents of no importance (p. 128) and the writing of the formula of authorization in the margin (p. 131 : 'in the case of a small *marsūm* and a small *tauqī*', written in the form of a passport or on the back of the petition' the various notes of authorization, which are specified, are written in the margin, level with the interval between ll. 1 and 2).¹¹⁷ Also the spacing between the lines is less in these two kinds of *tauqī*' and *marsūm*, being about three fingers (p. 133).

We have now finished with the three petitions surviving in the Sinai archives. They owe their survival to the fact that the resulting decrees were written on their backs and that they were therefore returned to the monastery, whereas those petitions the decrees for which were written out as separate documents were not handed back and were lost. Yet even from these decrees one learns something about the petitions which had given rise to them, since, as we have seen, the decrees mostly contain notes referring to the manner in which the petitions had been dealt with. We have in the course of our study of the extant petitions examined as we went along the entries on them and on their decrees, calling upon the help of the handbooks of chancery practice which are invaluable for elucidating the meaning of the entries in the documents. We shall now scrutinize the relevant passages of the handbooks in their full context and also confront them with the entries in the decrees the petitions for which are no longer extant : this systematic study of the ways to deal with petitions will also put the preceding discussion of the particular documents in proper perspective.

¹¹⁵ We remember that the section deals with letters of appointment. The decision to grant a post was written on the margin of the petition, and the text of the decision was incorporated in the letter of appointment. In the administrative decrees, too, the same practice was followed. We have seen in the case of the preceding decree that the decision written in the margin of the petition was repeated in the decree, and we may safely assume that the operative phrases of our decree ('that the Bedouins be prevented . . . ' up to 'demands of justice and equity') reproduce the decision which was written in the margin of the lost petition.

¹¹⁶ There are many variations of this formula as can be seen also from the preceding decrees and from the other decrees from Sinai (the various formulae of which are listed by Ernst on pp. xxviii-xxx). For the Fāṭimid and Ayyūbid antecedents cf. *Fāṭimid decrees*, 113-14, and 'Two Ayyūbid decrees from Sinai' (as above, p. 233, n. 4), 34-5.

¹¹⁷ While in the other decree of Ḥasan b. Muḥammad published above as no. 2 the position of the note of authorization corresponds exactly to this description, in our decree it is written in the margin level with ll. 2-4. Al-Qalqashandī omits to point out yet another characteristic of the 'smaller decree', whether written on the back of the petition or independently : that the signature of the sultan is at the top, not between ll. 1 and 2 of the text. (See above, p. 247, n. 56.)

III. THE PROCEDURE IN DEALING WITH PETITIONS

Having examined our extant specimens of petitions and discussed the particular methods by which they were handled, we may now, with the help of information afforded by al-Qalqashandī—who seems to be the only author to provide a systematic account—and others, extend the field of our inquiry to establishing the various possible procedures applicable to petitions in general. There is, of course, no need to repeat what has been said before about the form of the petition.¹¹⁸ We have also explained that whereas petitions could in Syria be presented to the provincial governors, in Egypt they probably had to be presented in Cairo.¹¹⁹

1. *Handling of petitions by the sultan*

The sultan himself was naturally the fountain-head of justice. Following the Ayyūbid practice,¹²⁰ Baybars set up in 661/1263–4 a Palace of Justice (*dār al-'adl*) and began the next year to give audiences on Mondays and Thursdays. This Palace was at the foot of the Citadel; under Qalā'ūn, however, the Palace of Justice was transferred to the Citadel, where a special building, called 'the Hall' (*al-īwān*), was erected for it. It was rebuilt under Muḥammad b. Qalā'ūn in a splendid fashion, with a cupola and big columns. From the reign of Barqūq the audiences in the Hall were reduced to a short formality and the proper business was transacted in the building of the Stable.

We have fairly detailed descriptions of the ceremony observed during the audiences in the Palace of Justice which took place on Mondays. The sultan took his seat on the throne. On his right were seated the chief qādīs of the four schools of law, the commissioner of the treasury, and the inspector of the market (*muḥtasib*). On the sultan's left sat the head of the chancery and the secretaries of the *dast*¹²¹; if there was a vizier 'of the pen' in office or a lieutenant-general, he sat next to the sultan on his left. Behind the semi-circle formed by the seats of the sultan and the dignitaries stood guards (*siṭāḥdārīyya*). The lower positions in the circle on the right and left sides of the hall were taken up by the most eminent amīrs, and beneath them sat other amīrs and officials. In front of the council stood chamberlains and secretaries (*hājibs* and *dawādārs*) who received the petitions and introduced the petitioners. 'The petitions were read out to the sultan. If he felt that it was necessary to consult the qādīs, this was done, whereas if the petition concerned the army, he discussed it with the chamberlain and the inspector of the army; in other cases he gave orders according to what he thought fit.' The composition of the

¹¹⁸ See above, pp. 239 ff.

¹¹⁹ Above, p. 242.

¹²⁰ cf. 'Petitions from the Ayyūbid period', 14.

¹²¹ The secretaries of the *dast* ('bench') are those who take part, together with the head of the chancery (the *kātib al-sirr*) in the audiences of the sultan, in contrast to the secretaries of the *darj* ('scroll'), who drew up, according to the instructions of the *kātib al-sirr*, the documents of the chancery. See Gaudefroy-Demombynes, pp. lxix–lxxi.

council underwent some changes in the course of time, but it would be profitless for us here to follow them in detail.¹²²

Al-Qalqashandī devotes a whole section to the various methods by which petitions were dealt with¹²³ and begins with those which were decided by the sultan himself, either in the ordinary course of his daily business or in the audiences of the Palace of Justice. Under the section concerned with the audiences he merely summarizes the account about the ceremony observed in them, so that we need not translate the passage. We shall presently come to the petitions submitted to the sultan 'on ordinary days'. It must, however, be explained that another section, in which al-Qalqashandī re-arranges and amplifies a paragraph in Ibn Faḍl Allāh's handbook,¹²⁴ is also relevant for the study of the methods of submitting petitions. We have already seen¹²⁵ that the decrees which resulted from the petitions bore notes specifying the methods by which they had been dealt with. These formulae are called *mustanadāt* 'authorizations', and were described briefly by Ibn Faḍl Allāh. Al-Qalqashandī, recapitulating his predecessor's notes, not only amplified them, but put them into a more logical order.¹²⁶ According to both authors, if the order of the sultan was issued in a public audience the decree resulting from it bore the formula 'according to the noble decree from the noble Palace of Justice' (*ḥasab al-marsūm al-sharīf min dār al-'adl al-sharīf*); al-Qalqashandī adds that the note was written in two lines. This particular formula mentioning the Palace of Justice does not appear in any of the Sinai documents. On the other hand decree no. xi must have been issued in reply to the submission of a petition at the Palace of Justice, since it is stated in the decree itself (ll. 10–12) that 'a petition has been submitted to us in the noble Palace of Justice in the name of the Christians, in which they have reported . . .'. I am not sure how to explain the absence of the formula of authorization as prescribed by al-Qalqashandī.¹²⁷

Petitions could be presented to the sultan not only during the audiences in the Palace of Justice, but also 'on any ordinary day'. Apropos of this al-Qalqashandī writes as follows¹²⁸: 'Petitions submitted to the sultan on ordinary days.'¹²⁹ The custom is to read out such petitions to the sultan.

¹²² A classic description is by Ibn Faḍl Allāh in his *Masālik al-abṣār*, the unpublished text of which was used by Gaudesfroy-Demombynes, pp. xcvi ff. Ibn Faḍl Allāh's passage is reproduced by al-Qalqashandī, iv, 44. An even more detailed account is found in al-Maqrizī, ii, 208–9. Cf. also Björkman, *Beiträge*, 52, and Tyan, in the passage quoted above (p. 237, n. 13).

¹²³ vi, 204 ff.

¹²⁴ Ibn Faḍl Allāh has no section on petitions.

¹²⁵ Above, pp. 244, 247, 256, 262.

¹²⁶ Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *al-Ta'rif bi'l-muṣṭalah al-sharīf*, 90–1; al-Qalqashandī, vi, 262–5.

¹²⁷ To judge by its form, the document is not an open decree but a letter addressed to one particular official; but one would expect also letters to contain a formula of 'authorization'. The document is dated 740/1339, and is contemporary with Ibn Faḍl Allāh, so that the absence of the formula cannot be explained by an evolution of practice.

¹²⁸ vi, 206.

¹²⁹ *Āḥād al-ayyām*. Björkman (*Beiträge*, 52 and 115) translates this (though with a question-mark) as 'on Sundays'; but that would be *ayyām al-aḥad*.

Petitions granted by him are minuted: "Let it be written", and are then taken to the *kātib al-sirr*¹³⁰ who appoints one of the secretaries to write accordingly and file the petitions as proof'. The reason why most of the petitions have not been preserved is precisely that usually the decrees were not written on their back, but as separate documents, and the petitions were not returned to the petitioners, but filed in the chancery. From al-Qalqashandī's passage about the formulae of authorization it emerges that sometimes the decrees were issued on the authority of the head of the chancery, without reference to the sultan. The formula of authorization for documents issued by the order of the sultan, or by the head of the chancery on his behalf, was: 'According to the noble decree' (*ḥasab al-marsūm al-sharīf*). Ibn Faḍl Allāh and al-Qalqashandī state in their passage on 'authorizations' that this simple formula was used when (a) the order was given by the sultan to the *kātib al-sirr*, or (b) in clear cases the *kātib al-sirr* dealt with the matter himself, without reference to the sultan. 'The first case¹³¹ is when it is received by the *kātib al-sirr*, either in the form of an order by the sultan issued at the time when the petition is read out to him, or when the *kātib al-sirr* writes it, granting the petition on his own initiative, e.g. when it is a question of a man obtaining his right; in this case *ḥasab al-marsūm al-sharīf* is written in one line, nothing more.' In fact this formula appears alone in nos. xvi-xvii (from the reign of Ṣāliḥ, dated 752/1352 and 754/1353), and in all the documents from xxi to the end.¹³²

¹³⁰ For the office of the *kātib al-sirr*, i.e. the head of the chancery, cf. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, pp. lxxix ff.

¹³¹ Al-Qalqashandī counts as the first case the use of the formula *ḥasab al-marsūm al-sharīf* without any further addition, as the second case the use of it with the addition of *min dār al-'adl al-sharīf*.

¹³² The handbooks reflect the usage of the eighth/fourteenth century; it seems that in the preceding century the practice fluctuated. No. i of the Sinai series (Quṭuz, 658/1259) has no formula of authorization at all. Nos. ii-iii have *ishāra*, no. iv *risāla* formulae, without *ḥasab* formula. Nos. v and vi (Qalā'ūn, 684/1285 and 687/1288) have *ishāra* and *risāla* formulae respectively, preceded by *ḥasab al-amr* [sic] *al-sharīf*, vii (Khalīl, 690/1291) the *ishāra* formula preceded by the same formula. Thus the formula *ḥasab al-amr al-sharīf* seems to have been introduced under Qalā'ūn, and was also used with *ishāra* and *risāla* formulae. It looks as if in 690 or 691 the practice was again reformed, because in no. viii, dated 691/1292, we find the *ishāra* formula without a preceding *ḥasab* formula; subsequent documents with *ishāra* or *risāla* formulae regularly omit the *ḥasab* formula. When we next find the *ḥasab* formula (now of course standing alone, without *ishāra* or *risāla*), namely in a letter from 699/1300, it reads *ḥasab al-marsūm* (not *al-amr*) *al-sharīf* (see M. A. Alarcón y Santón and R. García de Linares, *Los documentos árabes diplomáticos del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón*, Madrid, 1940, no. 146—the first Mamlük document of that series). Here we seem to have the usage described 40 years later by Ibn Faḍl Allāh: the same function (the formula standing alone and presumably referring to the sultan's order given to the head of the chancery) and the same wording (*al-marsūm* instead of *al-amr*). From now on the formula appears regularly in the diplomatic letters preserved in Barcelona (first half of the fourteenth century), in the Sinai documents (as noted in the text, for the first time in 752/1352), in the documents of the Franciscans in Jerusalem (those published belonging to the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries); and also in many inscriptions reproducing decrees (see above, p. 237, n. 14—the editors have not always understood the function of this formula). Sinai nos. xi (dated 740/1339) and xii (748/1347) pose, however, a problem: they have no authorization—I cannot guess why.

Sometimes the sultan, instead of giving his orders directly to the *kātib al-sirr*, sent him his decision through one of the *dawādārs*, these officials being a kind of 'private secretary'.¹³³ In such cases the decree was said to have been issued 'upon the message of the *dawādār*'. Above, on pp. 251-2, we quoted al-Qalqashandī's description of the procedure and pointed out that nos. iv, vi, and xiii were drawn up in pursuance of a message by the *dawādār*. The *dawādār* received the order of the sultan and sent it by a messenger to the chancery, where a note to this effect was written on the petition (at first by the head of the chancery, later by a special clerk), as well as a minute (by the head of the chancery) giving orders for the drawing up of a decree. The decree also bore an indication of the fact that it was issued according to the message of the *dawādār*.

Ibn Faḍl Allāh (*al-Ta'rif bi 'l-muṣṭalah al-sharīf*, 90) also gives the formula of 'authorization' for decrees drawn up according to the message of the amīr of the Stable (*amīr akhūr*). Al-Qalqashandī does not mention this role of the *amīr akhūr* which must have become obsolete. There is no example of this kind of 'message' among the Sinai decrees.

2. Handling of petitions by dignitaries

So far we have been dealing with various procedures for petitions submitted to the sultan and dealt with by him. They could, however, also be submitted to some of the highest dignitaries of the empire, namely the lieutenant-general of the realm (the *nā'ib al-salṭana*), the vizier, the commander-general of the army (*atābak*), and the major-domo (*ustādh al-dār*).¹³⁴ There is, however, a fundamental question for which the handbooks provide no answer: when did a petition come before the sultan and when before one of the officials? Somewhere in the literature there may exist passages which elucidate this matter; at present, however, I am unable to offer a satisfactory explanation. Let us now take each of these officials in turn.

(a) By the lieutenant-general

As well as the chapters on petition and formulae of authorization, we have another account of the lieutenant-general's role in dealing with petitions¹³⁵; this is a passage quoted from Ibn Faḍl Allāh's *Masālik al-abṣār*¹³⁶ by al-Qalqashandī, iv, 17: 'When the office of the *nā'ib* was of this kind [i.e. he

¹³³ For the *dawādārs* see above, p. 251.

¹³⁴ Ayalon, 67-70, provides a brief account of the fluctuating structure of the higher grades of the Mamlūk official hierarchy and the changes in the relative importance of this or the other office in different periods. The inclusion of the *nā'ib al-salṭana*, the vizier, and the *atābak* in the list of those officials who could receive petitions is self-evident; from Ayalon's pages it can be seen that in the early Mamlūk period the major-domo ranked in importance with them.

¹³⁵ For the office of *al-nā'ib al-kāfil* or *nā'ib al-salṭana al-sharīf* see CIA, pp. 211 ff.; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, pp. lv-lvi; Ayalon, 57-8.

¹³⁶ The fundamental description of the Mamlūk institutions of Ibn Faḍl Allāh's encyclopedia has not been printed, but it has been extensively used by later Arab writers, and passages have been quoted from MS by modern authors.

was a lieutenant-general with full powers¹³⁷] the sultan did not personally busy himself with reading petitions and listening to complaints: it was the *nā'ib* who gave orders as he thought fit to draw up documents, etc., about such cases. Yet it was not in the *nā'ib*'s name that correspondence from the court of the sultan was issued: it was written on his instruction, and there was a note to this effect in the letter, which was afterwards signed by the noble '*alāma*'.¹³⁸ This passage has the air of providing an answer, as far as the lieutenant-general is concerned, to the question of competence which we have raised: when there was a lieutenant-general, it was he, and not the sultan, who received petitions. Yet I cannot believe that the passage should be thus interpreted. As far as I can see there was regularly a lieutenant-general from the early Mamlük period until 735/1334-5, when the office was temporarily abolished by Muḥammad b. Qalā'un, so that if we take Ibn Faḍl Allāh's statement literally, the sultan never took cognizance of petitions—which is manifestly not true. Thus I think that Ibn Faḍl Allāh merely wishes to say that the sultan did not always bother to deal with petitions himself, but often left that business entirely to the *nā'ib al-saltāna*. If so, we are still left in uncertainty about the following points. When the sultan accepted petitions personally, either in his daily business, or at the audiences at the Palace of Justice, did the lieutenant-general also do so? If he did so, as probably he did, which petitions went to the sultan and which to the lieutenant-general?

We may draw attention to Ibn Faḍl Allāh's statement that even when the decision about a petition was taken by the lieutenant-general and the corresponding note was entered on the document, the document was ultimately signed by the sultan. This statement has a general force and applies to documents issued 'on the instruction' of the various officials competent to decide cases: these documents were signed by the sultan.¹³⁹

The passage quoted by al-Qalqashandī¹⁴⁰ from Ibn Faḍl Allāh gives some

¹³⁷ There was another kind of lieutenant-general: when the sultan and the *nā'ib al-saltāna* left Egypt for campaigning abroad, a 'lieutenant of the absence' was appointed, who had, however, no full powers.

¹³⁸ I have rendered this sentence somewhat freely; it reads in the original: *wa-lā yastabidd bi-mā yuktab minā 'l-abrābi 'l-sultāniyya bi-nafsih . . . wa-tashmaluhu 'l-'alāma al-sharifa ba'da dhālik*. The term '*alāma*' had in older Islamic usage the meaning of 'motto used for signature' (cf. *Fāṭimid decrees*, 123 ff.). This specific meaning is also found in the Mamlük period, in which the sultans used mottoes in signing *manshūrs*, i.e. letters granting the most important fiefs (cf. *ibid.*, p. 159). Cf. for instance Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *al-Ta'rif*, 83: 'For *manshūrs* one uses the noble '*alāma*'. The word '*alāma*' can, however, also be used as a generic term for 'signature', including the other, more usual, kind of signature: the sultan's name (cf. *Fāṭimid decrees*, 157-8). Here '*alāma*' is evidently used in this wider sense.

¹³⁹ We have interesting descriptions of how at first documents were brought to the sultan for signature at irregular intervals during the whole of the day, and how this gave way to the more orderly method of collecting all the documents in a bundle and submitting them together; see Quatremère, I, 1, pp. 219-20 (n. 98). We have seen that petition no. 3 was addressed to a dignitary and the decree on its back was issued by the dignitary. This procedure is (as stated above, p. 258) somewhat enigmatic in itself, but does not infringe the rule that decrees issued in response to petitions addressed to the sultan were signed by him, though they were issued at the instruction of a dignitary.

¹⁴⁰ iv, 17.

details about the *nā'ib*'s receptions for petitioners : on the days of ceremonial processions the lieutenant-general (*al-nā'ib al-kāfil*) held audiences in his palace in the Citadel, in which, among other business, petitions were read out to him.

We return now to the passage in *al-Qalqashandī* in which he discusses the various procedures of dealing with petitions and see what he has to say about those submitted to the *al-nā'ib al-kāfil* (vi, 208) : ' Petitions which are submitted to the *al-nā'ib al-kāfil*, if there is such a *nā'ib*. It was the custom for the *nā'ib* to have a secretary of the *dast* sitting before him to read out the petitions, and to execute his recorded instructions. When a petition is submitted to *al-nā'ib al-kāfil*, the secretary of the *dast* reads it out to him and obeys his appropriate order, correcting the petition as need arises, cancelling whatever should be cancelled, and making such interlinear additions as may be necessary. The petition is then handed to *al-nā'ib al-kāfil*, who writes in its margin, in the middle, from bottom to top in the shortened *ṭūmār* script : " Let it be written ". It is then carried to the *kātib al-sirr*, who then appoints one of the secretaries of the chancery to write it out '.

This was the procedure followed in the case of the petitions which resulted in the issue of nos. ix, x, xviii, xix, xx. This can be seen in the ' authorization ' notes of these decrees, which read as follows. No. ix, dated 26 Dhu 'l-Qa'da 708/7 May 1309 and signed by the sultan Baybars II : ' At the exalted instruction of the Amīr Sayf al-Dīn, Lieutenant-General of the Noble Sultanate, may God—be He exalted—grant him glory ! ' (*bi 'l-ishāra al-'āliya al-amīriyya al-sayfiyya nā'ib al-saltāna al-sharīfa a'azzahu 'llāh ta'āla*).¹⁴¹ We know very well the *nā'ib al-saltāna* who gave the direction for this decree : it was the famous viceroy Sayf al-Dīn Sallār, who filled this office under different sultans for 11 years. He was *nā'ib al-saltāna* during the whole of the reign of Baybars al-Jāshnigīr, and was deposed on 2 Shawwāl 709/5 March 1310 on the return of the sultan Muḥammad b. Qalā'ūn from his exile.¹⁴² No. x has exactly the same note, but the person to whom it refers is quite different—though he had the same title as Sayf al-Dīn Sallār, his predecessor in office. On 23 Shawwāl

¹⁴¹ In the case of petitions handled by dignitaries the decrees were marked with the *ishāra* formula : ' at the instruction of . . . '. This formula, like the one about the ' message ' (used when petitions were handled by the sultan and his order transmitted by a ' message '), ultimately derives from Seljūq chancery practice. I cannot go into details here, but confine myself to quoting the same example which I also used for the illustration of the practice of the ' message ' in my article ' Petitions from the Ayyūbid period ', 15–16 : according to al-Nasawī, the end of Seljūq and Khwārizmshāhī documents bore three indications : that they had been written (1) ' according to the exalted order '—i.e. the order of the sultan ; (2) the ' exalted instruction ' of the vizier ; and (3) the message of So-and-so. These elements appear also in the Mamlūk documents, though their function is modified. The indication concerning the sultan's order (1) is the origin of the formulae ' according to the noble decree ' etc., while the formula of ' instruction ', applied in the model to the vizier and figuring together with (1), is distributed among various officials in Mamlūk practice and is entered in cases where the sultan's order is not mentioned. No. 3, the ' message ', has been discussed in detail above (p. 251).

¹⁴² See for him *CIA*, no. 106 ; G. Wiet, *Les biographies du Manḥal ṣāfi* (Mémoires présentées à l'Institut d'Égypte, XIX), Cairo, 1932, no. 1,062 ; L. A. Mayer, *Saracenic heraldry*, 196–7. These authors give the references to the Arabic texts ; add al-Maqrizī, *al-Sulūk*, II, index, s.v. Sallār.

709/26 March 1310 Sayf al-Dīn Baktamur al-Jūqandār was appointed *nā'ib al-saltāna* in succession to Sallār,¹⁴³ and it was he who gave the direction to issue our decree, which is dated 13 Rabī' II 710/9 September 1310, and is signed by the sultan Muḥammad b. Qalā'ūn.

More such notes are forthcoming from the reigns of later sultans, this time not only from the Sinai archives, but also from those of the Franciscans in Jerusalem. No. xviii from Sinai, dated 20 Dhu 'l-Qa'da 775/3 May 1374 and bearing the signature of Sha'bān, has the note: *bi 'l-ishāra al-'āliya al-amīriyya al-karīma al-kāfilīyya al-sayfiyya kāfil al-mamālik al-sharīfa a'lāha 'llāh ta'ālā* 'At the exalted instruction of the Gracious Amīr, the Protector, Sayf al-Dīn, Protector of the Noble Kingdoms, may God—be He exalted—exalt him!'. The reference is to Sayf al-Dīn Aqṭamur, who was lieutenant-general at that date, though a few days afterwards he was dismissed from his office.¹⁴⁴ He was replaced by Sayf al-Dīn Manjaq (by a coincidence we have all these Sayf al-Dīns!)—a fairly well-known personality.¹⁴⁵ It is he who appears in a Franciscan document of the following year (Risciani, no. i) dated 2 Rajab 776/1 December 1374, which bears exactly the same note as Sinai no. xviii, omitting, however, the adjective *al-karīma*. Similarly, from the reign of Barqūq we have two documents from Sinai and two from the Franciscan archives bearing almost identical notes. Sinai no. xix and both Franciscan documents (Risciani, nos. ii–iii) are of the year 790/1388–9. All three have exactly the same formula: *bi 'l-ishāra al-karīma al-'āliya al-amīriyya al-kāfilīyya al-sayfiyya kāfil al-mamālik al-sharīfa al-islāmiyya al-maḥrūsa a'lāha 'llāh ta'ālā*. This corresponds closely to the formula employed under the reign of Sha'bān. In the year 790 the lieutenant-general, who gave the instructions to issue these decrees, was Sayf al-Dīn Sūdūn al-Shaykhūnī.¹⁴⁶ The same is true of 797/1394–5, the date of Sinai document no. xx, which again shows only insignificant differences as against the preceding (the following words are omitted: *al-karīma, al-maḥrūsa*).

The relevant paragraphs in Ibn Faḍl Allāh's and al-Qalqashandī's descriptions of authorizations tally well with the evidence of the documents. Ibn Faḍl Allāh writes (p. 90): 'When the document is based on an order of the *nā'ib al-saltāna al-sharīfa* one writes: "At the exalted instruction of the Protector the Amīr¹⁴⁷ So-and-so, may God exalt it!"'. There follows a similar sentence about the instruction of the major-domo. Al-Qalqashandī (p. 264) is more systematic and also shows small changes: 'There are three cases in which the authorization consists of the word "instruction" (*ishāra*). The first case is when the instruction is that of the *al-nā'ib al-kāfil*; it is then written: "At the exalted instruction of the Great Amīr, the Protector, the Protector of the

¹⁴³ See the works quoted in the previous note, namely *CIA*, no. 47; Wiet, no. 673; *al-Maqrīzī, al-Sulūk*, II, 77.

¹⁴⁴ See Wiet (as in the preceding notes), no. 492; Ṣāliḥ b. Yahyā, 'History of Beirut', ed. Cheikho, 52.

¹⁴⁵ See for him above, p. 262, n. 109.

¹⁴⁶ *CIA*, no. 35, pp. 60, 222; Wiet, no. 1,117.

¹⁴⁷ The word *al-amīriyya* is missing in the edition, but is extant in the Oxford MS of the book.

Islamic Kingdoms, may God exalt it ! ”, in two lines, the words “ the Protector So-and-so ” coming at the end of the first line ’. The other two cases are those of the vizier and the major-domo.

A comparison shows that the simple formula given by Ibn Faḍl Allāh has been expanded by the time of al-Qalqashandī. The earlier documents (Sinai ix and x) show formulae which are not identical with that of Ibn Faḍl Allāh, but similar to it, just as the formulae in the later documents (Sinai xviii, xix, and xx; Franciscan documents i–iii) are similar, though not identical, with that of al-Qalqashandī. The formulae in the documents also show small discrepancies. Here we can observe very well that there was no uniformity in the minutiae of chancery practice.

(b) *By the atābak*

The petition of Salāma al-Shawbakī, from the beginning of the reign of Baybars, was dealt with, as we have seen, by the *atābak*, Fāris al-Dīn Aqṭāy. The same *atābak* also sat to deal out justice in the *dār al-‘adl* when it was first instituted.¹⁴⁸

Al-Qalqashandī describes the procedure followed when the petition was submitted to the *atābak* (vi, 208): ‘ Petitions submitted to the *atābak*—when there is in the empire an *atābak* of the army, i.e. a Great Amīr.¹⁴⁹ This mostly happens when the sultan is a minor, or in similar cases. It is the custom that the *atābak* also has a secretary (chosen from among the secretaries of the *dast*),¹⁵⁰ and when a petition is submitted to the *atābak* which concerns a clear-cut case—e.g. obtaining one’s due, etc.—the secretary of the *dast* writes on the margin the appropriate decision without reading out the petition to the *atābak*. If it is otherwise—e.g. if the case concerns a dispute between two parties, etc.—he reads out the petition to the *atābak* and follows his instructions, writing his orders on the petition. In both cases the present practice is to take the most characteristic letter of the *atābak*’s name and to put it at the end of the note or underneath it; thus for Barqūq (before his sultanate) one used to write *Q*, for Itmish *Sh*, for Nawrūz *N*, and so on ’.

Ibn Faḍl Allāh in his section on authorizations (pp. 90–1) does not give the formula for the *atābak*. This may be due to a mere oversight—if there is another reason, I cannot say what it is. Al-Qalqashandī also omits the *atābak* from his list of dignitaries who give ‘ instructions ’ (vi, 264)—presumably because he was following Ibn Faḍl Allāh’s text. From our petition we see that, as in the case of the lieutenant-general, the formula was compounded with ‘ at the instruction of ’ (*bi-ishārat*): ‘ at the gracious instruction of the *atābak* Aqṭāy ’. Some decrees preserved on stone also state that they were issued ‘ at the instruction ’ of the *atābak*¹⁵¹: their originals evidently bore the *ishāra* formula.

¹⁴⁸ See the commentary on petition no. 1.

¹⁴⁹ For the title *al-amīr al-kabīr* cf. *OIA*, p. 275, and Gaudefroy-Demombynes, p. lvii, n. 1.

¹⁵⁰ For the secretaries of the *dast* cf. above, p. 265, n. 121.

¹⁵¹ Above, p. 247, n. 50.

(c) *By the vizier*

In the earlier Mamlūk period the vizier also received petitions,¹⁵² though we must again leave unexplained when and for which kind of petitions he was competent. Under Muḥammad b. Qalā'ūn the office was abolished for some time, and when it was restored, the functions of the vizier were restricted and he was deprived of the office of deciding about petitions: *al-tawqī'* 'ala 'l-*qīṣaṣ* (al-Qalqashandī, iv, 29).¹⁵³ In the section on the submission of petitions al-Qalqashandī does not name the vizier, but in that on authorizations he does quote the formula used for the 'instruction' of the vizier. (Ibn Faḍl Allāh does not include among the formulæ of authorization one for the vizier.¹⁵⁴) Al-Qalqashandī continues the passage quoted above on the 'instruction' of the *al-nā'ib al-kāfil* with the following words: 'The second case is where the instruction is that of the vizier; it is then written: "At the exalted instruction of the vizier So-and-so, the Administrator of the Noble Kingdoms, may God exalt it"', in two lines, the words "the vizier So-and-so" coming at the end of the first line'.¹⁵⁵ No. viii (dated 691/1292, i.e. well before the reformation of the office of the vizier) bears such an authorization: 'At the exalted instruction of the Companion, the vizier Shams al-Dīn, may God ennoble it'. The vizier in question is, as has been pointed out by Ernst, Shams al-Dīn b. al-Sal'ūs.¹⁵⁶ I may recall the case of Manjak, who combined the offices of vizier and controller of the household, and who issued his instruction in both his capacities (see above, p. 262).

(d) *By the major-domo*

Nor does al-Qalqashandī mention in the chapter on petitions that a petition can be submitted to the 'controller of the household' or 'major-domo' (*ustādḥ al-dār*, or in later usage *ustādār*, etc.).¹⁵⁷ In the paragraph on authorizations, however, both in Ibn Faḍl Allāh and al-Qalqashandī, there is provision for decrees issued by the major-domo, implying petitions submitted to him. Ibn Faḍl Allāh writes (p. 90): 'On documents issued on the authority of the controller of the exalted household one writes: "At the exalted instruction

¹⁵² See for the vizier *CIA*, p. 403; Gaudafroy-Demombynes, pp. lxvi ff.; Ayalon, 61; cf. also Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar*, ix, 64-5.

¹⁵³ There was no vizier between 713-23 and 728 and the sultan's death in 741; cf. Ibn al-Dawādārī, ix, 265 (l. 18), 312 (ll. 7-9), 344 (l. 13).

¹⁵⁴ The omission is probably due to the lapse of the vizierate at that period. The *Tathqīf* (above, p. 254) mentions decrees issued on the instruction of the vizier: 'Among these decrees [written on the back of petitions] there are those written on the instruction of the vizier, in which case the authorization is put in the margin, as mentioned above'. (For the placing of the authorization in the margin cf. above, p. 244, n. 44.)

¹⁵⁵ I am not sure whether all this implies that the vizier could again hear petitions, or that he only gave instructions in cases where no petitions were involved.

¹⁵⁶ See for him al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi bi 'l-wafayāt*, no. 1,555; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi*, in Wiet (as in p. 270, n. 142), no. 2,241; *idem*, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira*, vii, 334, viii, 53-4. For the title 'Companion' given to viziers if they were civilians see *CIA*, p. 403.

¹⁵⁷ See for the *ustādḥ al-dār* or *ustādār* Quatremère, i, 1, pp. 25-7; *CIA*, pp. 159, 387-8; Gaudafroy-Demombynes, pp. lx-lxi; Ayalon, 61-2.

of the Amīr So-and-so <Controller of the Exalted Household>,¹⁵⁸ may God exalt it ”. Al-Qalqashandī is as usual a little more explicit and continues the passage repeatedly referred to as follows: ‘The third case is when the instruction is that of the controller of the household: it is then written: “At the exalted instruction of the Great Amīr So-and-so, the Controller of the Exalted Household, may God exalt it”, in two lines, the words “Great Amīr So-and-so” coming at the end of the first line. We have mentioned above in speaking of titles that it is the practice of the secretaries to corrupt the word into *ustāddār* and *ustādār*. Their practice, though erroneous, must be followed, since it is part of the accepted usage’.

There are some difficult questions to be asked in connexion with the role of the *ustādh al-dār*. Quite apart from the problem, already raised, about the distribution among the various officials of the competence to accept petitions, and the relation between their role and that of the sultan, we may ask why the *ustādh al-dār* should be competent at all. The answer is that although his *ex officio* role was the administration of the sultan’s household, his actual importance was often greater so that he counts among the highest officials of the state (see above, p. 268, n. 134). We have seen in the commentary on Ḥasan b. Muḥammad’s decree (above, p. 262) that under that sultan Manjak, one of the most powerful amīrs, combined the titles of vizier and controller.

Secondly, the actual notes marking some decrees as issued at the instruction of the controller of the household pose a problem. Such notes occur in nos. v, vii, and xv of the Sinai documents. No. v, dated 684/1285, from the reign of Qalā’ūn, has the note: *bi-ishārat al-majlis al-sāmī al-amīrī al-isfahsalārī al-Ḥusāmī ustādh al-dār al-‘āliya a’lāha ’llāh ta’ālā* ‘At the instruction of his high excellency the amīr and general Ḥusām al-Dīn Controller of the Exalted Household, may God exalt it’. The official in question is Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Zāhirī.¹⁵⁹ He still held the office six years later under Khalīl, when no. vii was issued (in 690/1291), with the note: *bi-ishārat al-majlis al-‘ālī al-amīrī al-dhukhrī al-Ḥusāmī ustādh al-dār al-‘āliya a’azzahu ’llāh ta’ālā* ‘At the instruction of his exalted excellence the amīr, treasure [of the realm], Ḥusām al-Dīn, Controller of the Exalted Household, may God give him glory’. So far so good; however, immediately before the note about the controller’s instruction both documents have the entry: *ḥasab al-amr al-sharīf* ‘according to the noble order’. As we have seen, in later times this note (only with *al-marsūm* instead of *al-amr*) was put on documents drawn up according to the personal order of the sultan, and could not therefore be used simultaneously with a note about the ‘instruction’ of an official. We have noted, however, that this standardized use of the formula *ḥasab al-marsūm al-sharīf* does not seem to have obtained in the early Mamlūk period, and its exact history is obscure. On the other hand no. viii, written only one year after no. vii at the instruction of the vizier, has, as we have seen, the *ishāra* formula, but not *ḥasab al-amr*

¹⁵⁸ These words must obviously be supplied in the text.

¹⁵⁹ Incidentally mentioned by Ibn Taghrībīdī, VIII, 67, l. 8.

al-sharīf. Have we then to conclude that the appearance of the latter formula in documents issued on the instruction of the *ustādh al-dār* has particular significance in so far as this official was less independent in his competence to decide upon petitions than higher officials such as the vizier, the *atābak*, and the *nā'ib al-salṭana*? Since the bulk of our documentation (whether original documents or handbooks) comes from later generations, we do not have at the moment sufficient evidence to make definite statements, though it is possible that in the future further evidence may turn up. Whereas those documents in the Franciscan archives in Jerusalem which belong to the end of the fourteenth and the first half of the fifteenth century have been published by Risciani, there are in that collection eight (or nine) decrees by earlier sultans, amongst them several by Baybars and Qalā'ūn, which are still unpublished. There can be no doubt that they will shed some further light on the diplomatic of the early Mamlūk period, and they may also prove helpful in connexion with the problem which we have discussed.

It is fitting to end this article with an allusion to evidence which future study is liable to produce. The preceding notes are by no means based on an exhaustive study of the sources. The aim here was to elucidate the Mamlūk petitions preserved in the Sinai monastery, and for this recourse was had, apart from the published original documents, to the handbooks of Mamlūk chancery practice. It would be surprising if the immense historical literature of the Mamlūk period did not contain information about the procedure of submitting petitions and dealing with them, and with the help of such information the preceding account could perhaps be completed and may also prove to be in need of some retouching. The future will show how far this expectation may be fulfilled, and how far the many uncertainties still remaining will find their solution. Because of these uncertainties I could not give a crystal-clear exposition of ascertained facts in the preceding pages, but had to follow laboriously the evidence presented by texts which were often not as clear or as sufficient as one would have wished. I am afraid this does not make for easy reading, but the only way to simplify the exposition would have been to gloss over difficulties and uncertainties, and this seemed too high a price to pay.

APPENDIX

The three petitions in the Sinai archives are, as far as I know, the only extant petitions addressed to Mamlūk sultans. One of the pages in Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Ṭībī's treatise on the various styles of calligraphy, presented by him to the sultan Qānṣūh al-Ghawri in 908/1503, is in the form of a petition by the author to the sultan, in a style invented by the author and called by him *ta'liq* script.¹⁶⁰ It follows the usual arrangement of the petitions. The *tarjama* is placed in the position usual in the Mamlūk period and reads: 'The slave Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Ṭībī, teacher of the Mamlūks in the great Raḫraf

¹⁶⁰ *Jāmi' mahāsīn kitābat al-kuttāb*, ed. in facsimile by Ṣalāh al-Dīn al-Munajjid, Beirut, 1962, fol. 42.

barracks'. The beginning of the text follows directly upon the *tarjama*: 'kisses the earth and reports'—that (a) the various *madrāsas* of Cairo have posts for the teaching of calligraphy, (b) the *madrāsa* endowed by the sultan is equal in worth, if not superior, to the other *madrāsas*—and the transition to the petition proper: 'his request from the noble bounties is'—that he be appointed in that *madrāsa* to teach calligraphy, with his son to succeed him. The final phrase: 'He has reported this, if God wills'¹⁶¹ is also the one customary in petitions.¹⁶²

The form of the petition used in the Mamlük period survives in Egypt into the Ottoman period. We have a petition submitted by the consul of Ragusa to the governor of Egypt soon after the Ottoman conquest, which follows on the whole the Mamlük style, though its *tarjama* is placed not at the beginning, but on the margin some way down (see above, p. 241, n. 26). A petition addressed to the governor in 1048/1638, the copy of which is inserted in the register of the qāḍī of al-Ṭūr (in the Sinai peninsula) shows that the Mamlük style was followed as late as that.¹⁶³

¹⁶¹ Read at the beginning of the last line *anḥā dhālik*. In the line before I propose وتكون بينه وبين ولده النبوة بينها ومن توفي أعقب نصيبه لمن يق. (The reproduction is not good enough for an assured decipherment.)

¹⁶² See above, p. 241.

¹⁶³ Na'ūm Shuqayr, *Ta'rikh Sinā*, Cairo, 1916, 143-4. The *tarjama*: 'The slave (*banda*, a substitute for the earlier *al-mamlūk*), the *dhimmī* Firūnas the Christian from al-Ṭūr' is placed at the end in the copy, but in the original it must have formed the beginning, since the first sentence of the text (the usual 'kisses the earth and reports') presupposes it as its subject.

SYRIAN URBAN POLITICS IN THE TANZIMAT PERIOD BETWEEN 1840 AND 1861

By MOSHE MAOZ

Introduction

One of the major political and social results of the Ottoman Tanzimat in Syria and Palestine during the nineteenth century was the transformation which it wrought upon the form of rule in the towns. The era of Turkish reform not only gave a new shape and a different content to the struggle for authority in the Syrian city between the Ottoman government and the local forces; it also contributed largely to the crystallization and consolidation of the urban leadership of 'ulamā' and a'yān, by the establishment of local councils (*Majlis*) in the towns, which formed the main basis of future municipal life and autonomy in the area. The internal strife in the Syrian town, although acquiring a different character during the Tanzimat period, had its roots in the pre-reform era, when a fierce contest for power took place in many cities between various forces, of which the Turkish Pasha was only one. In the eighteenth century feuds occurred in the big cities, either between the rival Janissary units, or between them and the *Ashrāf* militia, the descendants of the Prophet. The Pashas with their own forces also took part in this struggle, usually siding with one faction and seeking to establish their control.¹ Involved also in this struggle were the local 'ulamā', in whose hands was the administration of justice, and the a'yān, who controlled the civil administration in the towns.²

This contest continued into the first three decades of the nineteenth century, especially in Aleppo and Damascus, but also in other, smaller towns, with an increasing tendency towards co-operation among local forces against the Turkish authorities. In Aleppo the real power lay with the Janissary and the *Ashrāf* factions, which fought each other for authority. From time to time the Ottoman *wālī*, allying himself with one of the parties, was able to rule the city for a short period. However, before long the rival groups managed to unite and to nullify his authority, and even to expel him from the city.³ In 1813, for instance, a certain Jalāl al-Dīn Pasha was able to restore the Porte's control in Aleppo, but in 1814 the Aleppines revolted against his successor, Muḥammad

¹ For a brief outline of this struggle, see H. A. R. Gibb and Harold Bowen, *Islamic society and the West*, I, Pt. 1, London, 1950, 218–21; a detailed study in Shimon Shamir, *The 'Azm wālīs of Syria, 1724–1785* (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Princeton, 1960), 220 ff.

² On the role of a'yān in the Syrian city see, Gibb and Bowen, op. cit., I, Pt. 1, 198–9, 256–7. See also, Ibrāhīm al-'Awra, *Ta'rikh wilāyat Sulaymān Bāshā al-'Ādil*, Sidon, 1936, 130–1, 280–1; Yūsuf al-Dibs, *Ta'rikh Sūriyya*, 8 vols., Beirut, 1893–1905, VIII, 629.

³ Examples in J. L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, London, 1822, 649–55. The author indicates that the Turkish Pashas usually 'occupied the Serai more like state prisoners than governors'; see p. 653. For a study on the struggle for power in Aleppo during the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century, see H. L. Bodman, *Political factions in Aleppo, 1760–1826*, University of North Carolina Press, 1963, ch. v.

Pasha, and deprived him of his power.⁴ After five years of tension, a popular rebellion, inspired by the local notables, broke out in 1819, in protest against heavy taxation. At first the Turkish garrison was heavily defeated, but when reinforcements arrived the uprising was bloodily suppressed.⁵ A similar revolt, based on the same motives and probably conducted by the Janissaries, occurred in Damascus in 1831. As a result of this revolt, the *wālī* was killed, the army expelled, and government buildings were burnt down.⁶ This state of affairs prevailed in a number of other towns throughout Syria and Palestine. In Tripoli, for example, a constant struggle existed between the Janissaries and the *Ashwāf*, with frequent expulsions of the governors.⁷ Jerusalem rose against her Turkish authorities and expelled them in 1808–9 and again in 1825.⁸ Other events of this kind occurred in Idlip in the north, and in Gaza on the Egyptian border.⁹

A decisive shift in the balance of power within the Syrian towns in favour of the government occurred under the Egyptian occupation of Palestine and Syria, which lasted from 1831 to 1840. With the help of a huge army the vigorous Egyptian Pasha, Ibrāhīm, was able to destroy the power of each of the forces mentioned above and to establish his own delegate as the sole authority in each town. Conscription and disarmament drained the source of local military strength,¹⁰ while strict government control undermined the position of the town notables. The secularization of the judicial administration, like other anti-clerical measures, severely damaged the prestige of the '*ulamā*' and served to deprive them of their political influence.¹¹ Finally, many town leaders—*a'yān* and '*ulamā*'—were imprisoned or executed by Ibrāhīm Pasha for the part they had taken in leading the popular revolts against his régime which broke out during the 1830's.¹²

When the Ottomans resumed their government in Syria in 1840–1, the balance of power within the towns shifted again. Theoretically, according to the Tanzimat concepts, the Turkish authorities now possessed aims similar to

⁴ E. B. B. Barker, *Syria and Egypt under the last five Sultans of Turkey*, 2 vols., London, 1876, I, 78–80, 138–9.

⁵ *ibid.*, I, 302; Anon., *Rambles in the desert of Syria*, London, 1864, 64; Yūsuf Qarā'li (ed.), *Ahamm hawādith Ḥalab*, [Egypt, n.d.], 37–43, 45–58.

⁶ Quṣṭantīn al-Bāshā (ed.), *Mudhakkirāt ta'rikhiyya*, [Lebanon, n.d.], 3 ff., 33–4; Jamil al-Shaṭṭī, *Rawḍ al-baṣar fī a'yān Dimashq fī al-qarn al-thālith 'ashar*, Damascus, 1946, 119–20.

⁷ Burekhardt, *op. cit.*, 169–70; A. Y. Kayat, *A voice from Lebanon*, London, 1847, 69.

⁸ al-'Awra, *op. cit.*, 88; S. N. Spyridon (ed.), *Annals of Palestine, 1821–1841*, Jerusalem, 1938, 32–8. With regard to other places in Palestine see Ihsān al-Nimr, *Ta'rikh Jabal Nābitus wa 'l-balqā'*, Damascus, 1938, 21.

⁹ Burekhardt, *op. cit.*, 124–5, 132, 138; 'Arif al-'Arif, *Ta'rikh Ghazza*, Jerusalem, 1943, 185.

¹⁰ al-'Arif, *op. cit.*, 214; Muḥammad Salīm al-Jundī, *Ta'rikh Ma'arrat al Nu'mān*, Damascus, 1923, 197; Asad Rustum, *al-Mahfūzāt al-malakiyya al-Miṣriyya*, 4 vols., Beirut, 1840–2, II, 347, no. 3433; Anon., *Rambles*, 45.

¹¹ See, for example, Rustum, *op. cit.*, I, 187–8, no. 495; II, 58, no. 1460; II, 363, no. 3234; al-Shaṭṭī, *op. cit.*, 12; Spyridon, *op. cit.*, 57.

¹² al-Bāshā, *op. cit.*, 36, 118, 127; al-Dibs, *op. cit.*, VIII, 650; As'ad Maṣṣūr, *Ta'rikh al-Nāṣira*, [Egypt], 1924, 72; Rustum, *op. cit.*, II, 489, no. 3868; Spyridon, *op. cit.*, 93, 97.

those of the Egyptians with regard to the setting up of centralized direct rule in the Syrian provinces.¹³ In practice, however, they acted contrarily, weakening their governors' authority and promoting local self-rule in the towns. Not only did they refrain from carrying on the subjection of the old leadership on the same lines as the former régime; they also helped to restore a measure of power to the local elements. The traditional oligarchy of 'ulamā' and a'yān was again given a big share in local administration; upon their members were conferred high administrative ranks as well as imperial medals.¹⁴

The administration of justice and the management of the religious institutions (whose high prestige was revived) were again placed exclusively in the hands of the *Ashraf*.¹⁵ Although the Muslim *sharī'a* court was, as under the Egyptians, deprived of most of its functions, its senior officials were not greatly affected; they were usually appointed to administer the new secular judicial system. The chief 'ulamā' in each town and city were, furthermore, nominated *ex officio* to the local councils, which had both administrative and judicial powers. The opinion of the senior religious and learned men was again sought and highly valued by the Turkish local authorities.¹⁶ The influence and prestige of these sages spread again beyond their cities to other towns, including Istanbul; prominent 'ulamā' from the Syrian cities would occasionally correspond with, or go to, the capital—sometimes on special invitation from the Sultan and at his expense.¹⁷

At the same time the other local leading element, the a'yān, was further improving its position under the new régime by taking a direct share in government administration. Some of the chief notables of the town were normally

¹³ See Moshe Maoz, *The Tanzimat in Syria and Palestine, 1840-1861* (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, Oxford, 1966), Pt. II, ch. i.

¹⁴ The following abbreviations are used in this and in subsequent notes for references to Ottoman documents:

BA	Istanbul, Başvekâlet Arşivi
Cev. D	Cevdet, Dahiliye
Cev. Z	Cevdet, Zaptiye
Ir. D	Irader, Dahiliye
Ir. H	Irader, Hariciye
Ir. Mm.	Irader, Meclis-i mahsus
Ir. Mv.	Irader, Meclis-i valâ

BA, Ir. D, no. 2503, 25 Jumādā I 1257; do., no. 6129, 11 Rabī' II 1262; do., no. 25797, 28 Rabī' I 1274; BA, Ir. Mv., no. 6498, 20 Jumādā I 1267; do., no. 10926, 25 Şafar 1269; BA, Ir. H, no. 1884, 11 Rabī' II 1263; BA, Cev. D, no. 2094, 2 Dhū al-Ĥijja 1266; *Taqvim-i Vaqā'i'* (the Ottoman official gazette), no. 238, 3 Muḥarram 1258; do., no. 242, 6 Jumādā I 1258.

¹⁵ BA, Ir. D, no. 4597, 9 Ramaḍān 1260; BA, Cev. D, no. 3351, 22 Rabī' II 1260; 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Bayṭār, *Ḥilyat al-baḥar fī ta'rīkh al-qarn al-ihāliṭh 'ashar*, 3 vols., Damascus, 1961-3, II, 9; 'Abdullāh Ḥabib Nawfal, *Kitāb tarājim 'ulamā' Tarablus al-fayha' wa-'udabā'ihā*, Tripoli, 1929, 81, 122, 154-5, 258; al-Shaṭṭī, 37, 48, 57, 101-2, 136.

¹⁶ BA, Ir. D, no. 13193, 29 Dhū al-Ĥijja 1266; London, Public Record Office, FO 195/351, Moore to Canning, No. 10, Beirut, 26 May 1851; FO 78/1629, Dufferin to Russell, No. 26, Damascus, 19 April 1861; al-Bayṭār, op. cit., I, 349-50; II, 748-9; al-Shaṭṭī, op. cit., 352.

¹⁷ BA, Ir. D, no. 11668, 6 Dhū al-Qa'da 1265; al-Bayṭār, op. cit., I, 464-9; II, 841; al-Shaṭṭī, op. cit., 209-10, 219, 234, 236; F. Taoutel (ed.), *Wathā'iq ta'rīkhīyya 'an Ḥalab*, 3 vols., Aleppo, 1958-62, III, 47.

members of the *Majlis*, while others held important posts in all branches of administration; for example, the governorships of provincial towns or sub-governorships of big cities.¹⁸ Though the power of the city leaders was thus increased, the Tanzimat government in Istanbul appointed to the Syrian towns governors whose powers were weaker than before; their authority was greatly checked by other senior officials in the province as well as by various restrictions from the capital.¹⁹

The Turkish Pasha, moreover, was not now in a position to gain the support of one local body against the other, as he had been in the past; most of the duties he had to perform under the Tanzimat edicts were at variance with the interests and feelings of each of the urban groups and provided them with common ground on which to oppose him.

On the other hand, the encounters between the Ottoman authorities and the local forces in the town were no longer warlike and violent as in the past; apart from some instances, notably Aleppo in 1850, they did not again lead to popular rebellions against the Turkish governor or armed hostilities among the urban para-military organizations. While the latter were in decline since the Egyptian occupation, Ottoman military supremacy in the Syrian towns became generally recognized and unchallenged.²⁰ The struggle for power in the city thus now did not take a military form; it was conducted instead on more modern and sophisticated lines and was concentrated mainly in the local council—the *Majlis*, which was the major institution created by the Tanzimat in the Syrian town.

I. *The Majlis*

The system of local councils set up by Reshīd Pasha on a French model, in the early 1840's, was an important innovation in the Ottoman Empire—although the principle of consultative meetings was uncommon neither in the Empire nor generally in Islam; so far as Syria and Palestine were concerned the *Majlis* system was hardly new at all. A similar system had prevailed in these provinces during the Egyptian régime, and a form of local council had existed there even before the Egyptian occupation. During the eighteenth century and up to 1831 a provincial council (*Diwān*) operated in the chief Syrian cities under the *wālī*.²¹ As well as the senior officials—the *wālī*, *mutasallim*, and *defterdār*—and the military commanders, the *Diwān* included also

¹⁸ See, for example, BA, Ir. D, no. 2548, 23 Jumādā II 1267; do., no. 9077, 15 Jumādā I 1264; do., no. 21548, 1 Šafar 1272; BA, Ir. H, no. 2138, 14 Rajab 1263; BA, Ir. Mv., no. 2166, 22 Rajab 1263; do., no. 7796, 8 Rabī' I 1268; do., no. 15697, 21 Dhū al-Ḥijja 1272; Jaffa, *Sijill* of the Muslim *sharī'a* court, no. 13, order of 26 Dhū al-Qa'da 1259; do., 5 Rabī' I 1260; FO 195/210, Young to Canning, No. 3, Jerusalem, 23 January 1844; FO 195/207, Werry to Canning, No. 11, Aleppo, 8 August 1846; al-Baytār, op. cit., I, 343–50; J. Finn, *Stirring times*, 2 vols., London, 1878, I, 232–3, 408; Manşūr, op. cit., 300; Nawfal, op. cit., 97, 108, 148–9; al-Nimr, op. cit., 299–300.

¹⁹ See Maoz, op. cit., Pt. II, ch. i.

²⁰ *ibid.*, Pt. II, ch. ii.

²¹ This provincial council was sometimes called also *Diwān al-Mashwara* or *Majlis al-Mashwara* 'Council of Consultation'; see al-'Awra, op. cit., 73.

the leading local 'ulamā'—the *qādī* (who was sometimes a Turk), *muftī*, and *naqīb al-Ashrāf*. In its extended form the council included more members of the 'ulamā', local notables (*a'yān*), and representatives of merchants, guilds, and mystic orders.²² The *Diwān*, however, did not admit representatives of the non-Muslim communities although Jews and Christians sat occasionally on the council in the capacity of senior provincial officials.²³

Though the *Diwān* consisted of leading figures in the city, it had little administrative and political power. This was a consequence of its sporadic nature as well as of the deficiency of its official powers; the provincial council used to meet infrequently upon the *wālī*'s call and under his presidency, merely to discuss problems of finance, trade, maintenance of order, and the like.²⁴ Its lack of power also resulted from the immaturity of the political consciousness the local urban leadership possessed. Although they had great influence in their provinces as well as in Istanbul, the city notables would rarely act against a Pasha unless he constituted a threat to their private interests.²⁵

An important change in the formation and the nature of the local council occurred under Egyptian rule. When the Egyptians occupied Palestine and Syria they replaced the *Diwān* by a comprehensive and regular system of local councils, which was also more representative. The *Majlis* (or *Diwān*) *al-Shūrā* 'Advisory Council', which was set up in every city and town to assist the governor, included government officials, notables, merchants, and other representatives from all the communities, Muslim and non-Muslim alike.²⁶ Apart from its functions of discussing matters of administration, finance, and local trade, the *Majlis* sat also in the capacity of a court for civil cases.²⁷ Commercial disputes were at the same time settled by a separate commercial council, which was established in the chief Syrian cities and was composed of Muslim, Christian, and Jewish merchants nominated by the authorities.²⁸ But the Egyptian *Majlis*, although investing its members with a considerable number of functions, managed to keep them in check while at the same time it did not give the traditional leadership enough scope to exercise their influence. The local members of the *Majlis*, whose decisions were of an advisory nature, were kept subservient to the local governor, who presided over and firmly controlled the council. Appeals against the local council could be made to the provincial *Majlis* and from there to the central council in Damascus—which

²² A. Hourani, *Arabic thought in the liberal age*, London, 1962, 31-2; Shamir, op. cit., 219, 238; Anon., *Ḥasr al-lithām 'an nakabāt al-shām*, [Egypt], 1890, 31.

²³ See, for example, al-'Awra, op. cit., 72, 234.

²⁴ Shamir, op. cit., 219-20; Anon., *Ḥasr al-lithām*, 31.

²⁵ Shamir, op. cit., 219-20; Barker, op. cit., I, 145, 148; Anon., *Ḥasr al-lithām*, 26.

²⁶ For details on the formation and the work of the *Majlis* under the Egyptians, see al-Bāshā, op. cit., 56; H. Guys, *Esquisse de l'état politique et commercial de la Syrie*, Paris, 1862, 48 ff.; Sulaymān Abū 'Izz al-Dīn, *Ibrāhīm Bāshā fī Sūriyya*, Beirut, 1929, 135-8; Rustum, op. cit., II, 358, no. 3204; Kayat, 264.

²⁷ Abū 'Izz al-Dīn, op. cit., 135-8; Rustum, op. cit., II, 68-9, no. 1535; II, 359, no. 3207.

²⁸ BA, Ir. D, no. 1867, 27 Şafar 1257; FO 78/412, Werry to Ponsonby, 20 January 1840, encl. in Werry to Palmerston, No. 7, Aleppo, 20 February 1840.

was directed and closely supervised by the Egyptian heads of the Syrian administration.²⁹

When the Egyptians withdrew from Syria in 1840, their *Majlis* system continued, to provide the basis for the newly established council; it probably also had a certain effect on the new *Majlis* system which was introduced in the whole Ottoman Empire. Immediately on their return to Syria the Ottoman authorities revived the former local councils in at least the Palestinian districts, directing them to conduct their affairs 'as in the time of the Egyptian Government'.³⁰

In Damascus, where the two former councils (the provincial and commercial) had been dissolved by the first Turkish governor, a new *Majlis* was established by his successor, Nejib Pasha, on nearly the same lines as the Egyptian provincial council. It was composed of 'ulamā' as well as of notables and merchants from Muslim and non-Muslim communities and was presided over by the *wāli*. Like the Egyptian *Majlis*, it was to deal with judicial cases in addition to administrative and financial affairs.³¹ On the whole the local councils at that stage continued to use the former Egyptian title *Majlis* (or *Dīwān*) *al-Shūrā* (or *al-Mashwara*) throughout Syria and Palestine.³²

It appears that while in the Syrian provinces local councils were re-established in 1840-1 on the Egyptian model, in other parts of the Ottoman Empire the *Majlis* system was not yet operating. Moreover, there are grounds for assuming that the Porte gave some consideration to Egyptian methods and experience before establishing its own system of local councils. In his first dispatch, after his arrival in Damascus, the new *wāli* Nejib Pasha sent to the Grand Vizier information on the structure and procedure of the local councils in the Egyptian period. He went on to describe the new *Majlis* which he had just set up, and ended his letter of April 1841 by urging that it was necessary to establish in Damascus a *Majlis* in accordance with an order from the Porte, and to nominate and elect to it Muslims as well as *ra'āyā*.³³ The Imperial firman ordering the setting up of local councils in the provinces was indeed issued later in 1841; the organization resembled in its general features the Egyptian system. The new *Majlis* too was to consist of government officials and Muslim and non-Muslim religious leaders—all appointed by the authorities—and also to include Muslim and non-Muslim deputies elected by their respective communities.³⁴

²⁹ Guys, op. cit., 48; M. Mishāqa, *Muntakhabāt min al-jawāb 'alā iqtirāh al-ahbāb*, Beirut, 1955, 120; Rustum, op. cit., II, 383, no. 3359; III, 417, no. 5496.

³⁰ FO 195/170, Young to Canning, No. 14, Jerusalem, 28 June 1841; FO 78/413, Young to Palmerston, No. 18, Jerusalem, 28 October 1840; Jaffa *Sijill*, order from 'Izzet Pasha registered on 27 Ramaḍān 1256.

³¹ Paris, Archives Nationales, Affaires Étrangères, Damas, I, No. 11, report by Monton, 13 March 1841; A. A. Paton, *The modern Syrians*, London, 1844, 206.

³² FO 195/170, Young to Canning, No. 14, Jerusalem, 28 June 1841; BA, Cev. D, no. 13973, 28 Rabi' I 1258; al-Bāshā, op. cit., 243.

³³ BA, Ir. D, no. 1867, 27 Šafar 1257. Compare al-Bāshā, op. cit., 243.

³⁴ BA, Maliyeden müdevver, no. 9061 dated 1257/1841; *Taqīm-i Vaqā'i'*, no. 238, 3 Muḥarram 1258/February 1842; AE, Alep, I, No. 66, from Guys, 10 September 1841, citing an order by Selim Pasha, the Turkish *ser'asker* in Syria, dated 5 September 1841; according to

Like the Egyptian council, the Ottoman *Majlis* was to deal with both the administrative and the judicial affairs of the province or the district. The Egyptian pattern was not followed immediately in the arrangements made for commercial disputes; at first commercial suits were transferred from the jurisdiction of the *Mahkama* to that of the new local council.³⁵ But in the early 1850's, following the setting up in 1849 of commercial courts in Istanbul and other Ottoman cities, a *Majlis Tijāra* 'Commercial Council' was established in the cities of Beirut, Damascus, and Aleppo.³⁶

Whereas the framework of the Ottoman *Majlis* system was similar to the Egyptian one, its substance and the character it developed were completely different. To begin with, the new *Majlis* in Syria was not representative, either in the sense in which it was intended to be or as the Egyptian council had been; it resembled rather the pre-Egyptian *Diwān* in its composition. The new council included hardly any deputies from either the lower classes or the middle classes, such as the merchants, who under the Egyptian régime had formed the backbone of the local *Majlis*. Instead, apart from government officials, the council consisted mainly of the traditional leadership of '*ulamā*' and heads of prominent families (*a'yān*): the *qāḍī*, the *muftī*, and the *naqīb al-Ashrāf*, who were appointed to the *Majlis ex officio*, and great landowners or other large proprietors who nominally were elected.³⁷ In fact, the latter became members of the council by virtue of their local influence or by bribing certain persons either in Istanbul or in Syria.³⁸ In this way, the oligarchical knot of '*ulamā*' and *a'yān* who sat in the local council almost perpetually³⁹ used their official status to reinforce their political position and to further their private interests.⁴⁰

Luṭfī the decrees for the setting up of the *Majlis* in the provinces were promulgated in 1844. See Aḥmed Luṭfī, *Ta'rikh-i Luṭfī* (8 vols., Istanbul, 1290-1328), VII, 91. R. H. Davison claims, furthermore, that the new *Majlis* system was first tried experimentally in 1845, in a few provinces and afterwards extended to the whole Empire. See R. H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1856-1876*, Princeton, 1963, 48.

³⁵ FO 195/170, 'Copy of Zeccharia Pacha's letter to the Musselim of Damascus', in Werry to Ponsonby, Damascus, 5 March 1841; FO 78/800, Moore to Canning, No. 53, 26 October 1849, encl. in Moore to Palmerston, No. 41, Beirut, 31 October 1849; Paton, op. cit., 269.

³⁶ FO 78/836, circular from Vāmiq Pasha *wāli* of Sidon of 8 Rabī' II 1266, in Moore to Palmerston, No. 15, Beirut, 1 March 1850; FO 78/872, Wood to Palmerston, No. 6, Damascus, 29 January 1851; AE, Alep, II, No. 5, from Geofroy, 7 May 1853; D. Urquhart, *The Lebanon*, 2 vols., London, 1860, II, 345-6.

³⁷ See, for example, BA, Ir. D, no. 1867, 26 Šafar 1257; do., no. 21422/9, 5 Dhū al-Qa'da 1272; BA, Ir. Mv., no. 9481, 3 Muḥarram 1269; do., no. 16685/1, 18 Muḥarram 1274; BA, Cev. Z, no. 2703, Kānūn II, 1277.

³⁸ See, for example, FO 78/822, Wood to Canning, 31 May 1845, encl. in Wood to Aberdeen, No. 21, Damascus, 24 June 1845; FO 78/1031, Moore to Clarendon, No. 43, Beirut, 28 September 1854; FO 78/1118, Wood to Redcliffe, No. 27, 28 June 1855, encl. in Wood to Clarendon, No. 31, Damascus, 7 July 1855.

³⁹ See, for instance, FO 195/302, Werry to Canning, No. 1, Aleppo, 2 February 1850; FO 78/1521, Finn to Bulwer, encl. in Finn to Russell, No. 21, Jerusalem, 19 July 1860. Compare also al-Bayṭār, op. cit., II, 1134.

⁴⁰ See, for instance, FO 78/499, Wood to Aberdeen, No. 74, Damascus, 6 October 1842; FO 195/207, Barker to Werry, Suedia, 15 January 1843, encl. in Werry to Canning, No. 3, Aleppo, 11 February 1843; FO 78/962, Finn to Redcliffe, No. 26, 11 August 1853, encl. in Finn to Clarendon, No. 13, Jerusalem, 12 August 1853; Finn, op. cit., I, 321, 323, 397.

As well as the lower and middle classes of the Muslim population, the non-Muslim communities also were not fairly represented in the *Majlis*. Although Christian and Jewish deputies were admitted to the local councils, they were disproportionately outnumbered by the Muslim members and had no equal status there; they were usually abused by the majority, were not allowed to take an active part in the council's work, and sometimes were even forced to withdraw.⁴¹

Moreover, whereas the great majority of the Syrian population, Muslim and non-Muslim alike, was under-represented in the local councils, the upper class of Muslim religious leaders and notables was greatly over-represented, far beyond the official limit.

Officially, the provincial council was to consist of a president and about 13 members; 3-4 from each group of government officials and local religious leaders, and 6 elected deputies from the population.⁴² This rule was observed, more or less, with regard to the provincial *Majlis* of Sidon, a district largely inhabited by Christians. Its seats were shared by an equal number of Christians and Muslims with the thirteenth member as the president.⁴³ This was also the case, but to a lesser extent, in many of the councils in the small towns, whose members did not usually exceed the official number but which included only a few non-Muslim deputies.⁴⁴ In other provincial councils, however, the number of the Muslim '*ulamā*' and '*a'yān*' greatly exceeded the fixed figure, whereas deputies from other classes of the population, particularly the non-Muslim communities, remained few in number. In Damascus the provincial *Majlis* permanently consisted of 10 salaried Muslim notables instead of 7, and 3 more honorary members who found it in their interest to attend the council. Among the extra members there were the Shāfi'ī *muftī* and other '*ulamā*' and '*a'yān*'.⁴⁵ In addition, this *Majlis* would include from time to time members of mystical orders as well as visiting '*ulamā*' from other parts of Syria and Turkey.⁴⁶ By

⁴¹ For example, see FO 78/801, Wood to Canning, No. 5, Damascus, 14 February 1849; FO 78/1031, statement from Consul Moore, 26 September 1854, encl. in Moore to Clarendon, No. 43, Beirut, 28 September 1854; FO 78/1521, Finn to Bulwer, encl. in Finn to Russell, No. 21, Jerusalem, 19 July 1860. Compare also al-Bayṭār, op. cit., II, 1134-5; al-Shaṭṭī, op. cit., 20, 32, 189, 202, 207, 227, 352; Nawfal, op. cit., 108.

⁴² BA, Maliyeden müdevver, no. 9061, dated 1257; FO 78/1452, Skene to Bulwer, No. 11, encl. in Skene to Malmesbury, No. 20, Aleppo, 31 March 1859; FO 78/1630, memo. by Vice-Consul White in Dufferin to Russell, No. 113, Beirut, 10 May 1861; compare also BA, Ir. Mv., no. 1036/1, 18 Dhū al-Ḥijja 1259.

⁴³ See BA, Ir. Mv., no. 5184, 19 Rabī' II 1266; FO 78/499, Moore to Palmerston, No. 43, Beirut, 19 June 1841.

⁴⁴ See BA, Ir. D, no. 14609, 2 Dhū al-Ḥijja 1267; BA, Ir. Mv., no. 18868/5, 21 Jumādā II 1276; BA, Cev. Z, no. 4510, Nisān 1265; BA, Cev. D, no. 5153, 14 Dhū al-Qa'da 1275; FO 195/170, Young to Ponsonby, No. 14, Jerusalem, 28 June 1841.

⁴⁵ BA, Ir. D, no. 1867, 27 Šafar 1257; do., no. 13183/4, 9 Dhū al-Ḥijja 1266; BA, Ir. Mv., no. 9481, 3 Muḥarram 1269; do., no. 166851/1, 18 Muḥarram 1274; compare FO 78/622, Wood to Canning, 31 May 1845, encl. in Wood to Aberdeen, No. 21, Damascus, 24 June 1845.

⁴⁶ BA, Ir. Mv., no. 17256/2, 29 Rabī' II 1274; do., no. 18868/7, 11 Jumādā II 1276; BA, Cev. Z, no. 1811, 5 Šafar 1275.

contrast, the 3 non-Muslim members—2 Christians and a Jew—were compelled to withdraw within the first few years and were not readmitted until 1850.⁴⁷ Jerusalem, which like Damascus was a centre of Muslim piety and learning, had in its *Majlis* a number of 'ulamā' additional to the 7 regular Muslim members, while only 4–5 non-Muslim deputies represented a population which greatly outnumbered the Muslim section.⁴⁸ Similarly, the provincial council of Aleppo usually consisted of 2 Christian members and not less than 13 Muslims.⁴⁹

II. Powers of the *Majlis*

Another major feature which characterized the Tanzimat-inspired *Majlis* in the Syrian cities, as well as in other towns, was the unprecedented amount of power with which it was invested by the Porte; indeed, the authority of the *Majlis* was supreme in nearly all areas of administration, finance, and justice. It was authorized, firstly, to assess and farm out taxes, keep the tax registers, inspect the tax-collectors, and receive revenue from them.⁵⁰ The local council was entitled to rate the custom duties and to supervise the production, marketing, and prices of agricultural produce; ⁵¹ it examined and registered land transactions, managed public works, and controlled the entry of foreign visitors.⁵² The provincial *Majlis*, in addition to the above functions, had also a hand in recruiting and employing irregular troops as part of its duty to help in maintaining peace and security.⁵³ Members of the council would also occasionally be nominated to investigate various disorders or even to settle armed disputes.⁵⁴ The *Majlis* also had the power to confirm nominations of junior governors in the districts, and to fix rates of pensions and inspect the

⁴⁷ FO 78/622, Wood to Canning, 31 May 1845, encl. in Wood to Aberdeen, No. 21, Damascus, 24 June 1845.

⁴⁸ FO 78/1521, Finn to Bulwer, encl. in Finn to Russell, No. 21, Jerusalem, 19 July 1860; compare BA, Ir. D, no. 21422/7, Dhū al-Ḥijja 1271; BA, Cev. Z, no. 2703, Kānūn II, 1277.

⁴⁹ BA, Ir. Mm., no. 219, 25 Shawwāl 1271; BA, Cev. D, no. 7367, 17 Ramaḍān 1273; BA, Ir. Mv., no. 17321/20, 29 Rajab 1274; compare AE, Alep, I, No. 34, from Guys, 28 September 1845.

⁵⁰ BA, Maliyeden müdevver, no. 9061, dated 1257, pp. 3–4, para. 9–14; Luṭfi, op. cit., vi, 94. See also, FO 78/455, Rose to Palmerston, No. 30, Beirut, 3 May 1841; FO 195/210, Young to Canning, No. 2, Jerusalem, 22 August 1842; FO 195/291, Wood to Canning, Damascus, 22 November 1848; Urquhart, II, 161, 217.

⁵¹ Jaffa *Sijill*, no. 18, order from 17 Jumādā II 1265; do., no. 13, 2 Jumādā II 1266; no. 13, *awākhir* Muḥarram 1268; FO 78/1388, Brant to Malmesbury, No. 25, Damascus, 7 May 1858; Finn, op. cit., II, 407.

⁵² Jaffa *Sijill*, no. 13, 25 Ramaḍān 1266; do., no. 18, 28 Shawwāl 1266; FO 78/1389, 'A general report on Aleppo', encl. in Skene to Malmesbury, No. 25, Aleppo, 17 June 1858; FO 78/872, Wood to Canning, encl. in Wood to Palmerston, No. 17, Damascus, 29 May 1851; AE, Jérusalem, II, No. 81, from Lantivy, 18 September 1844; Urquhart, op. cit., II, 161.

⁵³ BA, Ir. D, no. 7691/28, 6 Jumādā I 1263; BA, Ir. Mv., no. 9481, 3 Muḥarram 1269; BA, Cev. Z, no. 1811, 5 Šafar 1275; the Istanbul weekly *Jeride-i Havādith*, no. 695, 11 Shawwāl 1270; compare FO 78/622, Wood to Aberdeen, No. 3, Damascus, 14 January 1845.

⁵⁴ BA, Ir. H, no. 2273/15, 23 Shawwāl 1263; FO 195/274, Rose to Cowley, Broumana (Lebanon), No. 46, 25 August 1847; FO 78/910, Werry to Rose, No. 25, 31 July 1852, encl. in Werry to Malmesbury, No. 13, Aleppo, 13 August 1852; FO 78/1452, White to Skene, No. 22, Antioch, 27 October 1850, encl. in Skene to Russell, No. 73, Aleppo, 29 October 1859.

conduct of public officials.⁵⁵ The provincial council supervised the work of the district councils and was required to exercise a general supervision over the execution of the reforms in its province.⁵⁶ In short, all administrative and financial affairs were to pass through the *Majlis* and almost no action could be taken without its consent, which was given in the form of a *maḍbaṭa* (official report).⁵⁷

Another vast area of public life which came under the control of the council was the administration of justice. Although the Egyptians had already introduced this practice, it was very likely Reshīd's own initiative to amalgamate the administrative and judicial systems, which he expressed in the first Ottoman Penal Code of May 1840.⁵⁸ Indeed, one of the very first orders given to the newly created councils in Syria was to assume the management of judicial affairs,⁵⁹ leaving the Muslim court (*Maḥkama*) to deal only with matters of personal status, property holdings, and the like.⁶⁰ The judicial powers of local councils in small towns were, apparently, very limited and not defined; as in the administrative field, they would refer the major cases to the provincial *Majlis*, which acted also as a court of appeal against their decisions. The provincial council would discuss the civil and judicial suits which came before it and would submit its findings in a *maḍbaṭa*; but its power to inflict punishment was limited to certain categories. Major cases were to be referred to the Supreme Council of Justice in Istanbul for confirmation; in 1852, however, the *wālī* was authorized to confirm and execute most verdicts of his *Majlis*, within certain limits.⁶¹

All these numerous functions of administration, finance, and justice were performed by the provincial council, usually called *Majlis Kabīr* 'Grand Council' or *Majlis al-Iyāla* 'Provincial Council' which met two or three times

⁵⁵ See, for example, BA, Ir. Mv., no. 15905, 8 Muḥarram 1273; Sofia, Bulgarian Archives, NBVK/OR, no. 287/61, 15 Jumādī II 1258; FO 78/872, Wood to Canning, encl. in Wood to Palmerston, No. 17, Damascus, 29 May 1851.

⁵⁶ BA, Ir. D, no. 2580/53, 15 Jumādī I 1257; do., no. 14323/2, 27 Šafar 1267; Finn, op. cit., I, 13; Urquhart, op. cit., II, 163.

⁵⁷ See, for example, BA, Ir. D, no. 2580/27, Jumādā 1257; do., no. 13183/4, 9 Dhū al-Ḥijja 1266; FO 195/170, Werry to Ponsonby, Aleppo, 2 August 1841; FO 78/872, Wood to Canning, No. 12, 28 May 1851, encl. in Wood to Palmerston, No. 17, Damascus, 29 May 1851; FO 78/1388, Brant to Alison, No. 11, 23 February 1858, encl. in Brant to Clarendon, No. 11, Damascus, 24 February 1858; AE, Damas, III, No. 22, from de Barrère, 15 August 1855; Finn, op. cit., II, 407; Urquhart, op. cit., II, 161-4. Compare also E. Engelhardt, *La Turquie et le Tanzimat*, 2 vols., Paris, 1882-4, I, 108.

⁵⁸ Engelhardt, op. cit., II, 290; Aḥmed Luṭfi, *Mir'āt-i 'adālet*, Istanbul, 1304, 154.

⁵⁹ BA, Maliyeden müdevver, no. 9061, dated 1257; AE, Damas, I, No. 11, from Menton, 13 March 1841; Great Britain, *Parliamentary Papers, Accounts and Papers*, LX, 1843, Pt. 2, No. 27, from Wood, Beirut, 9 September 1841; the legal procedure of the *Majlis* was to be based on the penal code of 1840 and later on those of 1851 and 1858. See Luṭfi, *Mir'āt*, 128.

⁶⁰ See examples in Jaffa *Sijīl*, no. 18, order of 1 Šafar 1270; Ben-Zvi Institute, Jerusalem, Navon Collection, two Ottoman documents of 1 Rajab 1271 and 28 Dhū al-Qa'da 1271 respectively.

⁶¹ Engelhardt, op. cit., I, 83; Luṭfi, *Mir'āt*, 131-2, 155; M. A. Ubicini, *Letiers on Turkey*, 2 vols., London, 1856, I, 47-9, 170-1; Urquhart, op. cit., II, 217-22; compare *Taqvīm-i Vaqā'ī'*, no. 283, 3 Muḥarram 1258.

a week. In district towns many of these functions were carried out at a lower level by the *Majlis* of the *sarjaq*, presided over by the *qā'im maqām*, and by the *Majlis al-Qaḍā'*, under the *mudīr*; ⁶² the latter councils were responsible before the Great Council of the province. The various councils were assisted in the performance of their duties by the *mukhtārs* of the town quarters and the *shaykhs* of the artisan guilds; ⁶³ within the *Majlis* itself, the councillors, who received regular salaries, were assisted by one or two clerks and a financial officer. The expansion of government administration and the introduction of new measures during the Tanzimat period required the creation of new posts and the allocation of areas of responsibility amongst the council's members. Thus, apart from the offices of *kātib taḥrīrāt* (registrar) and *kātib māl* (financial officer), there appeared in the *Majlis* in the 1840's new appointments like *nāzīr nufūs* (census inspector), *mudīr waqf* (inspector of *waqfs*), and *mudīr zirā'a* (agricultural inspector). ⁶⁴

Despite these arrangements, it appears that some of the councils were unable to tackle their numerous duties efficiently; the *Majlis* of Damascus was, for example, instructed in 1850 to manage its affairs in a more orderly way by dealing with the civil and the financial affairs in separate sessions. ⁶⁵ A further step in this direction was taken in 1854, when each provincial council was reshaped into two bodies, an administrative one called *Majlis Idāra* 'Administrative Council' and a judicial body named *Majlis Taḥqīq* 'Council of Investigation', each limited to its own duties. ⁶⁶ In some places these two councils were in fact two forms of the same body, which held its meetings under separate titles. In other cities the members of *Majlis Taḥqīq*, headed by *Ma'mūr Taḥqīqāt*, were drawn from the provincial *Majlis*, which continued to hold supreme authority in both judicial and administrative affairs. ⁶⁷

III. *The Majlis, the Pasha, and the Tanzimat reforms*

Furnished with these enormous powers, the *Majlis* was nominally set up to assist the governor in carrying out his duties within the area under his

⁶² Examples in BA, Ir. D, no. 7692/21, 5 Rabī' II 1263; do., no. 21422/11, 16 Muḥarram 1272; BA, Ir. Mv., no. 16751/6, 27 Shawwāl 1274; BA, Cev. D, no. 5153, 14 Dhū al-Qa'da 1275; FO 78/1630, Dufferin to Russell, No. 113, Beirut, 10 May 1861. For the administrative division of Syria and Palestine in the Tanzimat period, see Maoz, op. cit., Pt. II, ch. i.

⁶³ BA, Ir. Mv., no. 4386, 8 Dhū al-Qa'da 1265.

⁶⁴ Examples in BA, Ir. D, no. 29302/15, 1 Dhū al-Ḥijja 1275; BA, Cev. Z, no. 2703, Kānūn II, 1277; BA, Ir. Mv., no. 14648, 27 Dhū al-Ḥijja 1271; *Taqvīm-i Vaqā'ī'*, no. 238, 3 Muḥarram 1258. The office of *mudīr zirā'a* was more common in small provincial towns.

⁶⁵ BA, Ir. Mv., no. 4571, 23 Šafar 1266.

⁶⁶ BA, Ir. Mv., no. 13697, 25 Rabī' I 1274; do., no. 14248, 7 Ramaḍān 1271; BA, Ir. Mm., no. 412/16, 11 Shawwāl 1273.

⁶⁷ See FO 78/1450, Brant to Bulwer, No. 1, 14 January 1859, encl. in Brant to Malmesbury, No. 2, Damascus, 15 January 1859; FO 78/1452, Skene to Bulwer, No. 11, encl. in Skene to Malmesbury, No. 20, Aleppo, 31 March 1859; FO 78/1630, memo. by Vice-Consul White, encl. in Dufferin to Russell, No. 113, Beirut, 10 May 1861; compare also BA, Ir. Mv., no. 15697, 21 Dhū al-Ḥijja 1272; BA, Ir. Mm., no. 412/16, 11 Shawwāl 1273; al-Shaṭṭī, op. cit., II, 22; Anon., *Rambles*, 66; Urquhart, op. cit., II, 154 ff.

jurisdiction. In fact, however, this institution constituted a further check on the Pasha's authority, which was already restricted by other senior Turkish officials in his province, such as the *defterdār* and the military commander.⁶⁸

Unlike the governors in small towns who presided over their local councils, the *wālī* was not the official head of the provincial *Majlis*, though he usually took part in its work. The president of this council was usually a senior Turkish official, who was nominated directly from the Supreme Council in Istanbul and to which he and his *Majlis* were also responsible.⁶⁹ Not until 1852, when the Pasha's powers were extended, was the provincial council, now headed by the *defterdār*, put under the direct control of the *wālī*.⁷⁰

This, however, neither basically changed the inferior position of the *wālī vis-à-vis* his *Majlis*, nor made him the real master of the provincial council. The Pasha's authority was increased, it is true, but the wide powers of the *Majlis* were not diminished, nor did a change take place in the composition of the council. As before 1852, the *wālī* had to struggle constantly with the *Majlis*; he could take no action unless it had been endorsed by a *madbāṭa* from his council. Only a small number of strong *wālīs* were able to dominate their *Majlis* and to force its members to sign the *madbāṭa*; able Pashas like Kibrīshī, Şafvetī, and Vāmiq, who served in various Syrian provinces during the 1840's and 1850's could subject the councillors to their will while dismissing or arresting the reluctant ones.⁷¹ But as soon as an energetic governor was replaced, the unfavoured councillor would be restored and the old struggle revived.⁷² The mediocre Pasha who usually served in these provinces depended on the *madbāṭa* and could not do without the unchanging members of the *Majlis*, whose superior information and useful contacts were indispensable.⁷³ He would often not dare to antagonize these notables for fear of their great influence in both Syria and Istanbul. If he did, they would arouse local disorders and bring the public administration to a standstill; or they would use their influence in

⁶⁸ See above, pp. 279–80.

⁶⁹ BA, Ir. Mv., no. 5220, 17 Rajab 1266; Urquhart, op. cit., II, 160–4; compare also Luṭfī, *Mir'āt*, 131–2; FO 78/622, Wood to Canning, encl. in Wood to Aberdeen, No. 41, Damascus, 4 December 1845. The president of the provincial council in Beirut was, however, a local notable by the name of 'Abd al-Fattāḥ. See BA, Ir. H, no. 2273/15, 23 Shawwāl 1263.

⁷⁰ BA, Ir. D, no. 5970, 21 Şafar 1267; FO 78/871, Werry to Canning, No. 9, 3 April 1852, encl. in Werry to FO, No. 6, Aleppo, 10 April 1852.

⁷¹ BA, Cev. D, no. 5575, Rabī' II 1274; BA, Ir. Mv., no. 16700/12, 19 Rabī' I 1274; do., no. 17203/5, 16 Şafar 1274; FO 78/660A, Wood to Wellesley, No. 16, 2 December 1846, encl. in Wood to Aberdeen, No. 17, Damascus, 7 December 1846; FO 78/799, Moore to Canning, No. 24, 25 May 1849, encl. in Moore to Palmerston, No. 20, Beirut, 1 June 1849; FO 78/1219, Moore to Clarendon, No. 62, Beirut, 19 December 1856; FO 78/1298, Misk to Clarendon, No. 1, Damascus, 28 January 1857; AE, Jérusalem, IV, No. 92, from Botta, 7 July 1854; Finn, op. cit., I, 473–4; Paton, op. cit., 206; Taoutel, op. cit., III, 146.

⁷² See, for example, FO 195/226, Wood to Canning, No. 9, Damascus, 8 July 1846.

⁷³ FO 195/302, Werry to Canning, No. 1, Aleppo, 2 February 1850; compare FO 78/962, Finn to Redcliffe, No. 26, 11 August 1853, encl. in Finn to Clarendon, No. 13, Jerusalem, 12 August 1853; FO 78/1538, Skene to Bulwer, No. 27, encl. in Skene to Russell, No. 47, Aleppo, 4 August 1860; Finn, op. cit., I, 180.

the Porte to have him replaced.⁷⁴ It sometimes happened that a Pasha would play off the council's factions against each other in order to dominate it; but no less frequently the *Majlis* would collaborate with other senior officials in the province to control the *wāli*.⁷⁵ Many *wālis*, therefore, preferred to leave the management of local affairs to the council, though in the process they often became its tool.⁷⁶ Corrupt governors would choose to collaborate with the councillors to rule the province arbitrarily and rob both its inhabitants and the public treasury.⁷⁷ Similarly, it was often the case that a Pasha would simply hide behind the *madbata* to avoid assuming responsibility; he would likewise refrain at times from performing his duty with the plea that he ought to consult first his *Majlis*.⁷⁸ In short, the local councils of the Tanzimat era, in Engelhardt's words, 'étaient devenus un obstacle au bien, tout en n'empêchant pas le mal'.⁷⁹ Even David Urquhart, who was an ardent supporter of the *Majlis* system, admits: 'It will be seen that all power is taken out of the hands of the Pasha. The *Mejlis* is not his council. . . . It seems then that the point has been passed where a check was desirable over the Pasha, and that now the danger lies in the *Mejlis*'.⁸⁰

In these circumstances, the application of the Ottoman Tanzimat in each area of life was largely determined by the results of the encounter between the various forces and interests which prevailed in the Syrian cities. As things were, there emerged in the course of that period a fairly steady co-operation in certain aspects between the urban leadership and the local Turkish authorities on a basis of a mutual interest which at times was incompatible with the Tanzimat. The most conspicuous alliance between the two sides was in matters of government and administration.

⁷⁴ See, for example, FO 78/872, Wood to Canning, No. 8, 23 April 1851, encl. in Wood to Palmerston, No. 13, Damascus, 28 April 1851; FO 78/1118, Wood to Clarendon, No. 18, Damascus, 14 April 1855; FO 78/1220, Barker to Redcliffe, No. 35, 15 September 1858, encl. in Barker to Clarendon, No. 15, Aleppo, 24 September 1858.

⁷⁵ FO 78/761, Wood to Canning, No. 29, 24 November 1848, encl. in Wood to Palmerston, No. 30, Damascus, 25 November 1848; FO 78/1630, Dufferin to Russell, No. 113, Beirut, 10 May 1861.

⁷⁶ FO 195/292, Finn to Canning, No. 13, Jerusalem, 21 August 1850; FO 78/1452, Skene to Bulwer, separate encl. in Skene to Malmesbury, No. 42, Aleppo, 30 June 1859; Taoutel, op. cit., II, 100.

⁷⁷ See, for instance, FO 195/194, Rose to Canning, No. 14, Beirut, 3 March 1842; FO 78/577, Rose to Aberdeen, No. 19, Beirut, 9 May 1844; FO 78/801, Wood to Palmerston, No. 9, Damascus, 28 April 1849; FO 78/1120, Finn to Redcliffe, No. 45, 1 December 1855, encl. in Finn to Clarendon, No. 49, Jerusalem, 19 December 1855; FO 78/1389, Skene to Bulwer, No. 29, encl. in Skene to Malmesbury, No. 41, Aleppo, 4 September 1858; Barker, op. cit., I, 145; Finn, op. cit., I, 397.

⁷⁸ FO 195/292, Finn to Canning, No. 8, Jerusalem, 1 March 1849; FO 78/1388, Brant to Alison, No. 11, 23 February 1858, encl. in Brant to Clarendon, No. 11, Damascus, 24 February 1858; AE, Damas, III, No. 22, from de Barrère, 25 April 1855.

⁷⁹ Engelhardt, op. cit., I, 108; see also FO 78/1538, Skene to Bulwer, No. 27, encl. in Skene to Russell, No. 47, Aleppo, 4 August 1860; AE, Alep, I, No. 41, from Guys, 27 June 1846; Anon., *Rambles*, 61 ff.; on the *Majlis* vices in other parts of the Empire, see Davison, op. cit., 48-9, 140-1.

⁸⁰ Urquhart, op. cit., II, 164.

In the first place the Syrian 'ulamā' and a'yān were themselves interested in the preservation of peace and stability in their cities, since, having owed their public positions to the Ottoman régime, they ultimately threw in their lot with it. Therefore, they were often willing to assist the government in maintaining order and in introducing such unpopular measures as conscription and taxation.⁸¹

For one thing many town notables no longer possessed any strong motive against conscription, since they now derived their power from sources other than military strength and were thus unable to challenge the Ottoman military supremacy. Moreover, in their capacity as members of the *Majlis* and as rich proprietors, the notables managed to exempt their young relatives from recruitment either by influence or by bribery.⁸² The councillors also contrived to avoid the direct impact of taxation and even make it beneficial; firstly, they would divide among themselves and their relatives the *iltizāms* of the surrounding rural areas, out of which they would draw great profits at the expense of both the population and the public treasury. Secondly, they would levy the town's biggest tax—the *farda* (personal tax)—in a manner that did not affect their own sectarian interest but was prejudicial to both the lower classes and the non-Muslim communities.⁸³

The deeds of oppression and injustice, especially those concerned with excessive taxation, meant, in effect, a rebuff to another major concept of the Tanzimat: the well-being of the population. Accordingly, they provoked from time to time popular outbursts of resentment and violence, not merely against the authorities, but particularly against the local notables themselves.⁸⁴ This, in a sense, represented a break with the tendency of the past, whereby the urban population, headed by their leaders, formed a solid block in order to resist measures of taxation and conscription imposed by the Egyptian or the Ottoman authorities. The emergence of this rift between the Muslim masses and their traditional leadership can be attributed to the new conditions created in Syria during the Tanzimat period. In these circumstances the city notables, seeing no other possible way of avoiding the impact of these unpopular reforms, took

⁸¹ BA, Ir. D, no. 13183/6, 24 Dhū al-Ḥijja 1286; FO 195/207, Werry to Canning, No. 2, Aleppo, 27 January 1844; FO 78/579, Wood to Aberdeen, No. 7, Damascus, 4 March 1844; see also FO 195/292, Finn to Canning, No. 18, Jerusalem, 26 November 1850; FO 78/871, Werry to Canning, No. 16, 5 April 1851, encl. in Werry to Palmerston, No. 3, Aleppo, 10 April 1851. At the same time, however, some 'ulamā' from Damascus took pains to incite the neighbouring mountaineers against recruitment. See FO 78/910, Wood to Malmesbury, No. 38, Damascus, 7 December 1852.

⁸² See Maoz, *op. cit.*, Pt. III, ch. i.

⁸³ FO 78/579, Wood to Aberdeen, No. 7, Damascus, 4 March 1844; FO 78/960, Werry to Rose, 29 January 1853, encl. in Werry to FO, No. 4, Aleppo, 3 February 1853; AE, Damas, I, No. 12, from Devoizy, 7 February 1844; AE, Alep, II, No. 5, from Geoffroy, 7 May 1853; Taoutel, *op. cit.*, III, 159.

⁸⁴ See, for example, FO 78/579, Wood to Aberdeen, No. 7, Damascus, 4 March 1844; and Taoutel, *op. cit.*, III, 159; also AE, Damas, I, No. 13, from Devoizy, 6 March 1844; FO 78/1298, Misk to Clarendon, No. 15, Damascus, 28 September 1857; FO 78/1452, Skene to Bulwer, No. 16, 14 May 1859, encl. in Skene to Bulwer, No. 28, Aleppo, 14 May 1859.

to assisting the authorities in putting the main burden of these measures upon the masses.

On the other hand, the local Turkish Pasha, unable to take these steps without the notables' help, was compelled, by way of compromise, to ignore their evasion and oppression.

This illicit co-operation between the authorities and the councillors was more remarkable with regard to the reform in the status of the non-Muslim subjects, another principle in the Ottoman New Order. As a matter of fact, the '*ulamā*' and other urban conservative elements were the strongest opponents of the concession of equality to the *ra'āyā*, an issue over which they were deeply sensitive. They therefore used their official positions as councillors and heads of the religious institutions to subvert the rights granted to the non-Muslim population.⁸⁵ In this issue too the Muslim notables usually enjoyed the silent consent and sometimes even the secret support of many Turkish governors, who, on the whole, shared the Syrian Muslims' opposition to Christian equality.⁸⁶ This unofficial and ill-omened agreement was furthermore the source of many anti-Christian activities as well as riots which occurred in the Syrian towns during the early Tanzimat period. The 1860 massacre of Damascus Christians in particular had some of its main roots in this tacit alliance; the chief '*ulamā*' took the lead in this bloodshed while the local Turkish Pasha remained passive.⁸⁷

It is true that the Porte realized fairly soon the danger to its New Order which was latent within that form of local *Maḡlis*. Accordingly, the central government made great efforts during the years 1840–61 to curb the *Maḡlis* by reducing its numbers and by replacing its ruling clique of '*ulamā*' and '*a'yān*' with representatives from all classes and communities. But, lacking a proper policy and the necessary instruments, the Porte failed to accomplish these aims.

Already in the early 1840's an order was issued for a reduction of the number of councillors in both Damascus and Aleppo.⁸⁸ This step, taken for reasons of economy, did not seem to be effective. For example, in 1844 the new *ser'asker* of Syria, Nāmiq Pasha, was enjoined by Istanbul 'to strengthen the action of the authorities against the powerful and influential corps of *Effendis* and *Ulemas*'.⁸⁹ Instead, however, this able Pasha appeased and flattered the town notables, as did in fact other prominent Turkish officials.⁹⁰ Five to six years

⁸⁵ See, for example, FO 78/499, Wood to Aberdeen, No. 17, Damascus, 25 May 1843; FO 195/266, Wood to Canning, No. 9, Damascus, 8 July 1846; FO 78/872, Wood to Palmerston, No. 26, Damascus, 28 July 1851; AE, Alep, III, No. 3, from Geofroy, 23 June 1860; Taoutel, op. cit., II, 99–100.

⁸⁶ FO 195/207, Moore to Canning, 27 January 1842, encl. in Moore to Aberdeen, No. 1, Beirut, 5 February 1842; FO 78/761, Wood to Palmerston, No. 10, Damascus, 4 March 1848; FO 78/871, Werry to Canning, No. 34, 23 August 1851, encl. in Werry to Palmerston, No. 13, Aleppo, 30 August 1851; FO 78/1219, Moore to Clarendon, No. 62, Beirut, 19 December 1856.

⁸⁷ On the 1860 massacres in Damascus, see Maoz, op. cit., Pt. IV, ch. iii.

⁸⁸ FO 78/498, Wood to Aberdeen, No. 20, Damascus, 23 February 1842; BA, Ir. Mv., no. 1036/1, 13 Dhū al-Hijja 1259.

⁸⁹ FO 78/679, Wood to Aberdeen, No. 15, Damascus, 8 May 1844.

⁹⁰ AE, Damas, I, No. 15, 6 March 1844; BA, Ir. Mv., no. 967, 27 Jumādā I 1259; do., no. 978, 18 Jumādā II 1259; FO 195/351, Moore to Canning, No. 10, Beirut, 26 May 1851.

later a general reorganization of the provincial councils was carried out: at Beirut and Jerusalem in 1849, at Damascus in 1850, and at Aleppo in 1851. The number of Muslim notables was reduced again to the official figure, while Christian and Jewish deputies were granted a slightly larger representation. In most places, however, the old Muslim members were partly restored to the *Majlis* and partly replaced by other Muslim notables; only in Aleppo (and in Jerusalem 10 years later) were the *a'yān* replaced by deputies from the lower classes—but not for very long; ⁹¹ the number of Muslim '*ulamā*' and *a'yān* was increased again in this council during the 1850's. ⁹²

In 1856 the Ottoman reformers still felt a strong need for another general reorganization of the *Majlis* system; their second great edict, the *Hatt-i humayun*, declared: 'In order to render fairness in the choice of the deputies in the provincial and district councils, from among the Muslim, Christian, and other subjects; and in order to ensure freedom of opinion . . . proceedings shall be taken . . . to control their . . . decisions . . . by reforming the regulations regarding the way these councils are formed and organized . . .'. ⁹³

It seems, however, that these recommendations were again not put into practice in Syria and Palestine before 1860-1. At this point there came to an end not only a stage in the Ottoman Tanzimat, with the death of 'Abd al-Majid in 1861, but also a period in Syrian urban politics, with the crystallization of the new political structure in the towns. The events of 1860 in Lebanon and Damascus, while involving the intervention of the Great Powers and bringing about the *règlement* in the Lebanon, led, furthermore, to the drafting of a new system of provincial administration which was finally embodied in the Provincial Law of 1864. ⁹⁴

IV. Aleppo: balance of power in a big city

This was the broad pattern of town politics in most Syrian cities during the period 1840-61: the local *Majlis* emerged as the principal ruling institution and the major scene of the Tanzimat-inspired relations between the Turkish Pasha and the local leadership. This was, however, a gradual process which within that period reached various stages in different places. On the whole the small towns tended to lag behind the big cities since they were, generally, less open than the cities to the impact of the new era. Placed in this category was also the

⁹¹ BA, Ir. D, no. 11287, 12 Şafar 1265; BA, Ir. Mv., no. 5220, 28 Shawwāl 1266; BA, Cev. D, no. 786, 16 Rabī' I 1267; AE, Jérusalem, III, No. 16, 10 November 1849; FO 195/331, Moore to Canning, No. 26, Beirut, 31 May 1849; FO 78/837, Calvert to Palmerston, No. 10, Damascus, 30 May 1850; FO 78/872, Wood to Palmerston, No. 6, Damascus, 29 January 1851; FO 78/871, Werry to Palmerston, No. 1, 28 February 1851. A similar measure, namely replacing notables by shopkeepers, took place in Jerusalem in 1860. See FO 78/1521, Finn to Bulwer, encl. in Finn to Russell, No. 21, Jerusalem, 19 July 1860.

⁹² BA, Ir. Mv., no. 18868/7, 11 Jumādā II 1276; BA, Cev. Z, no. 2703, Kānūn II, 1277; BA, Cev. D, no. 7367, 17 Ramaḍān 1273.

⁹³ The text of the *Hatt-i humayun* in *Düstür* (Istanbul, 1871-1928), I, 7-14.

⁹⁴ Compare Davison, op. cit., 108, 143; E. Z. Karal, *Osmanlı tarihi*, v-vi, Ankara, 1947-54, vi, 31.

big town of Aleppo, whose political history during that period might represent the process of transformation to which the Tanzimat gave rise in the Syrian town. During the 1840's the internal politics of Aleppo were restored to a position somewhat similar to that of the pre-Egyptian period, chiefly because of a local para-military organization which managed to survive the harsh Egyptian rule. It has already been noted that in the pre-reform period real power in Aleppo lay with the Janissary and *Ashrāf* factions which violently fought each other for authority in the city. A Turkish Pasha was able to rule Aleppo only if he sided with one of the two local forces; but occasionally the rival groups would co-operate, nullify the *wāli*'s power, or even expel him from the town. This struggle was usually accompanied by armed clashes between the various forces, resulting in destruction and loss of life in the city.

Only Ibrāhīm, the energetic Egyptian Pasha, managed to subdue the local strife and to control the city. He was able to do this only by appointing 'Abdullāh Bey Babilsī, the Janissaries' leader, as *mutasallim* (civil governor) of Aleppo.⁹⁵ When the Ottomans returned to Syria they reappointed 'Abdullāh as *mutasallim* of the city and bestowed upon him great honours.⁹⁶ This was also the policy with regard to other big Syrian cities, where the authorities had to appoint local notables as sub-governors for a transitional period. But, whereas in cities like Damascus and Jerusalem these notables were replaced by Turks as soon as the government had established itself strongly,⁹⁷ in Aleppo things were different. 'Abdullāh, who commanded many thousands of armed followers from among the urban, rural, and tribal populations, was the only person capable of maintaining order in Aleppo, and in fact held most of the strings of its government.⁹⁸ At the same time, however, the Ottoman authorities backed the local rival faction, the *Ashrāf*, allowing their chief members to dominate the provincial *Majlis* and nominating their leader, Yūsuf Bey Sharīf, as *qā'im maqām* (military governor) of Aleppo.⁹⁹ The Turkish government, which thus apparently tried to play off the old local rivals against each other, found itself completely powerless, while 'Abdullāh and the *Ashrāf* shared the authority. In the frame of their offices each faction managed to accumulate a great deal of wealth by holding the *iltizāms* of the province and also keeping to themselves large parts of the revenue.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁵ FO 78/539, Werry to Bidwell, private, Aleppo, 2 June 1843; Paton, op. cit., 245.

⁹⁶ *Taqvīm-i Vaqā'i*, no. 238, 3 Muḥarram 1258; BA, Ir. D, no. 2860/5, 21 Rabī' I 1258; do., no. 13493/8, 29 Šafar 1267; Taoutel, op. cit., III, 26-8; Paton, op. cit., 247.

⁹⁷ FO 78/444, Young to Ponsonby, No. 4, Jerusalem, 5 March 1841; FO 195/210, Young to Canning, No. 3, 23 January 1844; al-Bāshā, op. cit., 240.

⁹⁸ FO 78/448, Werry to Ponsonby, Aleppo, 15 May 1848; FO 78/539, Werry to Rose, Aleppo, 1 May 1843, encl. in Rose to Aberdeen, No. 42, Beirut, 6 May 1843; Barker, op. cit., II, 289; Paton, op. cit., 247.

⁹⁹ *Taqvīm-i Vaqā'i*, no. 238, 3 Muḥarram 1258; BA, Ir. D, no. 2053, 25 Jumādā I 1257; Taoutel, op. cit., III, 26-8; Paton, op. cit., 248.

¹⁰⁰ A petition by inhabitants of the *Pashalik* of Aleppo, in BA, Ir. D, no. 13493/8, 29 Šafar 1267; FO 78/539, Werry to Bidwell, private, Aleppo, 2 June 1843; Kāmil al-Ghazzī, *Nahr al-dhahab fī ta'rikh Ḥalab*, 3 vols., Aleppo, 1342, II, 371.

It was not until 1850 that the Turkish authorities dared to challenge openly these powerful bodies: Muṣṭafā Zārīf Pasha, the Ottoman *wālī*, charged the leading members of both groups with the payment of the long-standing *iltizām* arrears, threatening them with imprisonment and confiscation of their property.¹⁰¹ Moreover, 'Abdullāh Bey, whose official powers had already been reduced by the Ottomans,¹⁰² was now removed from his office as *mutasallīm* and was forbidden to farm any more *iltizāms*.¹⁰³ This bold action of the Turks, who seem to have underrated 'Abdullāh's actual strength, constituted one of the major factors leading to the revolt of 1850 in Aleppo. The other factors were the imposition of conscription and poll-tax—*farda*—on the population.

After his dismissal 'Abdullāh approached Yūsuf, the leader of the *Ashrāf*, and urged him to co-operate in inciting a popular uprising against the Ottoman authorities by exploiting the approaching conscription and the recent levy of *farda*. In 'Abdullāh's view, the authorities, being unable to quell the revolt themselves, since their garrison was extremely small, would be forced to seek the help of 'Abdullāh and Yūsuf and as a reward would also concede them the tax arrears.¹⁰⁴ The *Ashrāf* agreed to help in carrying out the plot, although, apart from the tax arrears issue, they did not share 'Abdullāh's motives for the uprising. As great proprietors they would disagree with the popular demand represented by the veteran Janissaries to convert the *farda* from a poll-tax to a property levy.¹⁰⁵ As a body which was composed of a relatively small number of notables who derived their power from great wealth and by controlling local public institutions, the *Ashrāf* were not likely to be affected by conscription so much as 'Abdullāh's group, which was based on mass military organization. Yet the *Ashrāf* and their followers possessed a rather substantial grievance which the Janissaries did not fully share: their strong opposition to the concept of Christian equality which deeply affronted their sensitivities.¹⁰⁶ (It must be noted here that the anti-Christian attitude reached its climax in Aleppo on the eve of the 1850 revolt against the government, when the Greek Catholic patriarch had made a triumphal entry into the city at the head of a procession carrying crosses and other church ornaments.¹⁰⁷) It seems doubtful, however, that the *Ashrāf* were prepared to risk their position in Aleppo over this issue.

¹⁰¹ BA, Ir. D, no. 13493/8, 29 Šafar 1267; al-Ghazzī, op. cit., II, 371.

¹⁰² FO 78/539, Werry to Bidwell, Aleppo, 2 June 1843; FO 195/207, Werry to Canning, No. 4, Aleppo, 4 April 1846.

¹⁰³ FO 195/302, Werry to Canning, No. 8, Aleppo, 26 October 1850.

¹⁰⁴ al-Ghazzī, op. cit., II, 372; see also Qarā'li, op. cit., 79–80; compare Barker, op. cit., II, 290.

¹⁰⁵ Compare FO 195/207, Werry to Canning, No. 2, Aleppo, 14 February 1846; FO 78/960, Werry to Rose, 29 January 1853, encl. in Werry to FO, No. 4, Aleppo, 3 February 1853; Taoutel, op. cit., III, 109.

¹⁰⁶ A petition by Muslim notables of Aleppo in BA, Ir. D, no. 13268/6, 1 Muḥarram, 1267; FO 78/836, Werry to Canning, No. 7, Aleppo, 19 October 1850, encl. in Rose to Palmerston, No. 49, Beirut, 5 November 1850; Records of the Church Missionary Society, London, CM/063, from Sandreczki, No. 349, 'Aynṭāb, 5 November 1850.

¹⁰⁷ FO 78/836, Rose to Canning, No. 48, Beirut, 31 October 1850, encl. in Rose to Palmerston, No. 49, Beirut, 5 November 1850; compare also BA, Ir. D, no. 13268/6, 1 Muḥarram 1267; al-Ghazzī, op. cit., II, 375.

For, unlike 'Abdullāh and his partisans, who had nothing to lose from an uprising but a good chance to regain their position, the *Ashrāf* had little to gain and much to lose by rising against the Turkish authorities. They had already established themselves strongly in local government by dominating the *Majlis* as well as the judicial and religious systems, thus throwing in their lot with the Ottoman régime; an unsuccessful revolt against the Ottomans, therefore, would mean suicide. Indeed, the experienced and cautious notables, who did not command a substantial military force, presumably did not share 'Abdullāh's confidence in his local military superiority, which he apparently based on both his old and recent experiences with the Ottomans.¹⁰⁸ The *Ashrāf* were rather more inclined to believe in the ultimate military supremacy of the Turkish authorities, which would eventually suppress any local revolt.

All this, then, lay behind the ambivalent attitude of Yūsuf Bey Sharif and the notables towards 'Abdullāh's suggestion of revolt; they seemingly agreed to co-operate with the Janissaries, but at the same time continued to show their loyalty to the *wāli*. If the rebellion were to fail, their great rival, 'Abdullāh, would be once and for all destroyed; ¹⁰⁹ if it were to be a success, the *Ashrāf* would achieve their limited aims.

In this context it should also be remembered that originally the conspirators intended to provoke a local insurrection on a small scale only; to threaten the Ottoman authorities rather than to overthrow them. But the uprising which broke out in mid-October 1850 took such a gigantic form that even 'Abdullāh could hardly control it; ¹¹⁰ it also involved such calamities as the plotters themselves could not possibly have foreseen. This was partly owing to the strong rumours about wide resistance to conscription around Damascus which augmented the size of the insurrection; ¹¹¹ and partly because of the outburst of Muslim fanaticism fomented by the recent Christian provocation and encouraged by a desire to loot, which turned the rebellion against the authorities into riots against the Christians of Aleppo as well. Finally, the city garrison was small and the behaviour of the *wāli*, Muṣṭafā Zarf Pasha, cowardly—he refrained from employing his troops to curb the disturbances—and this served also to aggravate the outbreak.

The tumult began when thousands of Muslims, mainly 'Abdullāh's partisans, composed of the Aleppo mob and neighbouring nomad elements, invaded the city and attacked the *wāli*'s residence. The latter hurriedly withdrew with his

¹⁰⁸ In 1841, for example, only the military intervention of 'Abdullāh could save the *ser'asker* Zakariyyā Pasha from a rebellion by the government *bashi-bozüks*, wherefore 'The Government lost somewhat of its influence and power in the eyes of the inhabitants . . .', FO 78/448, Werry to Ponsonby, Aleppo, 15 May 1841.

¹⁰⁹ Compare Barker's suggestions claiming that the initiative for the plot did come from Yūsuf Bey, who wanted in this way to ruin his rival, 'Abdullāh; Barker, *op. cit.*, II, 290. See also FO 78/836, Werry to Canning, No. 43, Aleppo, 24 October 1850, encl. in Rose to Palmerston, No. 49, Beirut, 5 November 1850.

¹¹⁰ al-Ghazzī, *op. cit.*, II, 373.

¹¹¹ FO 78/836, Werry to Canning, No. 7, Aleppo, 19 October 1850, encl. in Rose to Palmerston, No. 49, Beirut, 5 November 1850.

500 regular soldiers and some members of the *Majlis* to Shaykh Yabruk, a fortress on the outskirts of Aleppo. The insurgents, encouraged by this retreat and accompanied by fresh Aleppo crowds, turned then to the Christian quarter, attacking and massacring Christians, looting houses, burning down churches and sacking them.¹¹²

Ẓarīf Pasha, unable to master the events, appointed ‘Abdullāh Bey as *qā'im maqām* of Aleppo, while calling for reinforcements from Damascus and Istanbul. ‘Abdullāh managed to restore order, but the city remained occupied by the rebels—‘Abdullāh’s followers. The *wālī*, still in Shaykh Yabruk, entered, through ‘Abdullāh’s mediation, into peace negotiations with the rebels, apparently in order to gain time. Their principal conditions for laying down arms were: abolition of conscription, renomination of a native of Aleppo (‘Abdullāh) as the city *mutasallim*, and the turning of the *farda* into a property tax. An additional series of demands was that church bells must not be rung, neither must crosses be carried in processions, and that Muslim male and female servants were not to be employed in Christian houses.¹¹³ Ẓarīf Pasha seemingly agreed to accomplish most of these demands while preparing his offensive with the reinforcements he had meanwhile received from Damascus and Anatolia. At the beginning of November 1850, after Aleppo had been occupied by the rebels for about a fortnight, the *wālī* made his first move to regain authority; ‘Abdullāh was suddenly arrested and Yūsuf Bey Sharīf was appointed in his place. Consequently, the population divided into two groups: one, the veteran Janissaries and their allies from among the peasants and Beduin, all of whom continued their rebellion under the command of ‘Abdullāh’s cousin; the other, the *Ashraf* and their followers, who now sided openly with the Turkish authorities.¹¹⁴ After a few days of intense fighting which involved a great loss of life (3,000 to 5,000 people) the Ottoman army was able to recapture the city. Hundreds of rebels were arrested and banished; among them was also ‘Abdullāh, who was poisoned on his way to exile. This was followed by the dismissal of the *wālī*, Muṣṭafā Ẓarīf Pasha, and the nomination in his place of Meḥmed Kibrīsh Pasha, who was specially summoned from London where he filled the post of Ambassador.¹¹⁵ Kibrīsh, who arrived in Aleppo in December 1850 with more troops, took steps to complete the punishment of the culprits, impose conscription, and compensate the Christian

¹¹² For details of these events, see BA, Ir. D, no. 13185, 14 Dhū al-Ḥijja 1266; do., no. 13493/8, 29 Ṣafar 1267; FO 195/302, Werry to Canning, No. 7, Aleppo, 19 October 1850; AE, Alep, II, No. 9, from de Lesseps, 29 October 1850; Barker, op. cit., II, 292 ff.; al-Ghazzī, op. cit., II, 372 ff.; Qarā’li, op. cit., 79 ff.; Taoutel, op. cit., III, 143.

¹¹³ For full text of the rebels’ conditions, see BA, Ir. D, no. 13185/14, encl. in 26 Dhū al-Ḥijja 1266; compare FO 78/836, Werry to Canning, No. 7, Aleppo, 19 October 1850, encl. in Rose to Palmerston, No. 49, Beirut, 5 November 1850; FO 195/302, Werry to Canning, No. 8, Aleppo, 26 October 1850; al-Ghazzī, op. cit., II, 376–7.

¹¹⁴ FO 195/302, Werry to Canning, No. 10, Aleppo, 8 November 1850; Barker, op. cit., II, 293–4; Qarā’li, op. cit., 90–1.

¹¹⁵ BA, Mūhimme def., no. 258, p. 1, orders dated *awā’il* and *awākhir* Muḥarram 1267; BA, Ir. D, no. 13268/6, 1 Muḥarram 1267.

inhabitants for their losses. Above all, the new *wāṭi* adopted strong measures to procure the destruction of the local leadership and reorganize the local *Majlis*. He banished also Yūsuf Bey, the *Ashrāf* leader, the chief *muftī* of Aleppo, and other notables, for the alleged part they had played in the revolt.¹¹⁶ In addition, Kibrīshī Pasha reshaped the town council, excluding from it the *a'yān* and replacing them by Muslims from lower classes as well as by deputies from the non-Muslim communities.¹¹⁷ The next *wāṭi*, Nūrī 'Othmān, followed his predecessor's line and exiled in 1851 ten more notables. For a time it seemed that the power of the *Ashrāf* and Janissaries was completely broken while the Ottoman authorities fully controlled Aleppo and managed to carry out in it a considerable number of reforms.¹¹⁸ But before long the new order of things was reversed; the chief leaders of both local groups were pardoned and allowed to return; Yūsuf Bey Sharīf was invested with the high rank of *mürmürān* and was allowed to return to his former position; the *muftī* also resumed his office in Aleppo.¹¹⁹ Gradually, local notables were restored to the *Majlis* and to its domination; the outbreak of the Crimean War, involving the withdrawal of the Ottoman troops, enabled the old local leaders to establish their position more firmly.¹²⁰ Henceforth, the struggle for authority in Aleppo between the Ottoman *wāṭi* and local forces was carried out mainly in the framework of the *Majlis*; and consequently the Aleppo notables, headed by Yūsuf Pasha Sharīf, were occasionally able to control both the Pasha and the local affairs.¹²¹

V. Government in the small town

In the small towns of Syria and Palestine Ottoman direct rule was generally even weaker than in the big cities. For one thing the struggle for authority between the governor and the local leadership was almost always in favour of the latter. In most places this struggle was concentrated mainly in the *Majlis*, where a coalition of Muslim notables was able to dominate the council as well as the town affairs.¹²² In some towns the real power lay with one local notable

¹¹⁶ *Taqīm-i Vaqā'i'*, no. 534, 6 Shawwāl 1267; al-Ghazzī, op. cit., II, 382; see also BA, Ir. D, no. 13483, 26 Šafar 1267; FO 78/871, Moore to Canning, No. 10, 26 May 1851, encl. in Moore to Palmerston, No. 5, Beirut, 2 June 1851.

¹¹⁷ FO 78/871, Werry to Palmerston, No. 1, Aleppo, 28 February 1851; compare also Taoutel, op. cit., III, 146.

¹¹⁸ FO 78/871, Werry to Palmerston, No. 20, Aleppo, 20 December 1851; do., No. 21, 29 December 1851.

¹¹⁹ al-Ghazzī, op. cit., II, 382; see also Barker, op. cit., II, 295; FO 78/871, Werry to Canning, No. 19, 3 May 1851, encl. in Werry to Palmerston, No. 6, Aleppo, 10 May 1851; BA, Ir. Mv., no. 13688, 23 Rabī II 1271; do., no. 15361, 25 Rajab 1272.

¹²⁰ Compare Taoutel, op. cit., III, 163.

¹²¹ FO 78/1389, Skene to Bulwer, No. 25, 20 August 1858, encl. in Skene to Malmesbury, No. 38, Aleppo, 21 August 1858; FO 78/1538, same to same, No. 27, encl. in Skene to Russell, No. 47, Aleppo, 4 August 1860.

¹²² FO 195/207, Barker to Werry, Suedia, 15 January 1843, encl. in Werry to Canning, No. 3, Aleppo, 11 February 1843; FO 78/1219, Barker to Moore, Aleppo, 3 May 1856, encl. in Moore to Clarendon, No. 22, Beirut, 12 May 1856; FO 78/1118, Werry to Redcliffe, No. 40, Aleppo, 30 December 1854, encl. in Werry to Clarendon, No. 1, Aleppo, 3 January 1855; FO 78/1389, Sankey to Skene, Urfa, 24 March 1858, encl. in Skene to Malmesbury, No. 23, Aleppo, 19 May 1858; compare also BA, Ir. D, no. 7691/27, 23 Rabī II 1262.

(the *mufti* of Gaza, for instance) or a clique of two or three chiefs, either within the *Majlis* or outside it.¹²³ These local elements managed either to subject the governor to their will, or to co-operate with him in misgoverning the town; or to cause his withdrawal; and, infrequently, even to expel him by force.¹²⁴ Only a small number of governors were able to exercise regular rule in their areas and to subdue local opposition by the arrest and banishment of town notables.¹²⁵

One of the major reasons for the inferior position of the junior governor *vis-à-vis* the local leadership was his insufficient military support; he normally had no regular troops, and was allowed to employ only irregular soldiers, who were usually ineffective. Related to this was the fact that only a small number of towns, such as Acre, Hama, and Raqqa, were permanently governed by Turkish Pashas¹²⁶ like the big cities. In most Syrian and Palestinian towns the *qā'im maqāms* or *mudīrs* were either Arab notables or non-Arab chiefs of Muslim minorities, from the neighbouring areas.¹²⁷ In some places the governor was occasionally one of the local inhabitants.¹²⁸ Although Syrian natives were not on the whole less able governors than the Turks, they did not enjoy the same prestige and central backing as a Turkish official did.¹²⁹ On the other hand, being more committed to local interests and rivalries, the native governors were more likely to misuse their powers, contrary to the Porte's orders. Moreover, since they commanded superior local knowledge and influence, they could easily foil any Ottoman attempt to replace them by Ottomans or others; they would 'excite seditions in order to show the Turks that the town cannot be governed without them'.¹³⁰ It is, indeed, true that the Ottoman authorities made considerable efforts during the 1850's to replace local Arab governors by Turkish officials with the purpose of exerting direct rule,¹³¹ but this did not always immunize the new *qā'im maqām* or *mudīr* against the local pressure and the temptation to abuse his powers. On the one hand he was not placed under

¹²³ On Gaza, see FO 78/1217, Finn to Clarendon, No. 55, Jerusalem, 1 September 1856; see also FO 78/1118, Werry to Redcliffe, No. 33, encl. in Werry to Clarendon, No. 25, Aleppo, 16 December 1855.

¹²⁴ See, for example, FO 78/537, Rose to Aberdeen, No. 61, Beirut, 30 August 1843; FO 78/1297, Skene to Clarendon, No. 17, Aleppo, 26 August 1857.

¹²⁵ FO 78/577, Rose to Aberdeen, No. 31, Beirut, 10 July 1844; FO 78/1118, Werry to Redcliffe, No. 40, Aleppo, 30 December 1854, encl. in Werry to Clarendon, No. 1, Aleppo, 3 January 1855.

¹²⁶ Compare *Sālnāme*, Istanbul, 1263-77; *Jerīde-i Havādīth*, no. 27, 22 Jumādā I 1277.

¹²⁷ BA, Ir. H, no. 537/4, Jumādā I 1267; BA, Ir. Mv., no. 3745, 24 Rabī' II 1265; do., no. 13626, 23 Rabī' I 1271; Jaffa *Sijill*, no. 13, 11 Shawwāl 1258; do., 10 Rabī' II 1266; *Parliamentary Papers, Accounts and Papers*, LX, 1843, Pt. 1, No. 1, from Ponsoby, 23 May 1841; Mansūr, op. cit., 300.

¹²⁸ BA, Cev. D, no. 10155, 29 Dhū al-Qa'da 1261; BA, Ir. Mv., no. 15905, 8 Muharram 1273; also Jaffa *Sijill*, no. 13, 11 Shawwāl 1258; do., 10 Rabī' II 1266; Finn, op. cit., I, 232-3, 296; al-Nimr, op. cit., 303.

¹²⁹ See, for example, FO 78/576, Rose to Aberdeen, No. 11, Beirut, 9 April 1844; compare FO 78/913, Finn to Canning, No. 10, encl. in Finn to Malmesbury, No. 4, Jerusalem, 21 June 1852.

¹³⁰ FO 78/1384, Finn to Clarendon, No. 3, Jerusalem, 19 January 1848.

¹³¹ FO 78/837, Wood to Palmerston, No. 2, Damascus, 27 February 1850; FO 78/913, Finn to Canning, No. 10, encl. in Finn to Malmesbury, No. 4, Jerusalem, 21 June 1852; FO 78/1217, Rogers to Finn, Haifa, 9 March 1856.

a strict central control; firstly, the *wāṭī*'s residence was sometimes rather too remote to enable the authorities to supervise the small town closely; secondly, until 1852 the *wāṭī*'s authority over his sub-governors was limited; for example, he had no power to dismiss or appoint junior governors. On the other hand, the salaries of the *qā'im maqāms* and *mutirs* were so low and irregular as to encourage the practice of corruption and the misuse of power.¹³² Indeed, a great many governors of small towns in Syria and Palestine, while ignoring the imperial orders, would frequently practise extortion on and oppress the local population and embezzle the public funds, either by themselves or with the local notables' co-operation.¹³³ Because of their misrule and corruption the governors of small towns were changed frequently, sometimes every few months; others were forced to withdraw because of local pressure, as already mentioned.

Consequently, Turkish direct rule was only lightly felt in the small towns of Syria and Palestine during the period 1840–61, although the ultimate authority of the Ottoman *wāṭī* in the chief city was never denied. This situation can be illustrated by a brief survey of the political history of the Syrian town of Antioch during the 1840's and 1850's. As in Aleppo, the population of Antioch was divided between two factions, that of the *a'yān* and that of the lower classes—artisans and the masses. The former group, being united and strong, acquired a leading position in the town during the early 1840's. On the one hand they formed and dominated the local *Majlis*, thus holding legally a large share of the administration; on the other hand, being also wealthy and influential, they were *de facto* the rulers of Antioch. The governor sent from Aleppo to govern the town was forced to yield to the *a'yān*'s dictates, since he had no regular troops with him.¹³⁴ But when in 1843 he tried to collect taxes in the town against the notables' will, the population rose against him, besieged his residence, and arrested his chief of police; at the same time the insurgents sent a petition against the governor to the *wāṭī* of Aleppo alleging that he had collected taxes which were abolished by the Tanzimat. The *wāṭī* agreed to exchange the governor of Antioch with that of 'Aynṭāb, but the local notables rejected this offer, demanding the appointment of one of their own number as governor.¹³⁵ Eventually, however, they let the new *mutasallim* enter the town; energetic and tactful, he managed to deprive the *a'yān* of their local popular support and banished many of them from Antioch.¹³⁶ But when, a few months later, this

¹³² BA, Ir. Mv., no. 3920, 13 Rabi' II 1265; do., no. 12830, 10 Shawwāl 1270; do., no. 14706, 14 Muharram 1272; do., no. 17321/16, 14 Dhū al-Qa'da 1274; FO 78/801, Wood to Palmerston, No. 5, Damascus, 26 February 1849; Jaffa *Sijill*, no. 13, 11 Shawwāl 1258; do., 10 Rabi' II 1266.

¹³³ FO 78/801, Wood to Palmerston, No. 9, Damascus, 28 April 1849; FO 78/1118, Werry to Redcliffe, No. 40, 30 December 1854, encl. in Werry to Clarendon, No. 1, Aleppo, 3 June 1855.

¹³⁴ FO 195/207, Barker to Werry, Suedia, 15 January 1843, encl. in Werry to Canning, No. 3, Aleppo, 11 February 1843; F. A. Neale, *Eight years in Syria, Palestine and Asia Minor*, 2 vols., London, 1851, II, 30–1.

¹³⁵ FO 195/207, same to same, 11 August 1843, encl. in Werry to Canning, No. 15, 25 August 1843.

¹³⁶ FO 195/207, Barker to Werry, No. 11, Antioch, 8 September 1843, encl. in Werry to Canning, No. 17, Aleppo, 23 September 1843.

able governor was apparently replaced by the local *qādī*, the population rose against the *qādī* and compelled the *wālī* of Aleppo to discharge him. The next governor was, as a matter of fact, more co-operative with the local notables.¹³⁷ In the following years the office of governor passed through several hands; it was held, for instance, by a Pasha sent from Istanbul, who was 'merely a cypher';¹³⁸ he was later replaced by a notable from Aleppo, and in 1856 an Antioch dignitary was nominated *qā'im maqām* of the town.¹³⁹ During most of this period the local *a'yān* continued to be the real rulers of the town. And although they used the name of the Tanzimat in the service of their opposition to Ottoman direct rule, their conduct was, in fact, adverse to the Tanzimat edicts; they practised extortion on the local population, oppressed the neighbouring villages, and severely infringed the rights to equality of the Christian inhabitants; similarly they opposed conscription and any other measures which were likely to affect their own interests.¹⁴⁰

VI. Conclusions

Thus, to conclude, the Tanzimat era brought about a radical change in the political and social life of the Syrian town. On the one hand, it put an end to long, bloody warfare between the various local factions, and between them and the Ottoman governor, by depriving the urban population of its military strength and by establishing an unchallengeable Ottoman military superiority in the cities. On the other hand, however, the Tanzimat, by introducing the *Majlis* system, furnished the traditional urban leadership with a new powerful instrument which enabled it to ward off both Ottoman rule and reform. Originally, the *Majlis* was set up by Reshīd Pasha to fulfil two purposes; to plant the seeds of a representative system in the provinces and to check the autocracy and rapacity of the *wālī*.¹⁴¹ This was in effect an ambivalent policy which, paradoxically, attempted to combine centralization and decentralization; it served to weaken the authority of the *wālī* to the extent of making him sometimes almost powerless, but helped the old oligarchical clique of '*ulamā*' and *a'yān*, who formed and controlled the *Majlis*, to reinforce and consolidate their power. The Pasha's rapacity was now, perhaps, checked; instead, there emerged 15-20 rapacious councillors who practised extortion on and oppressed the population they were supposed to represent. The Pasha could not replace this ruling élite by deputies from other classes, since he was no longer an autocrat and because he needed this traditional leadership to assist him in ruling his

¹³⁷ FO 195/207, Werry to Canning, No. 2, Aleppo, 27 January 1844.

¹³⁸ FO 78/871, Werry to Canning, No. 25, 7 June 1851, encl. in Werry to Palmerston, No. 8, Aleppo, 10 June 1851; Neale, op. cit., II, 30-1.

¹³⁹ BA, Ir. Mv., no. 15905, 8 Muḥarram 1273.

¹⁴⁰ FO 78/537, Rose to Aberdeen, No. 61, Beirut, 30 August 1843; FO 78/871, Werry to Canning, No. 16, 5 April 1851, encl. in Werry to Palmerston, No. 3, Aleppo, 10 April 1851; AE, Alep, II, No. 1, 30 May 1851; Neale, op. cit., II, 30-1; Anon., *Rambles*, 133.

¹⁴¹ Engelhardt, op. cit., I, 107-8; C. MacFarlane, *Turkey and its destiny*, 2 vols., London, 1850, II, 38; H. Temperley, *England and the Near East: the Crimea*, London, 1936, 157-9.

province. He could no longer strengthen his position by the support of one of the local factions, since the position of the Ottoman governor *vis-à-vis* both the 'ulamā' and a'yān of the Syrian cities became basically incompatible because of the Tanzimat. Most of the Tanzimat measures which the Pasha was to carry out were by their very nature at variance with the interests and feelings of each of the above groups. Co-operation between the governor and either of the local forces, through mutual interests, was usually possible to the extent that it involved acts of misrule and subversion of the Porte's orders.

Otherwise, these two urban elements would normally form an alliance and use both their great local influence and vast official powers to overcome the Turkish Pasha and nullify the Ottoman reform edicts. In this context we might end with the testimony of *Shaykh* Umar Efendi al-Ghazzī, the Shāfi'ī *muftī*, and a member of the provincial council of Damascus for more than 20 years without interruption. He is reported to have said :

. . . هذه الاوراق الواردة من السلطان المشتملة على اوامر لا تناسب الاوان
فالقيناها في البطلان ولم نعمل بها بحال ولم نخش^ا من حاكم ولا كبير ولا قاض ولا وزير
نخش^ا

' These papers coming from the Sultan and consisting of orders which did not suit the times, we therefore threw them away unused ; we did not act upon them at all ; we did not fear a ruler nor a great one, neither a judge nor a Vizier '.¹⁴²

¹⁴² al-Baytār, op. cit., II, 1135.

AL-BĪRŪNĪ'S ARABIC VERSION OF PATAÑJALI'S YOGASŪTRA :

A TRANSLATION OF HIS FIRST CHAPTER AND A COMPARISON
WITH RELATED SANSKRIT TEXTS

By SHLOMO PINES and TUVIA GELBLUM

The first text of al-Bīrūnī (A.D. 973–c. 1050) published in Europe which contains a reference to his translation of Patañjali's *Yogasūtra* is his *Risāla fī fihrist kutub Muḥammad ibn Zakarīya' al-Rāzī*, the relevant part of which was published by E. Sachau, Leipzig, 1876–8.¹ In his list of his own works, which is included in this *Risāla*, al-Bīrūnī states that this list comprises the works he has written up to the end of 427/1037.² Several years later Sachau published al-Bīrūnī's *India* (London, 1887), in which al-Bīrūnī not only refers to his having translated this work of Patañjali,³ but also quotes from it copiously.⁴

The relationship of the latter work to the well-known classical sources of the Yoga philosophy has since been debatable. Sachau himself was led astray by the partial evidence constituted by the excerpts in the *India* to the extent of stating : ' Al-Bīrūnī's Patañjali is totally different from " The Yoga Aphorisms of Patañjali " . . . and as far as I may judge, the philosophic system of the former differs in many points essentially from that of the Sūtras '.⁵ This view was regarded as certainly true and further elaborated by S. N. Dasgupta, who as late as 1930 postulated a distinct Patañjali as author of the text translated by al-Bīrūnī.⁶ Presumably Dasgupta did not have access to the MS of al-Bīrūnī's translation, which had been discovered by Massignon in 1922.⁷ Sachau's

¹ In his introduction to his edition of al-Bīrūnī's *الآثار الباقية عن القرون الخالية* (*Chronologie orientalischer Völker von Al-Bīrūnī*, reprinted, Leipzig, 1923). The text in question is referred to on p. xxxv as *ترجمة كتاب باتنجل في الخلاص من الارتباك* ' the translation of Patañjali's book on the liberation from the entanglement ' (see below, p. 308, n. 51). The whole text of this *Risāla* was published by P. Kraus, *Épître de Bīrūnī contenant le répertoire des ouvrages de Muḥammad b. Zakarīyā ar-Rāzī*, Paris, 1936. The relevant portion of the *Risāla* was translated by E. Wiedermann, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften*, LX (Sitzungsberichte der Physikalisch-Medicinischen Sozietät in Erlangen, LII–LIII), 1920–1, 66 seq. Al-Bīrūnī's translation of Patañjali's *Yogasūtra* is mentioned once again in an appendix to this *Risāla*, the author of which is Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Ghaḍanfar al-Tibrizī. According to Sachau (op. cit., p. xv) al-Ghaḍanfar states *inter alia* that he attempted to read a portion of Patañjali's book translated by al-Bīrūnī but could not understand it.

² P. Kraus, op. cit., 29 ; cf. Sachau, op. cit., p. xiii.

³ cf. *Kitāb fī taḥqīq mā li' l-Hind or al-Bīrūnī's India* (Arabic text), Hyderabad, 1958 (henceforth abbreviated as *India*, Hyd.), 6.

⁴ cf. E. C. Sachau (tr.), *Alberuni's India*, London, 1910, reprinted, Delhi, 1964 (henceforth abbreviated as Sachau), index I s.v. Patañjali.

⁵ Sachau, I, 264 (annotations).

⁶ S. N. Dasgupta, *Yoga philosophy in relation to other systems of Indian thought*, Calcutta, 1930, 64.

⁷ Köprülü 1589, fols. 412a–419a. See L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, Paris, 1922, 79 ; second ed., Paris, 1954, 97.

opinion was, however, contested by R. Garbe, who traced the excerpts in question to the known Patañjali's *Yogasūtra*.⁸ He further claimed that the commentary on the *Yogasūtra* contained in the excerpts could also be determined. This he identified at one time as the *Yogabhāṣya* of Veda-vyāsa (fl. between A.D. 650 and 850),⁹ and later—as the *Rājamārtāṇḍa* of Bhoja Rāja (c. A.D. 1018–60).¹⁰

In 1956 H. Ritter prepared and published from the above-mentioned unique MS, which is very poor, a critical edition of the text of al-Birūnī's translation.¹¹ The present undertaking is an attempted translation of al-Birūnī's Arabic version, based on a critical re-examination of Ritter's edition and a comparison with Sanskrit sources.

From the translation given below it will become abundantly clear that most of the *Yogasūtras* themselves are traceable in the Arabic text, occurring generally in their original sequence. They have, however, been woven together with a commentary on the *Yogasūtra*, assuming the form of a dialogue of questions and answers. *A priori* this form may possibly represent the structure of the original Sanskrit commentary or alternatively be an adaptation based on an Arabic usage. The evidence from al-Birūnī's own testimony is self-contradictory. On the one hand, in his introduction to his translation he appears to indicate that the incorporation of the commentary with the sūtras as well as the form of a dialogue are of his own making.¹² But, on the other hand, in his conclusion he speaks of the book originally 'consisting of one thousand and a hundred questions in the form of verse'.¹³ It may be suggested that having found in the original commentary occasional questions and hypothetical objections introducing the sūtras, al-Birūnī further systematized this form into a series of questions and answers, lending a dramatic effect and a higher degree of readability to his translation.

The commentary used by al-Birūnī cannot be identified with any of the printed commentaries, despite a large number of similarities in the interpretation of the text. Thus al-Birūnī's translation of certain passages has an unmistakable resemblance to Veda-vyāsa's *Yogabhāṣya* or to Vācaspati-miśra's subcommentary (of about A.D. 850), called *Tattvavaiśārādī*, on these passages. But these similarities can be explained as normal repetition due to borrowing from a common tradition.

Garbe was certainly wrong when he identified the commentary used by al-Birūnī as that of Veda-vyāsa, and even more so when in his later view he concluded that it was identical with Bhoja Rāja's. He argued that the latter and the relevant quotations in al-Birūnī's *India* used identical parables and

⁸ R. Garbe, *Sāṃkhya und Yoga*, Strassburg, 1896, 41.

⁹ R. Garbe, *Die Sāṃkhya-Philosophie*, Leipzig, 1894, 63.

¹⁰ R. Garbe, *Sāṃkhya und Yoga*, 41.

¹¹ H. Ritter, 'Al-Birūnī's Übersetzung des Yoga-Sūtra des Patañjali', *Oriens*, IX, 2, 1956, 165–200 (henceforth abbreviated as R).

¹² R, 168 (l. 2).

¹³ R, 199 (ll. 1–2).

examples.¹⁴ In fact the pertinent cases cited by him are also found in Veda-vyāsa's and other commentaries and appear to have been drawn from a common tradition. Equally erroneous is the statement made by J. Filiozat as late as 1953. Speaking of Bhoja Rāja's commentary he says: 'C'est peut-être en partie dans ce texte, alors tout récent, qu'al-Bīrūnī s'est initié au Yoga de Patañjali sur lequel il a d'ailleurs écrit un ouvrage en arabe'.¹⁵ In fact al-Bīrūnī's text has more in common with Veda-vyāsa's commentary than with that of Bhoja Rāja. It is quite possible that the source of the commentary in question is traceable to one of the numerous manuscripts of unknown commentaries housed in Indian libraries. A comparison of peculiar figures of speech (rather than topics discussed) and perhaps especially of the opening benediction (*maṅgala*), would be a useful clue for the detection of the source. But the possibility also exists that the source in question has been lost.

In two places in his translation al-Bīrūnī distinctly and explicitly quotes from what he refers to as 'the commentator' (المفسّر).¹⁶ In one of them Ritter suggests for the indistinct text لا رناص the reading لوياص, namely 'by Vyāsa', the author of the *Yogabhāṣya*.¹⁷ This suggestion, however, may be objected to on the following grounds.

(1) In his *Indīa* al-Bīrūnī invariably transcribes the name Vyāsa—although not occurring there as the name of the commentator in question—by using the Arabic letter ص and not ل.¹⁸

(2) A comparison of the two explicit quotations by al-Bīrūnī with Veda-vyāsa's *Yogabhāṣya* yields the following observations.

(a) In the case of the one quotation, where medical doctrines are referred to,¹⁹ only a small portion is paralleled in Veda-vyāsa.

(b) In the case of the other quotation, though similar Purāṇic geographical and cosmological material is handled both in the Arabic version²⁰ and in Veda-vyāsa,²¹ still the description in the former substantially differs from that in the latter. Furthermore, these differences may serve as an argument for inferring that the commentary used by al-Bīrūnī had probably been written at a time when the *bhāṣya* of Veda-vyāsa had not yet attained any great sanctity or authority.²² The Arabic version is not much younger than the oldest known commentaries, and may represent a hitherto unknown line of interpretation.

Similarly, the fact that a number of sūtras—usually not essential ones—do not appear in the Arabic version suggests the possibility that the commentary

¹⁴ See p. 303, n. 8, above.

¹⁵ J. Filiozat in L. Renou and J. Filiozat, *L'Inde classique*, II, Paris, 1953, 46.

¹⁶ R, 185 (l. 16), 188 (l. 3); cf. *Indīa*, Hyd., 191, 192, 194, 196, 205 (Sachau, I, 232, 234, 236, 238, 248).

¹⁷ R, 185 (l. 16).

¹⁸ Thus at least 18 times (e.g. *Indīa*, Hyd., 102, 104).

¹⁹ R, 188 (l. 2 et seq.).

²⁰ R, 185 (l. 16 et seq.).

²¹ Veda-vyāsa's *Yogabhāṣya* (henceforth abbreviated as V) on sūtra 3.26.

²² cf. S. N. Dasgupta, *op. cit.*, 63-4.

used by al-Bīrūnī had dealt with a very early version of the *Yogasūtra*, before interpolations were added. This possibility is further supported by considering al-Bīrūnī's misunderstanding of the word *nidrā* 'sleep', in sūtra 1.10,²³ as referring to dream (رُؤْيَا). He would hardly have done this had his source included sūtra 1.38, which clearly speaks of *nidrā* 'sleep' and *svapna* 'dream' as distinct states.

It may be argued that the commentary in question could be related to the theistic developments evident in late commentators prior or posterior to al-Bīrūnī, such as Vācaspati-miśra (ninth century A.D.), Vijñānabhikṣu (sixteenth century A.D.), and Nilakaṇṭha, who lived—as M. Eliade points out—when all India was full of mystical and devotional currents, and whose versions of the Yoga were shaped under the impact of Vedāntic ideas and *bhakti* (mystical devotion).²⁴ For indeed, whereas the sūtras speak of the goal as *kaiṅvalya* and define it as 'the energy of thought being grounded in itself',²⁵ the Arabic version speaks of liberation and also of union with God (الْخِلاصُ وَالْإِتِّحَادُ).²⁶ Indeed, the concept of God in the latter is a far cry from that of the sūtras themselves, which conceive of Him as a passive archetype of the Yogin, the object of a purely 'intellectual' devotion.²⁷ But against such argumentation one should not ignore the fact that al-Bīrūnī was a Muslim, so that in this major characteristic of his translation as well as in its minor characteristics, which likewise exhibit a good deal of 'islamization', his own interpretation, conditioned by his own cultural orientation, might have been at work.

It is quite certain that the commentary in question was not an oral one, for in his introduction to his translation of the text, al-Bīrūnī himself refers to it as belonging to a group of texts which were read to him 'letter by letter'.²⁸ That al-Bīrūnī was assisted by teachers is also evident from his own testimony in his *India*.²⁹ Nevertheless there is much in our text to suggest that al-Bīrūnī relied to a considerable extent on his own intelligence and autodidactic capacity in studying the sūtras and their commentary. The evidence for this, which is cumulative, may be exemplified by the following points.

(1) Al-Bīrūnī's incorrect rendering of the term *nidrā* in sūtra 1.10, mentioned above, can be accounted for only as due to his independent effort to understand the same sūtra. The latter consists of a definition of the term *nidrā*: *abhāva-pratyayāmbanā vṛttir nidrā* 'Sleep is that mode of functioning of the mind which has as its object the conception of nothing'. However, a literal and uninitiated reading of the Sanskrit here could easily yield what al-Bīrūnī understood, namely: that mode of functioning of the mind which has as its

²³ Sūtras refer to the edition of Dhundirāj, Kaśhi Sanskrit Series, No. 85, 1931.

²⁴ cf. M. Eliade, *Yoga: immortality and freedom*, London, 1958, 75.

²⁵ Sūtra 4.34: . . . *kaiṅvalyam svarūpa-praiṣṭhā vā citi-śaktir iti*.

²⁶ R, 199 (l. 1); cf. R, 197 (l. 20). Cf. *India*, Hyd., 61 (ll. 7-8), 66 (l. 17), 102 (ll. 3-4).

²⁷ cf. M. Eliade, op. cit., 75.

²⁸ R, 187 (l. 10).

²⁹ *India*, Hyd., 18 (= Sachau, I, 24).

object a content which is absent (from the corresponding reality). That he naturally took to refer to the state of dream.³⁰

(2) Another brain-wave of al-Bīrūnī himself may account for what he made of sūtras 2.33-4. Here the expression *vitarka-bādhane* is translated by Ballantyne: 'in excluding things questionable', and by Woods: 'if there be inhibition by perverse considerations'. Al-Bīrūnī apparently renders it by *وإذا كانت الأشياء معلومة باضدادها وخلافاتها* 'opposites and differences'.³¹ The expression *pratīpakṣa-bhāvanam* traditionally means 'cultivation of the opposite', the force of the context being that whenever perverse tendencies, such as anger and violence, should arise in the mind of the Yogin, he ought to cultivate their opposites, such as universal compassion, as an antidote. Presumably unaided by an oral tradition al-Bīrūnī here legitimately takes the expression to mean simply 'vice versa', i.e. 'there is an effecting of the opposite'; and in view of the context he understands: 'He who gives up violence will be recompensed by their opposites, namely the opposites of the earlier mentioned ignorance and causing of pain' (الجهل والإيلام، وإذا كان الأمر كذلك فتارك القتل يُجَازَى بضدهما).³²

(3) The succinct sūtra 2.22 reads: *kṛtārtham prati naṣṭam apy anaṣṭam tad-anya-sādhāraṇatvāt* 'Though it (the object of sight) has ceased (to be seen) in the case of one whose purpose is accomplished, it has not ceased to be, since it is common to others (besides him)'. Al-Bīrūnī appears to have taken the word *sādhāraṇa* in the sense of a generic property, a universal, and hence an *intellectum*. And he takes *kṛtārtha* to be its opposite—a sense-perceived object. He is consequently led to translate the sūtra: *وليس للمعلومات الحسية حقيقة ثابتة* 'The sense-percepts do not possess permanent reality in the way the *intellecta* do'.³³ A Platonic-Aristotelian background is evident in this translation.

(4) In sūtra 2.6 al-Bīrūnī, presumably unaided by a teacher, takes a definition to be a mere illustration and consequently fails to understand the sūtra. Here the concept of *asmīā* 'the feeling of individuality or personality' is defined as *dr̥g-darśana-śaktyor ekātmatā* 'the state in which the seeing agent and the sight function are identified as one self'. Al-Bīrūnī takes this to be just a case illustrating the *vṛtti* (mode of functioning of the mind) called *vikalpa* 'false conception (based on language symbols)',³⁴ which he uniformly translates by *الظن* 'unproven opinion'.³⁵

³⁰ R, 171 (l. 11).

³¹ R, 182 (l. 14). Perhaps al-Bīrūnī read here *bodhane* for *bādhane*.

³² R, 182 (ll. 15-16).

³³ R, 181 (l. 20).

³⁴ 'Vikalpa is the existence of abstract imagination on the basis of language symbols, as when we say "the intelligence of the puruṣa" though we know that the puruṣa has no other essence than pure intelligence. Without such characteristic mode of chitta transformation abstract thinking would be impossible' (S. N. Dasgupta, op. cit., 276).

³⁵ R, 178 (l. 13).

(5) In illustrating how the latent deposits of *karma* effect a change in condition, the commentaries on sūtra 2.12 include a reference to the celebrated story from the *Mahābhārata* of Nahuṣa, who, having replaced Indra as the chief of the gods, was later transformed into a snake by the Ṛṣi Agastya.³⁶ Al-Birūnī also has the story, but he has reversed the role of the characters: ومثل إندر رئيس الملائكة فانه لما زنى بامرأة نهش البرهمن لعن ومسخ حية بعد ان كان رئيس الملائكة فانه لما زنى بامرأة نهش البرهمن لعن ومسخ حية بعد ان كان ملاكا . . . and like Indra, chief of the gods (lit.: 'angels'),³⁷ for having committed adultery with the wife of the brahmin Nahuṣa, he was cursed and turned into a snake after he had been a god'.³⁸ This mistake may be accounted for by al-Birūnī's misunderstanding a Sanskrit text (especially if it used the word *indra* both as a private name and as a name of an institution or title, such as in the expression *devānām indra*),³⁹ but it could hardly be accounted for by postulating an Indian teacher who did not know this famous story.

The Arabic translation betrays a constant effort to bring the work as near as possible to the mentality of the Muslim readers. This is evident both in the selection of the terminology and the transposition of Indian philosophical notions and problems into similar ones grounded in Aristotelian and other streams of Muslim thought. Random examples are as follows.

(1) The term *karma-vipāka*, which had to be coped with in sūtra 1.24, is rendered by . . . فعل المكافأة عليه براحة تؤمل وترجى او شدة تخاف وتنتى . . . ' . . . action for which either a blissful repose, which is hoped and longed for, or a troubled existence, which is feared and dreaded, might be given as recompense . . .'.⁴⁰

(2) In dealing with sūtra 1.41 the Indian epistemological triad of *ghraṭī*, *grahana*, and *grāhya* is transposed respectively into the عقْل، عاقل، and معقول of the Aristotelians.⁴¹

(3) The Indian philosophical problem, implicit in sūtra 2.15, of what constitutes the real self (*ātman*) is analogous to a question discussed in Arabic philosophy as to whether it is the body (بدن) or the soul (نفس) that constitutes the essence of man (إنسان). The form which this problem assumes in Arabic philosophy is reflected in the selection of terms in al-Birūnī's translation here.⁴²

Evidently, from the point of view of al-Birūnī and his readers, the Arabic work provides an operative or functional, though not literal, translation of the *Yogasūtra* with its commentary. This is often done by means of paraphrasing.

³⁶ *Mahābhārata*, v.17 ff., XII.342 ff., and with some variations XIII.99 ff. (Referred to, summarized, and discussed by Jacoby in Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of religion and ethics*, s.v. 'Agastya').

³⁷ of *India*, Hyd., 72: طبقة ديو التي عبرنا عنها بالملائكة . . . the class of *deva* whom we have explained as angels' (Sachau, I, 95); cf. R, 168 (l. 7). In translating the term for gods by ملائكة 'angels', al-Birūnī follows a long-established usage of translators of Greek texts into Arabic.

³⁸ R, 179 (ll. 15-16).

³⁹ of. V on sūtra 21.2.

⁴⁰ R, 173 (ll. 13-14).

⁴¹ R, 176 (ll. 11-12).

⁴² R, 178 (ll. 11-12).

An example is the rendering of the term *mañtri* 'compassion' in sūtra 1.34 by :
 أن يريد الخير لكافة الخلق من غير استثناء ويتمناه لهم ويستبشر بحصوله عندهم
 '... that he should wish and desire well-being for all creatures without excep-
 tion and rejoice in their attaining it'.⁴³

But al-Bīrūnī is also well equipped with a terminological apparatus, some of which is drawn from the tradition of Arabic translations from the Greek masters. That Aristotelian connotations, however, may constitute a pitfall can be seen from the following. In his treatment of sūtra 2.6, *dr̥g-dar̥sana-śakt̥yor ekātmatavāsmitā*, al-Bīrūnī renders *dr̥g* by عاقل and *dar̥sana* by عَقْل, but he is then caught in a dilemma: while the union of these two is denounced by the sense of the sūtra here, it is commendable according to Aristotelian philosophy. He therefore slightly changes the two terms by qualifying them as follows: العاقل المتجسم والعقل البسيط 'the corporeal knower and the simple (i.e. immaterial) act of knowledge'.⁴⁴

Al-Bīrūnī himself also coined new Arabic technical terms, this being another important aspect of his contribution in his work of translation. The following are examples: for *kleśa* 'affliction'—ثقل 'weight'⁴⁵; for *buddhi* 'intelligence or the thinking organ'—قلب 'heart'.⁴⁶ His terminological apparatus, however, is not completely uniform. Thus, for instance, the same term عَمَل is used to render at least three distinct concepts: (i) *kriyā* in the sense of *rajas*⁴⁷; (ii) *karma*⁴⁸; and (iii) *sādhana*, the name of the second chapter of the *Yogasūtra*.⁴⁹

A better understanding and appreciation of al-Bīrūnī's method of translation, as well as light on other aspects of his work, may still be expected from further clarification of the remaining textual ambiguities. Furthermore, the possibility exists that the commentary will be identified.

(R, 167) The book of the Indian Patañjali⁵⁰ on liberation from afflictions,⁵¹ translated into Arabic by Abū al-Raiḥān Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Bīrūnī.

⁴³ R, 176 (ll. 3-4); cf. R, 185 (l. 11).

⁴⁴ R, 178 (l. 14); cf. R, 197 (l. 5 et seq.).

⁴⁵ R, 177 (l. 20); cf. R, 167 (l. 2).

⁴⁶ R, 192 (l. 20).

⁴⁷ R, 181 (l. 7).

⁴⁸ R, 185 (l. 7).

⁴⁹ R, 183 (l. 18).

⁵⁰ The Arabic transliteration is باتنجل, which may also stand for the adjectival form *pātañjala*; cf. *India*, Hyd., 6, 102 (= Sachau, I, 8, 132). However, in all probability al-Bīrūnī lengthened the first vowel in order to ensure an approximately correct pronunciation of the foreign name. Both in his present translation and in his *India*, he sometimes uses this method of transliterating a short Sanskrit *a* by an Arabic *alif* indicative of a long *ā*, e.g. براهم—*brahman* (R, 175 (l. 3)) (but برهماند—*brahmānda*, R, 187 (l. 2); برهملوك—*brahma-loka*, *India*, Hyd., 191 (l. 1)). Cf. Sachau, I, 257 (annotations).

⁵¹ The printed text has أمثال. The emendation اثقال (lit. 'weights, burdens') is based on R, 177 (l. 20), where this word corresponds to *kleśa* in sūtra 2.2. For other descriptions by al-Bīrūnī of Patañjali's treatise of p. 302, n. 1 (cf. R, 179 (l. 17), 180 (l. 9), 181 (l. 14), 189 (l. 4); *India*, Hyd., 61 (l. 12) for the expression [إرتباك]; *India*, Hyd., 6, في تخلص النفس من, (كتاب)

The aspirations of men in this world vary, and the civilization of the universe is established in an orderly way through this variety. My resolution, nay my soul as a whole, is solely directed to teaching, since I have done with the pleasure of learning. This (i.e. teaching) I regard as the greatest happiness. Whoever has a correct knowledge of the situation will not blame me for my persistent efforts and for the burden of endeavour which I bear in translating, for the benefit of (my) equals and adversaries, from the language of India. Whoever does not know the situation⁵² will set me down as ignorant and attribute my toil to my wretched state. For every man has things upon which his intention and thought are fixed and he is opposed to that of which he lacks knowledge—until he reaches a rank in which his excusing himself may be permitted and no obligation that does not please him is imposed on him.

I went on translating from the Indian (language) books of arithmeticians and astronomers⁵³ till I turned to⁵⁴ books on wisdom⁵⁵ preserved by their élite, and with respect to which the ascetics compete with a view to progressing upon the way⁵⁶ to worship. When they were read to me letter by letter, and when I grasped their content, my mind could not forgo letting those who wish to study them share (in my knowledge). For niggardliness with regard to sciences is one of the worst crimes and sins. What is (written) black on white cannot but (constitute) a new learning whose knowledge should lead to the attainment of some good and to the avoidance of harm.

An introduction giving particulars⁵⁷ about the state of these people and the state of the book.

These are people whose talk within their community is never free from (reference to) topics concerning transmigration and (to) the misfortunes of reincarnation⁵⁸ and (to) unification⁵⁹ and (to) generation not according to the mode⁶⁰ of (ordinary) birth. For this reason their talk, when it is heard, has a flavour composed of the beliefs of the ancient Greeks, of the Christian sects,⁶¹

رباط البدن (a book) on the liberation of the soul from the fetters of the body' (cf. Sachau, I, 8); *India*, Hyd., 102, *باتنجل في طلب الخلاص واتحاد النفس بمعقوها*, (the book of) Patañjali on seeking liberation and union of the soul with its *intellectum* (i.e. object of meditation)'. There is a possibility that the original title was *الخلاص من الارتباك في* 'liberation from entanglement', in which the last word was corrupted into *امثال*.

⁵² More literally 'Whoever is in a different position'.

⁵³ Or 'astrologers'. The text has *منجمون*.

⁵⁴ Or 'came upon'.

⁵⁵ Or 'philosophy'.

⁵⁶ *تطرق* may also have the meaning 'to seek'.

⁵⁷ Lit. 'from which one is informed'.

⁵⁸ For *حلول* cf. below R, 193 (l. 16); R, 175 (l. 18) (Ans. to Q 20). In the language of the theologians and the Sūfīs this word may refer to the indwelling of God or of a spirit in a body.

⁵⁹ cf. R, 199 (l. 1); cf. also *India*, Hyd., 102 (quoted in p. 308, n. 51), *الخلاص واتحاد النفس بمعقوها*; *India*, Hyd., 55, *طلب الخلاص والخلوص الى الوحدة المحضة*, 'seeking liberation and addressing himself single-mindedly to (the achievement of) absolute unity' (cf. Sachau, I, 73).

⁶⁰ Lit. 'law'.

⁶¹ The printed text has *فوق*. The translation follows an alternative reading *فوق* mentioned by Ritter in his critical apparatus.

and of the Šūfi leaders. Not one of them (i.e. of the Hindu community) is free from the belief that souls are bound in the world and entangled in its ties, and that only those which achieve the supreme goal in their endeavour are liberated from these (ties and obtain a state of) enduring permanence. Those (souls) which do not attain this (goal) remain in the world, tossed about between good and evil in the existent (things) until they are cleansed, purified, and liberated.

Their books are composed according to metres, and the texts are provided with commentaries in such a way that a complete and accurate ⁶² translation is difficult, because the commentators are concerned with grammar and etymology and other (matters) which are of use only to a (person) who is versed in their literary languages (R, 168) as distinct from the vernacular. For this reason I was obliged to amalgamate in (my) translation the text with that overlengthy commentary,⁶³ to arrange the work ⁶⁴ in a way which resembles (a dialogue consisting of) questions and answers,⁶⁵ and to omit (the parts which) are concerned with grammar and language. This is an apology which I offer because of the difference in size of the book in the two languages, if such a comparison is made. (I do this) in order that no one should think that this (difference) is due to remissness in (the rendering of) the meaning. Indeed he should be assured that it is due to a condensation of what (otherwise) would be troublesome (in its) prolixness. May God bestow His favour ⁶⁶ upon the good.

This is the beginning of the book of Patañjali, text interwoven with commentary.

I prostrate (myself) before Him above whom there is nothing, and I glorify Him who is the beginning of things and to whom they shall return, Him who knows all beings. In the second place ⁶⁷ I exalt, with a humble soul and a pure intention, the angels ⁶⁸ and (other) spiritual beings ⁶⁹ who are below Him, and I call upon them to help me in my exposition—which I wish to keep short—according to the method of Hiranyagarbha.⁷⁰

⁶² Lit. 'according to what it is'.

⁶³ The name of the commentator is not mentioned. For reference by al-Bīrūnī to 'the commentator' (المفسر) cf. R, 185 (l. 16), 188 (l. 2); *India*, Hyd., 191 (l. 1), 192 (l. 6), 194 (l. 6), 196 (l. 15), 205 (l. 14) (= Sachau, I, 232, 234, 236, 238, 248).

⁶⁴ Lit. 'the speech'.

⁶⁵ The Arabic has 'question and answer' in the singular.

⁶⁶ Probably owing to a printing error the diacritical dot over the *nūn* in *نعم* is missing in the printed text.

⁶⁷ Lit. 'then'.

⁶⁸ i.e. gods (*deva*). See above, p. 307, n. 37; cf. R, 172 (l. 17), 173 (l. 3), 192 (l. 2). Also cf. *India*, Hyd., 68 (l. 17), وهم الملائكة 'the deva or angels' (Sachau, I, 91).

⁶⁹ cf. R, 172 (l. 14). For a description of 'angels' (*deva*) as a subclass of 'spiritual beings' (الروحانيين) see *India*, Hyd., 68 (cf. Sachau, I, 91). Sachau's identification of the latter term with *deva* (loc. cit.) appears to be erroneous.

⁷⁰ In Vācaspati-miśra's subcommentary *Tattvavaiśārādī* (henceforth abbreviated as Vāc.), under sūtra 1.1, the following statement is quoted from the *Yogiyājñavalkyaśmṛti*: 'Hiranyagarbha and no other of ancient days is he who gave utterance (*vaktā*) to Yoga' (J. H. Woods,

The ancients have been deeply engaged in the study ⁷¹ of the things through which the four objectives ⁷² may be achieved. These (objectives) are : religion and conduct of life,⁷³ property and ease,⁷⁴ enjoyable living and pleasure, liberation and permanence.⁷⁵ (In studying these the ancients) scarcely left for those who came later scope for discourse. However, my exposition excels in clearing up ⁷⁶ the ambiguities which they put down. It is restricted to (a study of) the means ⁷⁷ of bringing about the perfection of the soul through liberation from these bonds ⁷⁸ and the attainment of eternal bliss. Accordingly I shall say :

As regards things which perception does not apprehend, the attribute (of not being apprehended) can only be ascribed to them because of various

The Yoga system of Patañjali, with Veda-vyāsa's Yogabhāṣya and Vācaspati-mīśra's Tattvavaiśārādī, Cambridge, Mass., 1927 (henceforth abbreviated as Woods), 5). According to the interpretation of Vāc. this implies that Hiraṇyagarbha preceded Patañjali. For a similar argument Mādḥava invokes in his *Sarvadarśanasangraha*, ch. *Patañjali-darśana*, the above-mentioned quotation (misleadingly abbreviating the name of its source as 'Yājñavalkya-smṛti'). Cf. Vāc. under sūtra 1.25 and Vācaspati-mīśra's *Bhāmātī* under *Brahmasūtra* 2.2.37. Also cf. Rāmānanda Sarasvatī's *Maṇiprabhā* (c. A.D. 1592) on sūtra 1.1: 'Although an authoritative book was made by Hiraṇyagarbha, still since that was deemed too extended, an authoritative work conforming to that (book) is begun' (J. H. Woods's translation in *JAOS*, xxxiv, 1915, 1 et seq.). According to the *Mahābhārata* (*Mbh.*, xii.349.65, quoted by P. Deussen, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie*, Bd. I, Abt. 3, Leipzig, 1908, p. 17, n), Yoga was introduced by Hiraṇyagarbha, whereas Kapila is designated as the founder of Sāṅkhya. Elsewhere too there is reference to a connexion between Yoga and Hiraṇyagarbha (*Mbh.*, xii.342.95, referred to by Deussen, op. cit., 17). See op. cit. for further references to Hiraṇyagarbha. Also see R. Garbe, *Die Sāṅkhya-Philosophie*, 27 et. seq.

⁷¹ Lit. 'mention'.

⁷² The four objectives (مطالب) referred to in the text are the well-known 'aims of life' (*puruṣārtha*), namely : *dharma* 'law', *artha* 'economic and political power', *kāma* 'pleasure', and *mokṣa* 'liberation'.

⁷³ Ritter's text has سيرة. In the Arabic script there is not much difference between سيرة and سنة, which means religious tradition. Possibly al-Birūnī had in mind the word سنة. In India the meaning of *dharma* is uniformly expressed by الدين 'religion'. Cf. *India*, Hyd., 102, تفسير دهرم, وتفسير دهرم, ولكن عبارة عن الدين 'the word *dharma* means "reward" but in general it is used for "religion" (Sachau, I, 132).

⁷⁴ For the inclusion of ease (النعمة) within the concept of *artha* cf. Kauṭilya's *Arthasāstra*, 6.2.1-3: 'Peace and activity (*śama-vyāyāmanau*) constitute the source of acquisition and security (*yoga-kṣemayor yoni*). Activity is that which brings about the accomplishment of works undertaken. Peace is that which brings about security of enjoyment of the fruits of works (*karma-phalopabhogānām kṣemārādhanāḥ śamaḥ*)' (R. P. Kangle, *The Kauṭilya Arthasāstra*, I, Bombay, 1960, 165; II, Bombay, 1963, 368). Elsewhere the word النعمة is used synonymously with الراحة to refer to the concept of *sukha* 'ease', as opposed to *duḥkha* 'sorrow' (R, 189 (l. 7); cf. 180 (l. 10)).

⁷⁵ In his *India* al-Birūnī also uses the Sanskrit term *mokṣa*, e.g. *India*, Hyd., 53, ويسمون 'they call its (the soul's) liberation in the Indian language *mokṣa*' (of. Sachau, I, 70).

⁷⁶ Ritter's text has يحيل. Emendation proposed : يحل. The translation conforms to this emendation.

⁷⁷ The usual meaning of اسباب is 'causes'.

⁷⁸ All those who have not attained liberation are thought to be in a state of bondage.

modalities ⁷⁹: (1) (their) essential smallness, as (in the case of) atoms, ⁸⁰ whose minuteness is the cause preventing them from (being apprehended by) the senses ⁸¹; (2) (their being) far away, for distance prevents perception when it extends beyond the latter's limit; (3) a barrier which conceals, e.g. a fence ⁸² which prevents the perception of that which is placed behind it, bones which are covered up by the flesh and the skin, and mixtures, ⁸³ which being inside the body cannot be perceived because of the veils (intervening) between them and ourselves; (4) their being remote from the present time either (because of their being) in the past, e.g. the former generations and the tribes which have perished, or (because of their being) in the future, e.g. things expected (to happen) in the time to come; (5) the deviating from the methods of cognition by means of which apprehension becomes perfected, as in the case of necromancy ⁸⁴ whereby the state of hidden things is discovered. It is (in effect) known that the perfection of certitude can of necessity only be (obtained) through sense-perception, which is lacking in the case of hidden things. (R, 169) For what is absent can only be inferred from what is present, and that which can be attained only through arguments is not in the same (category) as that which is known through sense-perception. Similarly logical demonstration removes doubts as (effectively as) sense-perception. As long as ambiguities beset the soul, the latter is given over to perplexity and cannot give heed to that which (procures) its liberation from this entanglement and its deliverance from toil and bondage, and (gives) it an eternal sojourn, in which there is neither death nor birth.

Most of the intentions of the expounders ⁸⁵ of books are (directed) either to the production of a comment ⁸⁶ peculiar to them or to guidance towards an

⁷⁹ For the present discussion of causes of non-perception of. Īśvara-kr̥ṣṇa's *Sāṅkhya-kārikā*, kārikā 7: *atidūrāt sāmīpyād indriya-ghātān mano'navasthānāi/saukṣmyād vyavadhānād abhībhavāt samānābhīhārāc ca (anupalabdhīh)* ' (non-perception may be) due to excessive distance, (excessive) proximity, damage to the sense-organs, unsteadiness of mind, minuteness (of the object), the intervening (of another object), being outshone (by another object), and the mingling (of the object) with like objects'. Also cf. V on sūtra 1.49.

⁸⁰ Read *هيات* instead of Ritter's *هيات*. This Arabic word has the primary meaning 'grains of dust'. Cf. Vācaspati-miśra's *Tattva-kaumudī* on *Sāṅkhya-kārikā*, kārikā 7 (quoted in the preceding note): *saukṣmyāt—yathendriya-sannikṣṣaṇ paramānoḍī prapīḥita-manā api na paśyati* "due to minuteness"—as for instance (the case of an object) such as an atom, which (although) connected with one's sense (of sight), even one whose mind is fixed (on it) cannot see'.

⁸¹ The Arabic has the singular.

⁸² For the example of the fence cf. e.g. Jānakīnātha's *Nyāyasiddhāntamanjari*, Banaras, 1916, 40.

⁸³ Probably the humours of the body are meant. Cf. *Fākihāt al-bustān*, 1358: *امشاج البدن - طبائعه*.

⁸⁴ The MS may be read *الموجر على الاموات* or *الموجر على الاصوات*. In the translation Ritter's emendation *المزجر* instead of *الموجر* has been adopted. If the reading *الاصوات* (instead of *الاموات* translated in the text) is adopted, the meaning would be 'prognostication from voices (of birds?)'.

⁸⁵ *المتكلمين*.

⁸⁶ *كلام*, lit. 'speech, discourse'.

objective which they endeavour to obtain.⁸⁷ The aims are determined⁸⁸ according to (the capacity of) the knower. As for knowledge, it is divided into two parts: the superior which leads to liberation, for it procures the absolute good,⁸⁹ and that which is inferior relatively (to the first part) and which (refers to) the remaining objectives,⁹⁰ which rank lower than (liberation). I shall try to see to it that, comparatively to the arguments set forth by (my) predecessors with regard to this hidden subject, my comment will have for the reader⁹¹ a status similar to that of sense-perception productive of conviction.

Question 1. The ascetic who roamed in the deserts and jungles⁹² addressed Patañjali, asking: I have studied the books of the ancients and their discourses about things hidden from the senses, and I have found them concerned with weak arguments which are beset with doubts and do not aim at demonstrations which have the same status as perception providing the calm of certitude and guiding towards the achievement of liberation from bondage. Is it possible for you to show me by arguments and demonstrations what is sought for in order that by grasping it I should be assisted against doubts and misgivings?

Answer. Patañjali said: This is possible. I shall give about this a brief exposition whose brief (compass) will convey many notions, using at the same time sound reasoning.⁹³ For not every man likes or has the time for a lengthy exposition. Indeed boredom overcomes him speedily so that he grows tired (of the exposition) and abandons it. Listen then, since you have asked. That which you seek is *praxis*,⁹⁴ which has (in the first place) causes and thereupon results and consequences and an agent (bringing) this (about). Accordingly you ought to have a true knowledge of each (factor) and criticize the various opinions concerning it, rejecting the erroneous⁹⁵ views. (R, 170) A part of *praxis*⁹⁶ is as it were activity,⁹⁷ and another part is as it were desisting from activity. If you grasp this matter you will find that it includes knowledge. For (it consists in)

⁸⁷ يَجْرُونَ إِلَيْهِ lit. 'go, proceed to'.

⁸⁸ This corresponds to تَعَيَّن in the printed text. As Ritter points out, the word can also be read تَتَفَنَّن 'is differentiated'. A further possibility is تَغَيَّر 'are modified'.

⁸⁹ الحَيْرِ الْمُخْتَصِّ is an expression frequently used in Arabic philosophical texts which are translated or adapted from the Greek.

⁹⁰ المَطَالِب—the 'aims of life' (*puruṣārtha*) referred to above; cf. p. 311, n. 72.

⁹¹ Lit. 'for him who reads it'.

⁹² 'Jungles' corresponds to الْغِيَاض occurring in Ritter's text. If the reading الْغِيَاضِ, suggested by Ritter in his critical apparatus, is adopted, the meaning would be 'deserts' or 'waste lands'.

⁹³ A primary meaning of قِيَاس is 'comparison, analogy'. It may be used in the sense of syllogism or reasoning.

⁹⁴ عَمَل.

⁹⁵ The translation conforms to Ritter's reading الْحِطَّة. Ritter's critical apparatus has الْحَيْطَةُ.

⁹⁶ cf. *India* (quoted by R, p. 160, n. 10); نَقَمَ طَرِيقَ الْخِلَاصِ إِلَى أَقْسَامِ ثَلَاثَةِ أَحَدَهُمَا الْعَمَلِيَّ; بالتعويد ومدارة على قبض الحواس من خارج الى داخل حتى لا تشتغل الا بك (cf. Sachau, I, 78 et seq.).

⁹⁷ فَعَل.

compression⁹⁸ of that which spreads out from you towards external (things), so that you are not concerned with anything but yourself. (It also consists in) the quelling of the faculties of the soul,⁹⁹ so that they should not cling¹⁰⁰ to that which is not you.¹⁰¹ (It consists finally in) every (faculty) engaging in the work which is assigned to it by you. This activity¹⁰² comprises both knowledge and *praxis*.

Q 2. What is the state of a man who has compressed within¹⁰³ himself the faculties of his soul and hindered them from spreading out? ¹⁰⁴

Ans. He is not completely bound, for he has severed the bodily¹⁰⁵ ties between himself and that which is other than himself, and has ceased to cling to things external to him. But on the other hand he is not prepared for liberation, since his soul¹⁰⁶ is with his body.¹⁰⁷

Q 3. How is he (to be described) when he is in neither of the two states which have been mentioned?

Ans. He then is as he really is in his essence.¹⁰⁸

Q 4. This answer is not satisfactory as an explanation.¹⁰⁹ Let me know whether he increases or decreases¹¹⁰ to any degree thereby, on the analogy of the expansion of leather in the rain and its contraction in the sun, so that he would decay and perish on account of the succeeding states which change him; or alternatively whether he does neither increase nor decrease, as is the case with air,¹¹¹ in which case he would be inanimate¹¹² without awareness of anything.

⁹⁸ قبض الخواص عن الانتشار إليه (R, 183 (l. 167)) corresponding to *pratyāhāra* (sūtra 2.54).

⁹⁹ This expression corresponds to the term *vṛtti* of the sūtras (e.g. 1.2).

¹⁰⁰ The translation conforms to the reading التثبيت; of R, 170 (l. 8). Ritter's text has التثبيث.

¹⁰¹ of. sūtra 1.2: *yogaś citta-vṛtti-nirodhaḥ* 'Yoga is the suppression of the modes of functioning of the mind'.

¹⁰² فعل.

¹⁰³ Lit. 'towards'.

¹⁰⁴ of. V introducing sūtra 1.3: *tad-avasīthe cetasi viśayābhāvād, buddhi-bodhātmā puruṣaḥ kimsavābhāvāt* 'Since there is no object when the mind is in this state, what will be the character of the self which consists of intellected and intellection?'

¹⁰⁵ Ritter's text has here العصاة. The translation conforms to the reading الجسدية suggested by Ritter in his critical apparatus. Cf. R, 176 (l. 8). A possible but not very plausible emendation of the former reading would be العصبية, namely: social ties.

¹⁰⁶ نفس.

¹⁰⁷ of. *India*, Hyd., 62 (quoted by R, p. 170, n. 4): . . . انه ليس بموثوق لانه حل الرباط ولا متخلص لان بدنه معه (cf. Sachau, I, 82).

¹⁰⁸ of. sūtra 1.3: *tadā draṣṭuḥ svarūpe 'vasthānam* 'Then the seer (that is, the self) retains its own form'.

¹⁰⁹ في التفهم.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Vāc. under sūtra 1.3: 'Never does the energy of the mind, (in that it is) absolutely eternal, deviate from itself. Accordingly, as (it is) in restriction, just so (is it) in emergence also. Assuredly, the actual form (*svarūpa*) of the mother-of-pearl does not suffer increase or decrease of being, no matter whether the perception (*jñāna*) which refers to it (*gocara*) be the source of correct knowledge (*pramāṇa*) or (the source) of misconception' (Woods, 14).

¹¹¹ Ritter's printed text has كالهواء. The translation conforms to the alternative reading suggested by Ritter's critical apparatus: كالهواء. This probably corresponds to *ākāśa* 'ether'. Cf. R, 190 (l. 8 and l. 10) (corresponding to sūtras 1.41 and 42 respectively).

¹¹² جماد.

Both opinions contradict the basic (universally) accepted tenets, namely that the soul is alive and will not die, and is not subject to decay and annihilation.

Ans. The meaning of my statement, that he is as he (really) is, is that when these sense-faculties and psychic faculties return into him, they are united with him in a certain manner which consists in his adhering¹¹³ to them and belonging to their aggregate.¹¹⁴ This man used to be aware through his senses of what he perceived¹¹⁵ and used to know through the faculties of his soul, which were spread outside of it, that which is external to it, so that the return into him (of the sense-faculties and the faculties of his soul) did not add to him anything : he is exactly as he was before that.¹¹⁶ (R, 171)

Q 5. How many are the faculties of the soul which spread out of it ?

Ans. They are five.¹¹⁷ The first of them is apprehension,¹¹⁸ which has three modes¹¹⁹ : (a) (apprehension) by means of the five senses¹²⁰ ; (b) (apprehension) by means of inferring¹²¹ from a percept,¹²² for instance smoke indicating a fire which is behind a fence preventing it from being seen ; (c) (apprehension) by means of hearsay accompanied by a consensus of opinion,¹²³ for instance our knowledge that the city of Kanauj is on the bank of the Gaṅgā river. For this (knowledge) is attained by means of information received¹²⁴ and serves as a substitute for one's apprehension of this (fact) by eyesight.

The second (faculty of the soul) is imagination,¹²⁵ by means of which one knows a thing not as it really is. For instance when the rays of the sun fall on a (desert) plain in a certain manner and the thirsty man takes it to be water.

The third (faculty of the soul) is (conventional) opinion,¹²⁶ which has no

¹¹³ Ritter puts a question mark after الباد. In all probability the word should be read لبد إباد deriving from the root لبد.

¹¹⁴ cf. sūtra 1.4.: *vrtti-sārūpyam itaratra* 'At other times it (the self) takes the same form as the modes of functioning (of the mind) '.

¹¹⁵ Or 'that which encompassed him '.

¹¹⁶ cf. V on sūtra 1.3 : *svarūpa-pratiṣṭhā tadānīm citi-śaktir yathā kaivalye ; vyutthāna-citte tu saī tathāpi bhavanti na tathā* 'At that time the energy of the mind is established in its own form, as in the state of *kaivalya*. But when the mind is in its emergent state, (the energy of the mind), although really the same, (does) not (seem) so ' and cf. Vāc. ad loc.

¹¹⁷ of. sūtra 1.5 : *vrttayah pañcatayyah . . .* 'The modes of functioning (of the mind) are of five kinds . . . '.

¹¹⁸ إدراك. Cf. *pramāṇa* in sūtra 1.6 : *pramāṇa-viparyaya-vikalpa-nidrā-smṛtayah* 'Modes of correct knowledge, incorrect knowledge, comprehension of words, sleep, and memory '.

¹¹⁹ أوجه.

¹²⁰ cf. *pratyakṣa* in sūtra 1.7 : *pratyakṣānumānāgamāḥ pramāṇāni* 'The modes of correct knowledge are perceptual, inferential, and linguistic '.

¹²¹ Ritter's text has here المقتبض with a question mark. In all probability the word should be read المقاييس. Cf. *anumāna* of the corresponding sūtra 1.7.

¹²² المحسوس.

¹²³ سماع مع الإجماع. Cf. *āgama* in sūtra 1.7.

¹²⁴ خبر.

¹²⁵ تخيل. Cf. *viparyaya* in sūtra 1.8 : *viparyayo mithyā-jñānam atadrūpa-pratiṣṭham* 'Incorrect knowledge is false cognition which takes a form other than that of the object '.

¹²⁶ الظن. Cf. *vikalpa* in sūtra 1.9 : *śabda-jñānānupātī vastu-būnyo vikalpaḥ* 'Conception based on communication lacks a (corresponding) object and results from perception of words '.

reality behind it, but in which one follows current habits of language. For instance the expression used by the general public 'the spirit's knowledge'.¹²⁷ (They use it) although the expression has no signification,¹²⁸ and yet (the man) who employs it is not blamed, on account of (linguistic) habit.

The fourth (faculty of the soul) is dream(ing),¹²⁹ which is man's knowledge of things which are (in reality) other (than what he knows), which have no subsisting reality corresponding to the knowledge in question.

The fifth (faculty of the soul) is memory,¹³⁰ which is the retention of what has been known by the knower without its being obstructed by forgetting.

Q 6. How can the quelling of the soul and the compression of its faculties away from external things be accomplished ?

Ans. This may be accomplished in two ways. One of them is of a practical nature,¹³¹ namely habituation.¹³² For when a person has turned to a faculty of the soul in itself,¹³³ has painstakingly prevented it from rebellion, and has given it in trust to that which is the best for it perseveringly and applying himself to it continually—then, unless he repeats (this practice), a time of negligence may intervene between two periods, in which time the soul may lapse back to what is unsuitable. But by means of continuous application, as a

¹²⁷ Ritter's text has here حياة, with the remark that the MS appears to have ماء. The word should probably be read علم. Cf. V on sūtra 1.9: *tad yathā caitanyam puruṣasya svarūpam iti yadā citir eva puruṣaḥ tadā kim atra kena vyapadīyate, bhavati ca vyapadese vrttir yathā caitrasya gauḥ* 'Thus when, since "the self is in the form of intelligence", (we say that) the self is nothing but intellect, then how can it have attribute or designation? Furthermore, it is to the designation that (attributive, etc.) relationships are imputed, as for instance (in the case of) "Caitra's cow"'.
¹²⁸ محمول.

¹²⁹ الرؤية. Cf. *nidrā* 'sleep' in sūtra 1.10: *a-bhāva-pratyayālambanā vrttir nidrā*. This sūtra is translated by Woods: 'Sleep is a fluctuation (of mind-stuff) supported by the cause (*pratyaya*, that is *tamas*) of the (transient) negation (of the waking and the dreaming fluctuations)'. Deussen, however, translates it: 'Die nicht auf einer realen Vorstellung fussende Funktion ist der Schlaf' (Deussen, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie*, Bd. I, Abt. 3, 512). Like al-Birūnī and unlike Woods, Deussen takes the negating particle *a* in the beginning of the sūtra as applying to the compound as a whole and not as applying to *bhāva*. Accordingly he construes the definition in the sūtra like al-Birūnī. The latter, however, misunderstood this definition as applying to dream.

¹³⁰ الذكر. Cf. *smṛti* 'memory' in sūtra 1.11: *anubhūta-viśayāsaṃpramoṣaḥ smṛtiḥ*. Woods, following the interpretation of Vāc. ad loc. translates this sūtra: 'Memory (*smṛti*) is not-adding-surreptitiously (*asaṃpramoṣa*) to a once experienced object'. Deussen, however, translates it: 'Das Nicht-abhandenkommen eines Objectes, dessen man inne ward, ist die Erinnerung' (op. cit., 512). Cf. J. R. Ballantyne's translation (*Yoga-sūtra of Patañjali*, reprinted, Calcutta, 1960, 14). The latter two, like al-Birūnī and unlike Woods, take *asaṃpramoṣa* to mean 'lack of loss, not letting drop (as from memory)'. For this meaning of the term cf. the Sanskrit dictionaries of Monier-Williams and Böhtlingk, and U. Wogihara, *The Sanskrit-Chinese dictionary of Buddhist technical terms, based on the Mahāvīyutpatti*, reprinted, Tokyo, 1959, 109.13.

¹³¹ عمل. Cf. R, 169 (ll. 18 and 19), 170 (l. 4).

¹³² تعويد. Cf. *abhyāsa* 'repeated practice, training' in sūtra 1.12: *abhyāsa-vairāgyābhyāṃ tan-nirodhāḥ* 'The suppression of those (*vrttis* is attained) by repeated practice and detachment'.

¹³³ بعينها.

result of which affects disappear, and by means of habituation,¹³⁴ the faculty in question will indubitably acquire this habit in a permanent fashion, and will be diverted from the tendencies it had when it lacked this habit.¹³⁵ (R, 172)

The second way is intellectual,¹³⁶ namely mental asceticism,¹³⁷ which consists of contemplating the consequences with the eye of the heart,¹³⁸ and considering the evil of the existents, which come into being and pass away. For nothing is worse¹³⁹ than decay and passing away, these two being inherent in (the existents). The result of this way is that when the person knows the ill and the malignity in all things; his heart eschews all pursuits of this world and the next, his mind becomes free to seek liberation from them; he is relieved of questions and needs. For they are the causes of attachment to things existing in the world, and add to the evils of bondage, and prevent him from addressing himself single-mindedly to his liberation.¹⁴⁰ When his ambitions are turned away from whatever there is in all the worlds, he has attained a stage transcending the three primary forces.¹⁴¹ The latter are such that no world can exist unless there is production by them. They generate nature by means of one of them¹⁴² and destroy it by means of another of them,¹⁴³ (these two forces being) pure¹⁴⁴ in their two respective genera. (The third force) which is intermediate between the two partakes of the two others, and is on account of this capable

¹³⁴ Ritter gives the Arabic word as التعميد and states that the MS is not clearly legible here.

The correct reading appears to be التعميد.

¹³⁵ Cf. sūtra 1.13: *tatra sthītau yatno 'bhyāsah* 'Of these, repeated practice is the effort to remain in the state (of suppressed *vrttis*)'; and sūtra 1.14: *sa tu dīrgha-kāla-nairantarya-satkāra-sevito dr̥gha-bhūmiḥ* 'This (effort), however, is consolidated (lit. 'possesses solid ground'), when it is well attended to for a long time and without interruption'.

¹³⁶ عقل. Cf. V on sūtra 1.12. In the corresponding quotation in *India*, (R, p. 172, n. 1 = Hyd., 60 = Sachau, I, 79) this word is corrupted into الغفلي (Sachau: 'renunciation', 'via omissionis').

¹³⁷ الزهد—a term referring to a way of life characterized by abstinence as practised by the Ṣūfīs. Cf. *vairāgya* 'detachment, passionlessness, renunciation' in sūtra 1.15: *dr̥ṣṭānuśravikaviṣaya-vitṛṣṇasya vaśīkāra-samjñā vairāgyam* 'Detachment is the consciousness of (self-) control on the part of one who is no longer thirsting for objects that are perceivable or promised by scriptures (lit. 'heard')'.

¹³⁸ بعين القلب—a regular Ṣūfī term denoting non-disursive intuitive knowledge of the mystic.

¹³⁹ The translation follows Ritter's reading here, أسوء. He, however, states that he is not sure of this reading. An alternative reading may be suggested: أُنبرء 'free from'. Cf. Vāc. on sūtra 1.16: 'For nothing alive is ever free from connexion with bondage to birth and death' (Woods, 39).

¹⁴⁰ الخلوص إلى الخلاص.

¹⁴¹ i.e. the three *guṇas*. Cf. sūtra 1.16: *tat-param puruṣa-khyāter guṇa-vaitṛṣṇyam* 'The no-longer-thirsting for the *guṇas* that results from the knowledge of the self is superior to that detachment'.

¹⁴² Lit. 'on one side'.

¹⁴³ Lit. 'on the other side'.

¹⁴⁴ Replace original صريفين for Ritter's emendation طرفين. Cf. R, 181 (ll. 7-8).

of governance and maintenance.¹⁴⁵ That person transcends (these forces) by slipping away from (all) three of them.

Q 7. How many kinds of conception ¹⁴⁶ are there ? One or more than that ?

Ans. There are two kinds. One of them is a conception of material (things) perceived by the senses.¹⁴⁷ The second is the conception of the *intelligibilia*,¹⁴⁸ which are devoid of matter.¹⁴⁹

Q 8. Which of the two kinds belongs to those who are spiritual and god-like ? ¹⁵⁰

... Ans. Because they are of simple ¹⁵¹ species, not having gross (or corporeal) bodies.¹⁵² The other ¹⁵³ kind ¹⁵⁴ is of greater value and price than is to be found among men.¹⁵⁵

Q 9. And what is the position of angels ¹⁵⁶ with regard to the two kinds ?

Ans. It is like the position of the spiritual ones in confining themselves to the other ¹⁵⁷ kind, being free of anxiety as to being bereft of this (state), (R, 173) whereas the other spiritual ones do not enter upon it with the same integrity and freedom ¹⁵⁸ from thoughts about consequences.

Q 10. Is there or is there not a difference of rank ¹⁵⁹ in this state among the angels ?

¹⁴⁶ cf. *India*, Hyd., 30-1: قوى ثلاث . . . اسماؤها ست ورج وتم . . . فالاول منها راحة وطيبة . . . three powers . . . which are called *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas* . . . The first power is rest and goodness, and hence come existing and growing. The second is exertion and fatigue, and hence come firmness and duration. The third is languor and irresolution, and hence come ruin and perishing' (Sachau, I, 40-1). For the equation of the three *gunas* (qualities, constituents of Nature) with the three aspects or forms conceived in the doctrine of the *trimūrti*, the Hindu trinity, cf. e.g. Kālidāsa's *Kumārasaṃbhava*, 2.4: *namas trimūrtaye tubhyaṃ prakṛteḥ kevalātmane/guṇa-traya-vibhāgāya paścād bhedaṃ upeyuge* 'Salutations to you, O Trinity, one before creation, afterwards divided for the sake of the division of the three qualities'. Also cf. W. Kirfel, *Symbolik des Hinduismus und des Jiniismus*, Stuttgart, 1959, 44; J. Gonda, *Die Religionen Indiens*, II, Stuttgart, 1963, 65.

¹⁴⁷ تصور.

¹⁴⁸ محسوس.

¹⁴⁹ معقول.

¹⁴⁹ of. sūtra 1.17-18: *vitarka-vicārānandāsmṛtā-rūpānugamāt saṃprajñātāḥ* 'The self becomes fully aware of objects by assuming the form of deliberation, reflection, joy, and egoism'; *virāma-pratyayābhīyāsa-pūrvakāḥ saṃskāra-śeṣo 'nyat'* 'By constantly dwelling on cessation until only the residual impressions remain in awareness, the self attains a different state'.

¹⁵⁰ The answer to this question and a further question answered by the following appear to be lacking.

¹⁵¹ البسيط probably meaning here 'incorporeal'.

¹⁵² of. sūtra 1.19: *bhava-pratyayo videha-prakṛti-layānām* 'Those who experience the absorption-into-*prakṛti* characteristic of "videhas" (lit. 'the bodiless') attain the self which is aware of existence'.

¹⁵³ الآخر may alternatively be read as الآخر, i.e. 'the last'.

¹⁵⁴ الضرب may refer to one kind of concentration, or alternatively to a kind of men or spiritual beings.

¹⁵⁵ of. sūtra 1.20: *śraddhā-vīrya-smṛti-samādhi-prajñā-pūrvakā itareṣāṃ* 'Others attain this only after (developing) faith, energy (i.e. firmness of will), mindfulness, concentration, and insight'.

¹⁵⁶ See p. 307, n. 37 above.

¹⁵⁷ الآخر may alternatively be read as الآخر, i.e. 'the latter'.

¹⁵⁸ Lit. 'purity'.

¹⁵⁹ تفاضل cf. *viśeṣa* in sūtra 1.22 (next footnote).

Ans. There is certainly a difference of rank ;¹⁶⁰ (for) this is a characteristic of all groups, both spiritual and corporeal. Were this (difference in rank ever) lacking in them (one could not explain) why the emancipation of some of them is (relatively) speedier,¹⁶¹ while that of others is slower. There is no reason for the speediness except the persistence in a devoted¹⁶² activity, just as there is no reason for the slowness except remissness in this activity. Consequently there are degrees among them, and so a difference in rank results.

Q 11. Is there a way to liberation other than the two ways, namely habituation and asceticism ?

Ans. (Liberation) may be attained by devotion.¹⁶³ This is constituted by withdrawal¹⁶⁴ from the body and (directing oneself) towards knowledge, certainty, and sincerity in the heart, and towards praise, exaltation, and laudation with the tongue, and action with the limbs.¹⁶⁵ God alone and nothing else is aimed at in all these, so that succour should come from Him with a view to achieving eternal bliss.

Q 12. Who is this object of devotion who gives succour ?¹⁶⁶

Ans. He is God, who because of His pre-eternity and unity dispenses with action, which is requited either by peace, for which one hopes and longs for, or by distress, of which one is afraid and which one endeavours to avoid,¹⁶⁷ and who is (withdrawn) from thoughts, for He transcends the repugnant contraries and that which being alike is beloved.¹⁶⁸ He knows eternally with His own essence.¹⁶⁹ For knowledge which supervenes (at a certain moment) has as its object that which (previously) was not known. Ignorance, however, cannot befall Him at any time or in any state.

¹⁶⁰ cf. sūtra 1.22 : *mṛdu-madhyādhīmātravāt tato 'pi viśeṣaḥ*. (This sūtra appears to be an interpolation reading *tatrāpi*, subsequently assimilated to sūtra 1.23 by reading *tato 'pi*.) 'There are grades of propinquity, according as the fervour is weak, moderate, or excessive.'

¹⁶¹ cf. sūtra 1.21 : *īvara-samvegāndm āsannaḥ* 'Those whose fervour is intense attain the self which is near the goal'.

¹⁶² المخلص 'devoted', or alternatively المخلص 'conducive to emancipation'.

¹⁶³ عبادة. Cf. *pranidhāna* in sūtra 1.23 : *īvara-pranidhānād vā* 'Or (the self near the goal) is attained by devotion to the *Īvara*'.

¹⁶⁴ Amend توزع for تنزع.

¹⁶⁵ العمل بالجوارح—a Sūfi term. Cf. Vāc. under sūtra 1.23 : 'By devotion (that is) by a special kind of adoration either mental or verbal or bodily' (Woods, 49).

¹⁶⁶ For this question and the answer to it cf. *India*, Hyd., 30 (= Sachau, I, 27-8), referred to by R, p. 173, n. 4.

¹⁶⁷ ... فعل المكافأة عليه. Cf. *karma-vipāka* in sūtra 1.24 : *kleśa-karma-vipākaśayair aparāmarśaḥ puruṣa-viśeṣa īvaraḥ* 'Īvara is the supreme state of the self, having no contact with the substrata of the fruition of works (*karma*) based on the afflictions (*kleśa*)'.

¹⁶⁸ For the idea of this expression cf. the term *dvandva* 'pair of opposites', e.g. sūtra 2.48 ; *Bhagavadgīta* 2.45, 7.27. Cf. Sachau, I, 263 (annotations). Also cf. V on sūtra 1.24 : *tasyāīśvaryaṃ sāmyāīśaya-vinirmuktam* 'His pre-eminence is altogether without anything equal to it or excelling it' (Woods, 50).

¹⁶⁹ cf. sūtra 1.25 : *tata niratīśayaṃ sarvajña-bhjam* 'In that state there is the unexcelled germ of the omniscient.'

Q 13. Since the liberated one is described by these attributes, what is the difference between him and God, the Exalted One ? ¹⁷⁰ (R, 174)

Ans. The difference between them consists in the fact that the liberated one is as described above in the present and the future time, but not in the past which precedes his liberation. He is therefore like a deficient . . . , ¹⁷¹ as he does not possess in the state which he has achieved the past time which has elapsed. For his liberation does not (belong) to pre-eternity. ¹⁷² God the Sublime, on the other hand, possesses the attributes described above in the three parts of time which are conceived by us, namely the past, the present and the future. ¹⁷³ For He in His essence transcends time and its periods from pre-eternity to eternity in the future. ¹⁷⁴

Q 14. Does He have other attributes than those you mentioned ? ¹⁷⁵

Ans. He has perfect sublimity in worth, not in place, because He transcends location. He is the absolute perfect good desired by every existent, ¹⁷⁶ and He is knowledge which is free from the pollution of heedlessness and ignorance. ¹⁷⁷

Q 15. Do you or do you not attribute to Him speech ?

Ans. Since He knows He must indubitably speak. ¹⁷⁸

Q 16. If he speaks because of His knowledge, what then is the difference between Him and Kapila ¹⁷⁹ the knower and the other persons of knowledge who spoke because of what they knew ? ¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁰ This question and the answer to it bear a resemblance to V on sūtra 1.24. Cf. also V on sūtra 1.26.

¹⁷¹ The word is blurred in the MS.

¹⁷² cf. *India* (quoted by R, p. 174, n. 1).

¹⁷³ 'Future' is designated by two words: آت and مستأنف.

¹⁷⁴ cf. *kālenānavacchedāt* in sūtra 1.26: *sa pūrveṣām api guruḥ kālenānavacchedāt* 'He is also the teacher of the ancients, for He is not limited by time'.

¹⁷⁵ For questions 14–18 and the answers to them cf. *India*, Hyd., 20 et seq. (= Sachau, I, 28 et seq.), referred to by R, p. 174, n. 4 et seq.).

¹⁷⁶ Al-Bīrūnī uses here expressions deriving from Greek philosophical texts translated into Arabic.

¹⁷⁷ cf. sūtra 1.25.

¹⁷⁸ cf. sūtra 1.27: *tasya vācakah pranavaḥ* 'The word expressing Him is the sacred syllable "Om"'. Al-Bīrūnī may have understood *vācaka* here as referring to speech as an attribute of God (*tasya*) and not to the sacred syllable 'Om' (*pranava* in the sūtra) as expressive of God. In his translation al-Bīrūnī omits any reference to this sacred syllable.

¹⁷⁹ The word كليل occurring in the MS, which Ritter has replaced by الحكيم, was pretty certainly an Arabic transcription of the Sanskrit name *Kapila*. Al-Bīrūnī probably transcribed it كليل or alternatively he might have used the Persian character for 'p', in which case the transcription was كپيل. Cf. *India*, Hyd., 102. Also cf. *India*, Hyd., 54, كپيل الحكيم فانه ولد مع العلم والحكمة 'the sage Kapila, for he was born knowing and wise' (Sachau, I, 72). According to Vāc. under sūtra 1.25 the earlier commentator Pañcaśikha described Kapila as 'the first knower'. Kapila is the well-known name of a celebrated ancient sage. Cf. R. Garbe, *Die Sāṃkhya-Philosophie*, 24 et seq.

¹⁸⁰ cf. *India*, Hyd., 71: ورشدين هم الحكماء الذين على انسيبتهم افضل من الملائكة بسبب العلم ولذلك 'Rsis are the sages who, though they are only human beings, excel the angels on account of their knowledge. Therefore the angels learn from them, and above them there is none but Brahman' (Sachau, I, 93).

Ans. It is time which differentiates them. For the above-mentioned (persons) learned to know and spoke after (a time) in which they did not know nor speak ; and through speech they transmitted to others what they knew. Consequently their speech and teaching are within a (certain) time. As, however, divine things have no connexion with time, God, may He be praised, knows and speaks in pre-eternity. It is He who addressed in various ways Brahmā¹⁸¹ and other¹⁸² primal (sages). To some of them God sent down a book, to others He opened a gate for intermediation (with respect to Him). Again to others He made a prophetic revelation so that they grasped in thought that which He bestowed upon them. (R, 175)

Q 17. Whence does He have this knowledge ?

Ans. His knowledge remains in the same state throughout eternity. Inasmuch as He is never ignorant, His essence is full of knowledge and does not (need to) acquire knowledge which He did not have. According to what He says in the Veda which He revealed to Brahmā : ' Praise and eulogize Him who spoke the Veda and was before the Veda '.¹⁸³

Q 18. How can one worship Him who cannot be perceived by the senses ?

Ans. His appellation establishes His existence. For only an (existent) thing is given a predicate ; and a name is given only to a nameable (object).¹⁸⁴ Though He is inaccessible¹⁸⁵ to the senses, so that they do not grasp Him, the soul cognizes Him and thought conceives His attributes. This is the pure manner of worshipping Him. And as a result of constancy and diligence in this manner of worship some realization is achieved¹⁸⁶ through the above-mentioned habituation,¹⁸⁷ and hindrances are quelled (which prevent) the soul from being compressed and from compressing (its) faculties so as to prevent their spreading out and their attachment to what is not real.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸¹ cf. Vāc. under sūtra 1.26. أوائل is a translation of *pūrveṣām* occurring in sūtra 1.26. The difference between *Īśvara* and *Brahma* is mentioned in Vāc. under sūtra 1.26. The way the Arabic version defines the difference between God and the ancient sages derives from sūtra 1.26, the commentaries on it, and probably also from the commentaries on sūtra 1.25.

¹⁸² *وغيرهم* is probably a misreading of *غيره* which occurs in a parallel passage in *India* (R, p. 174, n. 9). The misreading may be due to the influence of the last part of the preceding name *براهم*.

¹⁸³ cf. V on sūtra 1.24 and Vāc. under sūtras 1.24-5 with regard to *Īśvara* as the author of the Veda. With regard to *Īśvara* as the knower cf. Vāc. under sūtra 1.24 and sūtra 1.25 itself. Cf. *India*, Hyd., 21 (= Sachau, I, 29).

¹⁸⁴ cf. sūtra 1.27. Also cf. V and Vāc. on the same sūtra with regard to a name as proof for the existence of the object named.

¹⁸⁵ Lit. 'absent'.

¹⁸⁶ According to a parallel quotation in *India* (R, p. 175, n. 3) : ' felicity is achieved '.

¹⁸⁷ cf. R, 171 (ll. 15 and 19). With regard to verbal and mental habituation of. sūtra 1.28 : *taj-japas tad-artha-bhāvanam* ' Utterance of it serves to reveal its meaning '.

¹⁸⁸ *بغير الحلق*. In Ṣūfī terminology *الحلق* means God. With regard to 'contraction' and 'obstacles' here cf. sūtra 1.29 : *tataḥ pratyak-cetanādhiḡamo 'py antarāyābhāvaś ca* ' From that comes knowledge of the intellect within and removal of obstacles '. Contraction seems to be the antithesis of *vikṣepa* ' projection ' mentioned in sūtra 1.30.

Q 19. What are the hindrances which prevent the soul from attaining its own self ? ¹⁸⁹

Ans. The hindrances which (keep) the soul (away) from its proper pure activity are blameworthy moral qualities, which it acquires because of negligence ¹⁹⁰ with regard to that which is obligatory, of sloth ¹⁹¹ in action, of procrastination, ¹⁹² of doubt ¹⁹³ with regard to truth, of impotence ¹⁹⁴ due to ignorance and of the opinion which (sees) the obligatory as not obligatory. ¹⁹⁵

Q 20. The soul acquires blame because of these hindrances. Are there other hindrances which are not blameworthy ?

Ans. (The soul) ¹⁹⁶ is distracted ¹⁹⁷ by preoccupation in the following six manners : its preoccupation with impulses which come to it without any intention on its part ; its preoccupation with created beings ¹⁹⁸ whose reincarnation ¹⁹⁹ it expects ; its preoccupation with disappointment in and despair with regard to its quest ; ²⁰⁰ its preoccupation with change in the body ²⁰¹ which is its chariot ²⁰² . . . to it, or its occurrence is in it or in its actions. ²⁰³

Q 21. What is the way towards quelling and warding off ²⁰⁴ of (the above) ? (R, 176)

Ans. The setting apart of one's thought towards God, the Exalted and Sublime One, (alone) to the point of not being aware of anything else that might distract him. ²⁰⁵

¹⁸⁹ The expression *على ذاتها* 'attaining its own self' is close in meaning to the expression *svarūpa-darśanam apy aśya bhavati* 'he gains insight into his own nature' in V on sūtra 1.29.

¹⁹⁰ cf. *pramāda* in sūtra 1.30 : *vyādhi-styāna-saṃśaya-pramādālasyaivirati-bhrānti-darśanālabdha-bhūmikativānavasthitatvāni citta-vikṣepās te 'ntarāyāḥ* 'The obstacles are the distractions of the mind, i.e. error due to sickness, languor, doubt, heedlessness, sloth, and sensuality, also lack of an objective basis for perception, and instability of perception'.

¹⁹¹ cf. *ālasya* in sūtra 1.30.

¹⁹² Lit. 'putting off till to-morrow'. Perhaps this is meant to render *anavasthitatva* 'instability' of sūtra 1.30.

¹⁹³ cf. *saṃśaya* in sūtra 1.30.

¹⁹⁴ cf. *alabdha-bhūmikatva* in sūtra 1.30.

¹⁹⁵ cf. *bhrānti-darśana* in sūtra 1.30.

¹⁹⁶ For the text up to the word 'body' of sūtra 1.31 : *duḥkha-daurmanasyāṅgamejayatva-śvāsa-pravāśā vikṣepa-sahabhuvāḥ* 'The companions of the distractions are pain, melancholy, trembling of the body, inhaling and exhaling'. Also of. V on this sūtra.

¹⁹⁷ *يشغلها* corresponds to *vikṣepa* in sūtra 1.31.

¹⁹⁸ cf. *adhibhautikam* in V on sūtra 1.31.

¹⁹⁹ *حلول*. See above, p. 309, n. 58.

²⁰⁰ cf. *daurmanasya* in sūtra 1.31.

²⁰¹ cf. *aṅgamejayatva* in sūtra 1.31.

²⁰² The three words that follow appear to be corrupt. Ritter notes that they are difficult to read in the MS. For the simile of the chariot cf. *Indiā* (Seehau, I, 49) : 'The soul is in matter like the rider (راكب) on a carriage (عجلة) . . . '.

²⁰³ The meaning is not clear.

²⁰⁴ cf. *pratiśedha* in sūtra 1.32 (see next footnote).

²⁰⁵ This is certainly meant to render sūtra 1.32, though the Sanskrit text here does not refer in any way to God : *tat-pratiśedhārtham eka-tattvābhyāsah* 'Their removal is effected by repeated practice aimed at a single entity'. *إفراد* corresponds to *eka-tattva* here. For this answer cf. *Indiā* (quoted in R, p. 176, n. 1.).

Q 22. Is there a thing that ought to be wished for together with the thought which has been described ?

Ans.²⁰⁶ He ought to wish and desire the welfare of all creatures without exception, rejoice in its being achieved by them,²⁰⁷ have compassion on the unfortunate and the afflicted,²⁰⁸ be glad because of the works of the righteous and the good,²⁰⁹ shrink from the works of the wicked and the evil.²¹⁰ And he should (obtain) awakening²¹¹ for his soul,²¹² so that his breath²¹³ will not go away and be lost²¹⁴ in the two states of (namely) its retention and expulsion.²¹⁵

Q 23. What is his state when he achieves this stage before liberation ?

Ans.²¹⁶ (At this stage) his psychic power overcomes his body, the bodily obstacles have been abolished and he is in control of his (own) self. If he wishes he makes it as small and subtle as a grain of dust, and if he wishes he makes it as big and extensive as the air.²¹⁷ It²¹⁸ is like a crystal,²¹⁹ in which its surroundings are seen, so that the things are in it, whereas it is external to them. In the same way he contains that which encompasses him,²²⁰ so that when

²⁰⁶ For this answer cf. *India* (quoted by R, p. 176, n. 3).

²⁰⁷ Here يريد الخير corresponds to *maitrī* in sūtra 1.33: *maitrī-karuṇā-muditopekṣānām sukha-duḥkha-puṇyāpuṇya-viṣayānām bhāvanātaś citta-prasādanam* 'By cultivation of affection for the pleasant, compassion for the unpleasant, delight at good, indifference to evil, calm of the mind is attained'. كافة الخلق corresponds to V ad loc.: *sarva-prāṇiṣu*; حصوله to V ad loc.: *sukha-sambhogāpanneṣu*.

²⁰⁸ Here يحنو corresponds to *karuṣa* in sūtra 1.33; المساكين وذوي البلوى والشدايد to *duḥkhiṭeṣu* in V ad loc.

²⁰⁹ يفرح corresponds to *muditā* in sūtra 1.33; لآعمال الصالحين to *puṇyātmakeṣu* in V ad loc.

²¹⁰ Here ينفّر corresponds to *upekṣā* in sūtra 1.33; عن أفعال الإردياء والاشرار to *apūṇyātmakeṣu* in V ad loc.

²¹¹ This possibly corresponds to *citta-prasādam* in sūtra 1.33.

²¹² نَفْس.

²¹³ نَفَس.

²¹⁴ If Ritter's suggestion is correct, a و should probably be added: ويضيع.

²¹⁵ Al-Birūnī seems to have run the two sūtras 1.33 and 1.34 together. The word نَفَس corresponds to *prāṇa* in sūtra 1.34: *pracchardana-vidhāraṇābhyām vā prāṇasya* 'Or (this is attained) by breathing out and holding of breath'. Here جذب corresponds to *vidhāraṇa*; and إرسال to *pracchardana*.

²¹⁶ For this answer cf. *India* (quoted by R, p. 176, n. 3).

²¹⁷ This corresponds to sūtra 1.40: *paramāṇu-parama-mahattvānto 'sya vaśīkārah* 'His control extends from the smallest atom to the greatest magnitude'. For مقدر cf. *vaśīkāra*. For كالماء of. *paramāṇu* here and V ad loc. For كالهواء cf. *Maṇiprabhā* ad loc. There seems to be no reference to sūtras 1.35-9.

²¹⁸ For the present sentence and the following one cf. sūtra 1.41: *kṣiṇa-vṛtter abhijātasasyeva maṇer grahīṭ-grahaṇa-grāhyeṣu tatskha-tad-añjanatī samāpattih* 'Samāpatti is the presence in all (small and large) and the encompassing of all (large and small) on the part of the mind which has abandoned the functions of knower, knowing, and known, as a good gem shines on all and bears the image of all'.

²¹⁹ The word بلورة corresponds to *abhijāto maṇiḥ* in the sūtra and to *sphaṭika* in V ad loc. (where the whole illustration is used in a somewhat different way).

²²⁰ The Arabic احاط ب may also mean: 'that which he comprehends'. Cf. R, 170 (l. 19), 177 (l. 2).

union ²²¹ between (the act of) knowing and the known ²²² (is achieved) in him—he being the knower—intellection, he who intellects, and that which is intellected become in him one thing.²²³ (R, 177) And withal he (subsists) within four ²²⁴ degrees whose glory and splendour ²²⁵ differ. The first is the lowest; it (consists in) the apprehension of the three above-mentioned (i.e. the act of knowing, the known, and the knower) *qua* names,²²⁶ attributes,²²⁷ and details which do not constitute ²²⁸ definitions.²²⁹ When he transcends it, (reaching) definitions which turn the particulars of things into universals,²³⁰ he achieves a second degree.²³¹ He does not, however, cease in this (state) from (engaging in) details of (his) knowledge of things. Then, when (engaging in) details is abandoned in his

²²¹ The word *اِتِّحَادٌ* may correspond to *samāpatti* 'fusion' in sūtra 1.41.

²²² 'Known' is here in the plural in Arabic.

²²³ The terms *عِلْمٌ*, *المعلومات*, and *العالم* as well as the terms *عَقْلٌ*, *المعقول*, and *المعقل*, may correspond to *grahana*, *grāhyāni*, and *grahīr* (sūtra 1.41). The formula affirming the identity in one subject of the second triad of Arabic terms is often used by the Aristotelian philosophers, being applied to God.

²²⁴ cf. V on sūtra 1.46: *sa caturdhopasanābhyātāḥ samādhir iti* 'Thus concentration has been described according to its four subdivisions'. This refers to the kinds of concentration discussed in sūtras 1.42–4. For what follows cf. *India*, Hyd., 53 (quoted by R, 176, n. 3) = Sachau, I, 69–70: 'The Hindus say: "If a man has the faculty to perform these things, he can dispense with them, and will reach the goal by degrees, passing through several stages. (1) The knowledge of things as to their names and qualities and distinctions, which, however, does not yet afford the knowledge of definitions. (2) Such a knowledge of things as proceeds as far as the definitions by which particulars are classed under the category of universals, but regarding which a man must still practise distinction. (3) This distinction (*viveka*) disappears, and man comprehends things at once as a whole, but within *time*. (4) This kind of knowledge is raised above *time*, and he who has it can dispense with names and epithets, which are only instruments of human imperfection. In this stage the *intellectus* and the *intelligens* unite with the *intellectum*, so as to be one and the same thing". This is what Patañjali says about the knowledge which liberates the soul'. Also cf. *India*, Hyd., 51–2 (= Sachau, I, 68).

²²⁵ The reading of *هَاءٌ* seems to be doubtful.

²²⁶ In the Arabic: *إِسْمٌ* 'name' in the singular.

²²⁷ *صِفَةٌ* 'attribute' in the singular.

²²⁸ Lit. 'give'.

²²⁹ This has a slight correspondence to sūtra 1.42: *tatra śabdārtha-jñāna-vikalpaiḥ satkīrṇā savitarkā samāpattiḥ* 'Of these (i.e. within the category of *samāpatti*) *savitarka* (the determinate)-*samāpatti* is associated with concepts arising from the cognition of the meanings of words' (*tatra* is absent in some versions). For *إِسْمٌ* cf. *śabda* in the sūtra. However, al-Birūnī seems to introduce here conceptions deriving from the epistemology of the Aristotelians. This also seems to be the case in what follows.

²³⁰ cf. sūtra 1.49: *śrutānumāna-prajñābhyāṃ sāmānya-viśayā viśeṣārthatvāt*. Woods's translation here is apparently based on the probably incorrect reading *anya* (cf. Deussen, op. cit., 518) instead of *sāmānya* 'universal': 'has an object other than the insight resulting from things heard or from inferences inasmuch as its intended-object is a particular' (Woods, 94). Both *تفاصيل* 'details' and *جزئيات* 'particulars' correspond semantically to *viśeṣārtha* here, whereas *كليات* 'universals' corresponds to *sāmānya*. Al-Birūnī may have misconstrued the sūtra or the commentary on it.

²³¹ This differs from the second kind in Patañjali's sūtra 1.43: *smṛti-paribuddhau svarūpa-śūnyevārthamātra-nirbhāsā nirvitarkā* 'The *nirvitarka* (non-determinate *samāpatti*) appears to consist of the object alone, as if it had relinquished its own nature, when memory is purified (i.e. done away with; or: 'when mindfulness is perfected')'.

knowledge, and when he apprehends things as unified²³² and actualized according to time, he reaches the third degree. In this (stage), when existence is separated in his (mind) from time and . . .²³³ his knowledge of particulars and universals; then not (even) that which is as subtle²³⁴ as an atom²³⁵ is hidden from him.²³⁶ He is superior to one who receives information²³⁷ about a thing with regard to which something is hidden from him, so that the defect of a person who hears about (the thing) is not removed²³⁸ by the (act of) hearing.²³⁹ He can do without designating by names and attributes,²⁴⁰ these being instruments of necessity and need. Thus he has reached the ultimate (stage) in the noble fourth degree, and deserves to be called truthful.²⁴¹

Here ends the first section, (dealing with) making the heart steadfastly fixed,²⁴² of Patañjali's book.

²³² For واحاط بالاشياء متحدة 'when he apprehends things unified' cf. V on sūtra 1.43: *eka-buddhy-upakramah* 'the formation of a single mental-act' (Woods, 82).

²³³ Ritter indicates a lacuna here.

²³⁴ cf. sūtra 1.44: *etayaiva savicārā nirvicārā ca sūkṣma-viṣayā vyākhyātā* 'By this has been explained the *savicārā* and the *nirvicārā samāpatti* which has subtle objects'. (This translation is corroborated by V on sūtra 1.46. An alternative translation might be: 'By this has been explained the *savicārā samāpatti*; whereas the *nirvicārā samāpatti* may be explained as having subtle objects'.) Cf. also sūtra 1.45: *sūkṣma-viṣayatvaṃ cālīnga-paryavasānam* 'These subtle objects include the uncharacterized'.

²³⁵ هاء sometimes serves as a term designating 'atom'; cf. p. 312, n. 80. This, however, is not the case in Kalām terminology.

²³⁶ cf. Bhoja on sūtra 1.49: *asyām hi prajñāyām sūkṣma-vyavahita-viprakṣānām api viśeṣaḥ sphuṭenaiva rūpeṇa bhāsate* 'When this (yogio) knowledge (has been attained), then (any) particular, even if it be subtle, hidden, or distant, becomes distinctly manifest'.

²³⁷ المخبر may alternatively be rendered by 'one who gives information'.

²³⁸ Lit. 'cured'.

²³⁹ For سماع cf. *śruta*, sūtra 1.49. The translation proposed in the Arabic text may require here the emendation of the second منه in R, 177 (l. 7) into به. This statement appears to refer to a discussion similar to that of V on sūtra 1.49. Here المخبر 'one who receives information' may refer to *āgama* of V on sūtra 1.49, and خفي 'is hidden' may refer to *vyavahita* 'placed apart, hidden'.

²⁴⁰ For الاسماء والصفات cf. *śabda* in V on sūtra 1.49.

²⁴¹ The Arabic word صديق is often used as a designation of persons venerated on religious grounds. Thus it is applied to Muḥammad's friend and father-in-law, Abū Bakr, who was the first Caliph. The description of the last state by the word 'truthful' corresponds to that of sūtra 1.48: *ṛtambharā tatra prajñā* 'In this (calm) the insight is truth-bearing' (Woods, 94). Cf. *India*, Hyd., 57 (l. 12): *وإن قصر رتبته عن رتب الصديقين*: (Sachau, I, 76). Sūtras 1.46, 47, 50, 51 are not reflected in the Arabic text.

²⁴² Lit. 'fixed in one place'. For إقرار القلب here cf. R, 183 (l. 21), corresponding to sūtra 3.2.

CHING-TÊ CHÊN AND THE PROBLEM OF THE 'IMPERIAL KILNS'

By MARGARET MEDLEY

It was in the year 1856, with the publication of Stanislas Julien's partial translation of the then fairly recently published T'ao-lu 陶錄 of 1815, that Europe and America first became aware of the possible existence of an 'imperial kiln' or group of kilns at Ching-tê Chên 景德鎮.¹ Nor was this all, for according to Julien's translation such an 'imperial kiln' was established in the year 1369, the second year of the Hung-wu 洪武 period.² In view of Julien's standing in his own time, it is not unnatural that the facts as recorded by him with regard to this important event should have remained virtually unchallenged for the better part of a century. Jacquemart, in his monumental *Histoire de la céramique*,³ from which so many terms for wares and techniques have survived to become common currency, is heavily dependent upon his predecessor in the field. The first suggestion of an alternative possible date comes from Bushell in a footnote to his translation of the T'ao-shuo 陶說,⁴ a work dating from 1774 and thus slightly earlier than the T'ao-lu. This earlier work is generally regarded as less historically inaccurate than the T'ao-lu, which is perhaps a little sounder on the technical side; both works, however, are notoriously unreliable. The date quoted in the T'ao-shuo for the establishment of an 'imperial kiln' is the thirty-fifth year of the Hung-wu period, that is 1402, but Bushell in his note writes, 'The Official Record⁵ says second year, which is probably correct. The emperor died in the thirty-first year of his reign'. He thus briefly dismisses the date 1402 as error, preferring to accept the local history as being in this respect the more reliable source. Bushell completed his translation in 1891,⁶ but his text remained unpublished until 1910, two years after his death, and nearly ten years after the publication of his greatest contribution to Chinese ceramic studies, *Oriental ceramic art*,⁷ for which he used the same source materials. With reference to this translation of the T'ao-shuo Nobumori Ozaki writes, 'How far he expected this manuscript

¹ *Ching-tê Chên t'ao-lu* 景德鎮陶錄 by Lan P'u 藍浦, with the preface date 1815. The work was later revised by his nephew Chêng T'ing-kuei 鄭廷珪. The edition used is the reprint of 1891.

² Stanislas Julien, *Histoire et fabrication de la porcelaine chinoise, ouvrage traduit du Chinois*, Paris, 1852, translator's preface, pp. lix-lxi.

³ A. Jacquemart, *Histoire de la céramique*, Paris, 1873, 64.

⁴ T'ao-shuo 陶說 by Chu Yen 朱瑛 in 6 chüan, published in 1774. The edition used is the reprint of 1914. Stephen W. Bushell, *Description of Chinese pottery and porcelain being a translation of the T'ao-shuo, with introduction, notes and bibliography*, Oxford, 1910.

⁵ Whenever Bushell refers to the 'Official Record' he means the *Fou-liang hsien-chih* 浮梁縣志. He was lent a copy of the 1823 edition of Ch'iao Chu 喬注 in 22 chüan by the then director of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. It has not been possible to trace this copy.

⁶ *Description of Chinese pottery and porcelain*, p. 55, n. 2.

⁷ Stephen W. Bushell, *Oriental ceramic art, the collection of W. T. Walters* (text edition), New York, 1899. Abbreviated to *OCA*.

to be published after his death is a matter only for conjecture but, judging from the number of errors in it which might lead the unkind to question his capacity as a sinologue, I am convinced that he intended to revise it thoroughly before publication'.⁸ In *Oriental ceramic art* Bushell kept the date 1369, and in discussing his Chinese sources he states unequivocally that he proposes to 'depend chiefly on the official annals of Fou-liang-hsien and on the *T'ao-shuo*, the author of which devotes his third book to a general account of the porcelain of the *Ming* dynasty'.⁹ He then writes under the heading 'Hung-wu' that 'in the second year of his reign (1369) the imperial kiln was built at Ching-té Chên'.¹⁰ As stated above, this date is not given in the *T'ao-shuo*, but is recorded by Julien in his translation of the *T'ao-hu*. To anyone familiar with both these texts, this would suggest that Bushell has confused the titles of the two works, but the footnote in *Description of pottery and porcelain* makes his acceptance of 1369 in preference to 1402 understandable. He had already made clear his dependence on the *T'ao-shuo* and the *Fou-liang hsien-chih* of 1823, so it is unfortunate that the relevant passage reads 明洪武初鎮如舊屬饒州府浮梁縣。始燒造歲解，有御廠一所，官窯二十座 'at the beginning of the Hung-wu period, the Chên (鎮) as formerly, was subordinated to Fou-liang county in Jao-chou fu. For the first time fired wares were now dispatched annually to the capital. There was an imperial depot and 20 official kilns'.¹¹ It should be made clear that these official kilns were thus under contract to supply the needs of the capital. This would involve the production of all types of wares, from massive wine jars to common tea bowls for the use of the whole administrative hierarchy as well as for the palace itself. It would be going beyond the evidence to infer from this passage that any of these 20 kilns produced wares of such special quality for the palace alone as to justify the term 'imperial', or the belief in the existence of an 'imperial kiln'. Even apart from the mistranslation, it is difficult to understand how Bushell was able to maintain his position with regard to this date, especially as he had access to such texts as the *Jao-chou fu-chih* 饒州府志 of 1825 and the *Chiang-hsi t'ung-chih* 江西通志 of 1882, which both, on the authority of a sixteenth-century work partly included in the ceramic sections, give the date as the thirty-fifth year of the period.¹² He cannot have been unaware of this

⁸ Ozaki Nobumori, 'Chinese literature on ceramics', *Oriental Art*, NS, III, 1, 1957, 25-7.

⁹ *OCA*, 189. The italics are Bushell's.

¹⁰ *op. cit.*, 190.

¹¹ *Fou-liang hsien-chih*, ch. 6, T'ao-chêng 陶政 section of the monograph on natural resources, f.1 r/v in the manuscript copy made for Sir Percival David from the edition of 1740, compiled by Li Chien-té 李潯德. This edition differs fundamentally from the K'ang-hsi edition of 1682 by Wang Lin-yüan 王臨元 to which all other references in this paper have been made. Bushell's borrowed copy of the 1823 edition would have been nearer to the edition of 1740, so for this reference alone the Ch'ien-lung edition has been preferred.

¹² *OCA*, 643-4. Bushell gives a summary of the histories of both these works and the dates given above are those of the editions he used. The work quoted in these two local histories is the *Chiang-hsi shêng ta-chih* 江西省大志 by Wang Tsung-mu 王宗沐 of 1558 and issued with supplements in the Wan-li period not earlier than 1590.

contradiction, yet surprisingly he lets it pass entirely without comment. It is evident that his evaluation of the Chinese sources does not coincide with our own, but this can scarcely be held against him, since he naturally inherited the traditions current in his own time.¹³ Even more unfortunate is the fact that he inherited not only the Chinese tradition, but also that established by Julien, of whom he was, however, somewhat critical, but by whom on this point at least he may have been influenced. Bushell, in his two great works, the translation of the *T'ao-shuo* and *Oriental ceramic art*, laid the foundations for our research in Chinese ceramics. It is a misfortune that his authority in his own time, and the respect in which he has always been held, has resulted in his errors passing almost unrecognized and proving a serious obstacle to our progress in this field; perhaps nowhere is this more obvious now than in his perpetuation of a specific date for the establishment of 'imperial kilns'. As Pope has been careful to point out, however, Bushell was handicapped, 'He lacked the critical apparatus of modern sinology, and his first-hand contact with ceramic wares dating from periods earlier than the Ch'ing Dynasty must of necessity have been somewhat limited. This is in no way to his discredit; he simply lived too early . . .'.¹⁴

Since the beginning of this century bibliographical studies have advanced nearly as fast in some respects as our knowledge of the material remains of China. The last 30 years, especially, have seen rapid developments in almost all fields. An unfortunate exception would appear to be the critical examination of the literary sources on ceramics, where there has been a too ready dependence upon late texts, such as the *T'ao-shuo*, *T'ao-lu* and the late editions of the local histories, many of which rely in their turn on earlier texts themselves of uncertain value. Owing to this neglect of the Chinese source materials, we have until recently been compelled to accept Bushell's statements, and not only this, to accept the unquestioning repetition of them by others, most, but by no means all of whom either have had no access to the texts, or who lacked a sound knowledge of the Chinese language. Nevertheless Hobson, who availed himself of the assistance of his colleague Lionel Giles, while following Bushell, does examine, however briefly, the contradiction between the two dates traditionally recorded, and points out that in order to bring the thirty-fifth year of Hung-wu within the reign of that emperor it is necessary to base one's reckoning on the year 1364, when he declared himself Prince of Wu.¹⁵ This ingenious way out of the difficulty is entirely without justification. Chinese dating is based on a reign period, and in this instance to attempt to antedate the establishment of the dynasty is to make complete nonsense of the system.

¹³ Bushell's ch. xxiii, 'Chinese bibliography in relation to the ceramic art', *OCA*, 639-99, is a useful one and he is meticulous in stating his editions; that these editions are not always the best available to-day can hardly be held against him.

¹⁴ John A. Pope, *Chinese porcelains from the Ardebil shrine*, Washington, D.C., Smithsonian Institution, 1956, 28. On pp. 27-33 Pope evaluates the Chinese sources.

¹⁵ R. L. Hobson, *Chinese pottery and porcelain*, 2 vols., London, 1915; see I, 153-4, and II, 1-2.

Others such as Zimmermann and Honey, both writing in the first half of this century, follow the tradition established by Julien and Bushell.¹⁶ The next step, surprisingly, was taken by Jenyns when he for the first time raised the question as to whether there was at any time an imperial kiln in the Hung-wu period.¹⁷ After summarizing the situation up to the time of writing he rather spoils the effect by suggesting that the thirty-fifth year could be regarded as the most reasonable date. He gives as his reason the argument put forward by Ozaki Junsei 尾崎洵盛 in his long paper 'Kasei-yo' 嘉靖窯,¹⁸ which is briefly that when Yung-lo 永樂 seized the throne from his nephew, he was so anxious to expunge all record of the young man's reign, that he ordered the deletion of the events that lay between Hung-wu and himself from both the dynastic history¹⁹ and the *Shih-lu*.²⁰ This argument would mean that the last year of the Chien-wên 建文 period saw the establishment of the 'imperial kiln', which in view of the precarious situation in which the wretched young man found himself, quite apart from the disturbed state of the empire as a whole, seems not only historically unlikely, but even impossible. Jenyns, however, favours this theory because 'it would explain the absence of imperial

¹⁶ Ernst Zimmermann, *Chinesische Porzellan, seine Geschichte, Kunst und Technik*, Leipzig, 1913, and the same author's *Chinesische Porzellan und die übrigen keramischen Erzeugnisse Chinas*, Leipzig, 1923, agree in using 1369, as does also W. B. Honey in *The ceramic art of China, and other countries of the Far East*, London, 1944. In connexion with Honey's study it is only fair to point out that his book was intended as an aesthetic approach to the subject rather than a critical historical survey, but the book has had such wide circulation that it seems important to note it here.

¹⁷ Soame Jenyns, *Ming pottery and porcelain*, London, 1953, 34-8.

¹⁸ Published as a whole number in *Tōji 陶磁* 'Oriental Ceramics', VIII, 1, 1936. Jenyns unfortunately gives the volume as 3 and omits the page references. Ozaki at that time believed (pp. 29-30) that there were historical reasons for accepting the thirty-fifth year of Hung-wu (1402), but does not discuss these. Later in his *Meiji no tōji 明代の陶器* 'Ceramics of the Ming period', Tokyo, 1942, he expresses a new view (pp. 7-8). It is that the first date is too early, and the second too late, and that what has happened has been to write 三十五 'thirty-fifth' instead of twenty-fifth 二十五. He refers to the *Ta Ming hui-tien* 大明會典, ch. 194 (see *Chung-wên shu-chū* edition 中文書局, Taipei, 1963, vol. v, p. 2631, 1b) to a passage dated to the twenty-sixth year concerned with the manufacture of porcelain vessels for 'general use' 供用, the requirements for which were to be estimated in terms of men and materials, and he interprets the passage as meaning that the kilns were established in 1392, apparently regardless of the error of one year. What he does not seem to have realized at the time was that the phrase 供用器皿等物 does not usually mean wares for use only in the imperial household, but wares intended for use throughout the palace precinct, in the store-rooms and in the ministerial offices of the *nei-fu* 內府. As the *Ta Ming hui-tien* text continues in the next sentence '... if the requirements are large craftsmen should be moved to the capital and kilns set up; if they are small the wares should be made privately in Jao-chou fu and Ch'u-chou fu', it is unlikely that at this time any wares were made at what is normally understood to mean an imperial kiln—one which produced wares of the highest quality, in accordance with a prescribed range of designs. The unskilled labour needed for brick and glazed tile making, which is also mentioned in the same passage, implies that budgeting economically was more important than making 'imperial' wares, which would have involved a considerable outlay of capital, as well as a careful reorganization of the labour force in order to achieve the high standards of craftsmanship that would be expected.

¹⁹ *Ming-shih* 明史 compiled by Chang T'ing-yü 張廷玉 and others.

²⁰ *Ming shih-lu* 明實錄.

porcelain of the Hung-wu period far better than the destruction of the palaces at Nanking',²¹ an event that took place in the same year. Daisy Lion-Goldschmidt in her useful handbook²² ignores this possibility, stands firmly on the 1369 date, and attempts no examination of the conflicting traditions. It is, however, somewhat disturbing to find as recently as 1963 that Sullivan in his catalogue of the Barlow collection²³ accepts unhesitatingly the same date apparently basing his opinion on the *Ching-tê Chên t'ao-tz'ü shih-kao* 景德鎮陶瓷史稿,²⁴ a compilation in which the authors in fact are strongly inclined to favour the year 1402 instead.

A more cautious attitude has been adopted by a small number of specialists. The best known are Pope, who in writing of 'imperial wares' avoids all mention of an imperial kiln,²⁵ Garner, who similarly evades the difficulties involved in taking sides,²⁶ and Ayers, who comments that Chinese sources are at variance on the point, and leaves the matter severely alone without committing himself in any way.²⁷ Arthur Lane in his chapter on ceramics in *The arts of the Ming dynasty* writes less cautiously, but discerningly, 'We may safely discredit the conflicting Chinese accounts of an imperial factory founded at Ching-tê Chên by the first Ming emperor, Hung-wu. There is no tangible evidence of Ming "Imperial" porcelain till the reign of Yung-lo (1403-24), when for the first time the reign mark was applied to a series of wares whose almost excessive refinement set them apart from anything previously made at Ching-tê Chên. Significantly the marked Yung-lo pieces are all monochromes white or glazed a rich copper red'.²⁸

Such then is the situation with regard to the European and American texts on the ceramics of the beginning of the Ming dynasty.²⁹ On the one hand there

²¹ Jenyns, *Ming pottery and porcelain*, 38.

²² Daisy Lion-Goldschmidt, *Les potteries et porcelaines chinoises*, Paris, 1957, 90.

²³ Michael Sullivan, *Chinese ceramics, bronzes and jades in the collection of Sir Alan and Lady Barlow*, London, 1963, 105-8.

²⁴ *Ching-tê Chên t'ao-tz'ü shih-kao* 景德鎮陶瓷史稿 'Draft history of the ceramics of Ching-tê Chên' compiled by *Chiang-hsi shêng ching-kung-yeh t'ing t'ao-tz'ü yen-chü so-pien* 江西省輕工業廳陶瓷研究所編 'The Ceramic Research Department of the Chiang-hsi Province Light Industries Office', Peking, 1959, 95-7. The only text referred to, and quoted from in these few pages, is the *Fou-liang hsien-chih*, but no indication is given of the edition used. As stated above, p. 327, n. 11, there are fundamental differences between various editions of this work, so that this compilation cannot, in its present form, be regarded as of any great value.

²⁵ Pope, *Ardebil*, 33-8. The author discusses 'imperial' wares solely to define the term as regards quality.

²⁶ Sir Harry Garner, *Oriental blue and white*, London, 1954, and the same author's introduction to the catalogue of *The arts of the Ming dynasty, an exhibition organized by the Arts Council of Great Britain and the Oriental Ceramic Society*, London, 1957, 1-12.

²⁷ John Ayers, *The Seligman collection of oriental art. Vol. II. Chinese and Korean pottery and porcelain*, London, 1964, 20.

²⁸ Arthur Lane, 'Ceramics', in *The arts of the Ming dynasty*, 27.

²⁹ It is interesting to notice the Japanese attitude to the problem as recorded in *Sekai tōji zenshū* 世界陶磁全集 'Catalogue of world ceramics', xi, 1955. Although there is no reference to any 'imperial kiln' in the main body of the text, a chart at the end of the book includes both dates, 1369 and 1402, without comment.

has been a blandly uncritical, almost irresponsible acceptance of error, and on the other a caution which forbids, until further research has been undertaken, any mention whatever of an 'imperial kiln', the establishment of which would be of fundamental importance not only to the economy of a particular area, but also to the development, both technical and stylistic, of the wares themselves. The establishment of a kiln of this kind would, because of the inevitable economic impact, certainly have been recorded in historical documents. Although there is considerable confusion with regard to the European-language texts, this is slight compared with that encountered in the Chinese sources. These quote and misquote, abbreviate and garble with a frequency that would be disconcerting were one unaware of the manner in which traditions are so often handed down.

The tradition that an 'imperial kiln' was established in 1369, according to Sakuma Shigeo 佐久間重男³⁰ has its origin in the single historical stratum of the *T'ao-lu* of Lan P'u: 洪武二年, 設廠於鎮之珠山麓, 制陶供上方, 稱官瓷以別民窯

'In the second year of Hung-wu a *ch'ang* was built at the foot of Chu-shan at [Ching-tê] Chên, to produce ceramics to be supplied to the capital. They called these "official" wares (*kuan-tz'ü*) in order to distinguish them from the popular wares'.³¹

This differs from the 1682 edition of the *Fou-liang hsien-chih*, which says simply 'In the Ming, at the beginning of the Hung-wu period, they began for the first time to fire wares for dispatch annually [to the capital for general use]'.³² The ultimate source for the date 1369 would appear to be a passage in the *Ta Ming hui-tien* 大明會典,³³ which it is probable that Lan P'u knew of and misinterpreted. The passage occurs in the Kung-pu 工部 Board of Public Works section under the heading *Ch'i-yung* 器用; it reads as follows: 凡祭祀器皿: 洪武元年令太廟器皿易以金造... 二年定祭器皆用瓷

'Sacrificial vessels: In the first year of Hung-wu it was decreed that vessels for the Imperial Ancestral Temple should be changed, and made of gold. . . . In the second year it was ordered that all sacrificial vessels be of porcelain'.³⁴

³⁰ Sakuma Shigeo 佐久間重男, '*Mindai keitoku-ten yogyō no ikōsatsu*' 明代景德鎮窯業の一考察 'A study of the ceramic industry at Ching-tê Chên', in *Shimizu hakushi isuitō kinen Mindai-shi ronō* 清水博士追記念明代史論叢 'Studies in Ming history in memory of Dr. Shimizu [Tsiji]', Tokyo, 1962, 457-87. Abbreviated to *Mindai-shi ronō*.
³¹ *T'ao-lu*, ch. 5, 4a.

³² *Fou-liang hsien-chih*, ch. 5, 39a. The words in square brackets occur in most texts and have been added in this instance for the sake of clarity. The Ch'ên-lung edition of 1740 actually includes the whole of both sentences as given here, relying on the *Chiang-hsi shêng ta-chih*.

³³ *Ta Ming hui-tien*, ch. 201, 271b, 25b.

³⁴ This is also borne out by the *Ming T'ai-tsu shih-lu* 明太祖實錄 Taipei, 1962, ch. 44, 0872, 8b. The Board of Rites submitted a memorial asking that all but one type of vessel out of a series of five, should be made of porcelain. This was agreed by the Emperor in the eighth month, i.e. September 1369. Nothing is recorded as to where these vessels were to be made, or about their colour, and there is no evidence that they were made immediately.

Since the wares were to be made for the imperial ancestral temple, Lan, who was no historian, might well assume that such vessels would only be made in an imperial factory, as they were in his own time, at Ching-tê Chên, in the kilns that were established there towards the end of the seventeenth century, and that were administered by a superintendent appointed directly by the palace.³⁵

Another aspect of the confusion is due to a misunderstanding of the administrative and revenue collecting functions of the different districts and offices of Jao-chou fu. According to the Chêng-tê 正德 edition of 1511 of the *Jao-chou fu-chih*, quoted by Sakuma, 'Ceramic production began in the T'ang period and was fully organized in the Sung; in the present (Ming) dynasty an office was established to control this'.³⁶ Apparently this office not only controlled the potters, but also taxed them and levied a commercial tax on the ceramics purchased by the merchants. Sakuma goes on to explain that in the twenty-fourth year of Hung-wu (1391), there were two types of pottery and mine tax, a part of which was payable by Fou-liang.³⁷ As among the natural resources of the area ceramic wares are specifically mentioned in most of the official sources, it must be presumed that a part of this revenue was due from the kilns in production, the proportion of the tax being calculated on the basis of the size of kiln and estimated production, as had been the practice in the Yüan 元 period.³⁸ It would naturally be considered necessary, on the foundation of the new dynasty, to re-establish the fiscal administration at an early date for a sector of the economy from which a steady revenue could be obtained by siphoning off the excess profits. All the sources agree that an office was set up 'at the beginning of the Hung-wu period',³⁹ but the confusion seems to have arisen from a failure to appreciate the type of office, as in some of the texts the sentence in which the characters *shui-k'ò chü* 稅課局 or *shui-k'ò ssi* 稅課司 occur has been transferred to a context immediately concerned with the production of ceramic wares, instead of leaving it in its original place in the section relating to the general administration of the Chên as part of Fou-liang hsien. In the *T'ao-lu* and the *T'ao-shuo* only the title of the officer in charge remains. This has the effect of implying that the officer directed the production, but had nothing whatever to do with taxation, so that by the eighteenth century the position was almost certainly completely misunderstood. The text that makes the position perfectly clear is the rare *Chiang-hsi shêng ta-chih* 江西省大志 of the Wan-li 萬曆 period completed in or soon after 1590. Here the tax office is named together with the title of the officer in charge. It is from this work that all later sources, like the local histories and

³⁵ In the first half of the fifteenth century sacrificial vessels were made at Tz'ü-chou as well as Jao-chou. See below, p. 335.

³⁶ *Mindai-shi ronss*, 460. This edition of the *Jao-chou fu-chih*, from which Sakuma quotes, has not been available to me.

³⁷ *ibid.*, 460-1.

³⁸ Chiang Ch'i 蔣祈, *T'ao chi lueh* 陶記略, included in *Fou-liang hsien-chih* of 1682 as *T'ao-chi fu* 陶記附, ch. 4, 46b et seq.

³⁹ All the sources consulted in connexion with the preparation of this paper.

the works on ceramics, have quoted with varying degrees of accuracy. This work states the position as follows: 元更景德鎮稅課局監鎮爲提領。洪武初鎮如舊屬饒州府浮梁縣。正德初置御器廠專筭

'In the Yüan the *chien-chên* of the tax office was changed to become a *t'i-ling* 提領. In the present dynasty, at the beginning of the Hung-wu period the Chên 鎮 as formerly was subordinated to Fou-liang county in Jao-chou-fu. At the beginning of the Chêng-tê period they established an imperial vessel depot to take overall control'.⁴⁰

This passage is followed a little farther on by, 洪武三十五年始開窯燒造解京供用。有御廠一所,官窯二十座。宣德中以營繕所丞專督工匠。正統初罷,天順丁丑仍委中官燒造

'In the thirty-fifth year of Hung-wu for the first time they opened up kilns and began firing wares to be dispatched to the capital for general use. There was one imperial depot and 20 official kilns. In the Hsüan-tê period an officer of the Ying-shan-so 營繕所 was placed in charge of the workmen. At the beginning of the Chêng-t'ung period this organization [under the Ying-shan-so] was suspended. In the *ting-ch'ou* year (1457) of T'ien-shun they again deputed eunuchs to take charge of production'.⁴¹

Even with the introduction of a date and some changed wording, there is nothing here to justify the belief that an imperial kiln as such was in operation. How this date came to be accepted so completely by the compilers of the local histories is something of a mystery, the more so as no date is included in the earlier Chia-ching 嘉靖 edition of the *Chiang-hsi t'ung chih*, which is dated 1525. Later texts quoting from the *Chiang-hsi shêng ta-chih* are all very similar, though in several cases sentences have been transposed. On the problem of the date 1402 we find an eighteenth-century source, quoted by the compilers of the *Ching-tê Chên ta'o-tz'ü shih-kao*, displaying an interpretative daring not apparent elsewhere. The work quoted is the *Shih-wu yüan-hui* 事物原會 of Wang Ch'í 汪汲. The passage occurs in a short entry under the title *Ku Jao ch'i* 古饒器.⁴² The author starts with a quotation from the *Ko-ku yao-lun* 格古要論⁴³ and this is followed by the two passages from the *Chiang-hsi-shêng*

⁴⁰ Only two complete copies of this text survive, one in the National Library in Peking, and the other in Naikaku Bunka in Tokyo. I am grateful to Professor Denis Twitchett for his help in procuring for me a microfilm of the ceramic section from the Naikaku Bunka copy. *Chiang-hsi shêng ta-chih*, ch. 7, 2a. The Ch'ien-lung edition of the *Fou-liang hsien-chih* quotes this whole passage verbatim, but the K'ang-hsi edition of 1682 omits it altogether.

⁴¹ *ibid.*, ch. 7, 3a.

⁴² *Shih-wu yüan-hui* 事物原會, ch. 28, 14a. The order of the characters of this book title appear to differ, perhaps from one edition to another, unless it has been wrongly quoted by both Sakuma and *Ching-tê Chên ta'o-tz'ü shih-kao*. The title given here is that in the *Ku-yü ta'ung-shu* 古愚叢書 of 1796 to which reference has been made.

⁴³ *Ko-ku yao-lun* 格古要論 by Ts'ao Chao 曹昭. This work was completed in three *chüan* with the author's preface dated 1388. This extremely rare book was greatly expanded, and re-arranged in the fifteenth century by Wang Tso 王佐, and it is generally to this later work that one is compelled to refer. Its value as a source-book is therefore questionable.

ta-chih, quoted above, but when he reaches the thirty-fifth year of Hung-wu he makes a change, 止明憲宗建文四年壬午始開窯,燒造解京供用

‘Coming to Hui-tsung of Ming, in the fourth year of the Chien-wên 建文 period for the first time they opened up kilns and began to fire wares to be dispatched to the capital for general use’.⁴⁴

The addition of the cyclical date lends his statement an air of conviction that one finds in no other source.

One further date before the end of the first quarter of the fifteenth century has been put forward to complete the confusion. This is to be found in an inscription composed by a certain Chan Shan 詹珊 in or soon after 1555, which is included in the *i-wên-chih* 一文志 section of the 1682 edition of the *Fou-liang hsien-chih*. The relevant passage reads 至我朝,洪武末始建御廠,督以中官

‘Coming to our own dynasty, at the end of the Hung-wu period (i.e. c. 1398) an imperial vessel depot was built and was controlled by a eunuch official’.⁴⁵

The author then continues to the effect that in the Hung-hsi 洪熙 period (1425), 洪熙間少監張善始祀祐陶之神建廟廠‘... the junior eunuch Chang Shan first offered prayers and sacrifices to the gods involved in ceramics, and built a temple and a depot’. This inscription, composed in the second half of the sixteenth century, is the first we have so far referred to in which a name is mentioned, and to this we return below.

It is important to notice in connexion with the date of the establishment of an imperial depot, that all the texts so far referred to, themselves date not earlier than the Wan-li 萬曆 period (1573–1619). The fragmentary edition of the *Chiang-hsi t’ung-chih*, dating from 1525 is one of the very few pre-Wan-li texts available; it is particularly fortunate that among the surviving fragments of this work the sections dealing with the ceramic production of both the Jao-chou fu and Fou-liang hsien should be accessible on microfilm. In neither of these two sections are any dates mentioned in connexion with the production of ceramic wares, whether for imperial use or not. It is clearly stated that there was a *Yü-ch’i-ch’ang* 御器廠 at Jao-chou ‘outside the Yüeh-po gate of the city’ 在府成月波門外,⁴⁶ and that there was one at Fou-liang hsien ‘20 li 里 to the west of the *hsien*’ 在縣治西二十里.⁴⁷ The first of these lay on the south side of the city, on the river bank, and the second was in fact at Ching-tê Chên. This text gives strong support in favour of the interpretation of the character *ch’ang* 廠 as ‘depot’ rather than as ‘kiln’ or ‘factory’. The characters for kiln are almost invariably found to be *tso* 座 or *yao* 窯. The use of *ch’ang* with the connotation of a warehouse or large storage centre, with an

⁴⁴ *Shih-wu yuan-hui*, ch. 28, 14a.

⁴⁵ *Fou-liang hsien-chih*, ch. 8, pt. 3, 32a–b.

⁴⁶ *Chiang-hsi t’ung-chih*, Chia-ching edition, 1525, ch. 8, 26a. The Yung-chêng edition of 1732 omits all this, preferring to rely on the *Chiang-hsi shêng ta-chih*.

⁴⁷ *ibid.*, ch. 8, 29b.

administrative office attached, is common in Ming historical texts. If we are correct in accepting this interpretation, it rules out altogether the possibility of an imperial kiln as such, at least during the greater part of the Ming dynasty, and probably for the whole period. It is nevertheless clear that by the end of the seventeenth century, in the early years of the Ch'ing dynasty, a manufacturing complex had developed that could justifiably be called an imperial kiln.

From the sources available there does not seem to have been any real interest on the part of officialdom in the production of high-quality ceramics before the Hsüan-tê period. The incident relating to the Junior Commissioner Chang Shan, referred to above, is the first to indicate contact between the palace and the potteries. It was the first time, so far as we know, that an official order was transmitted for high-quality wares. The story of Chang Shan is recorded in the ceramic section of the *Shih-huo-chih* 食貨志, the economic chapters of the *Ming shih* 明史, and in the *Ming-shih-kao* 明史稿⁴⁸ in very similar terms. Chan Shan records it as having taken place in the Hung-hsi 洪熙 period (1425), the implication of his text being that the incident began and ended in that year, and this is also the implication of reports in both the *Shih-huo-chih* and the *Ming-shih-kao*, though in these two texts the date 1426 is given, that is the first year of the Hsüan-tê 宣德 period. The discrepancy can be satisfactorily explained, as Sakuma suggests, by the fact that although the Hsüan-tê period had not begun, Jên-tsung 仁宗⁴⁹ was already dead and had been succeeded by Hsüan-tsung 宣宗. The various accounts dovetail so neatly that this conclusion is inescapable. The *Shih-huo-chih* tells the story very briefly, as follows 宣宗始遣中官張善之饒州造奉先殿几筵龍鳳文白瓷祭器。磁州造趙府祭器。踰年善以罪誅。罷其役

'In the Hsüan-tê period for the first time a eunuch official, Chang Shan, was dispatched to Jao-chou [to supervise] the manufacture of dragon and phoenix decorated white sacrificial porcelains for the Fêng-hsien tien. Tz'ü-chou was to produce sacrificial vessels [for the altars] in the domain of the Princes of Chao. In the course of the year Shan was executed for offences he had committed, and his post was abolished'.⁵⁰

The *Ming-shih-lu* 明實錄 has the longest account, and here the story is divided into two parts. The first part is recorded in the ninth month of the Hung-hsi 洪熙 period, three months after the emperor's death, 'On the day *i-yü* 乙巳 an order was dispatched to the Board of Public Works that Jao-chou

⁴⁸ *Ming shih-kao* 明史稿, compiled by Wang Hung-hsü 王鴻緒, who offered his 'Draft history of the Ming' to the throne in 1723.

⁴⁹ Jen-tsung died in the sixth month of 1425.

⁵⁰ *Minshi shokkashi yakuchū* 明史食貨志譯註 'The *Shih-huo-chih* of the *Ming-shih*': translated into Japanese with notes. Edited by Dr. Sei Wada (Tōyō Bunko Publications, ser. A, no. 40, 1957), Chinese and Japanese text. Vol. II, Japanese text, p. 1041. The *Ming-shih kao* exactly repeats this, see 2, 300c.

fu in Chiang-hsi was to make white porcelain sacrificial vessels for the altars of T'ai-tsung 太宗 and Jên-tsung 仁宗 in the Fêng-hsien tien, and that sacrificial vessels were to be made at Tz'ü-chou for each of the altars of the Princes of Chao'.⁵¹ The rest of the story is told in the entry for the twelfth month of the second year of the Hsüan-tê period (1427), 'The eunuch Chang Shan was executed. Shan had been sent to Jao-chou to supervise the making of porcelain vessels. He cruelly oppressed his subordinates for incompetence, and many of the pieces made for imperial use he distributed among his friends. The authorities heard about it and because of his greed he was ordered to be executed in the market-place'.⁵²

On the basis of the literary evidence and of Sakuma's research, there is no certain record of any official involvement in the production of high-quality porcelains before the Hsüan-tê period. The earliest recorded notice so far found of an imperial depot and office is that noted by Sakuma.⁵³ This notice occurs in the Chêng-tê edition of 1511 of the *Jao-chou fu-chih*. Sakuma quotes this, 'For a long time the office of the junior eunuch commissioner was outside the Yüeh-po gate. It was established in the Hsüan-tê period. Every year tribute porcelain was sealed and taken up here by the senior eunuch commissioner to be sent up [to the capital]'.⁵⁴ The next notice, without date or reign period, occurs in the fragmentary Chia-ching edition of the *Chiang-hsi t'ung-chih* under the heading *Yü-ch'i-ch'ang* in the section on Fou-liang hsien, 在縣治西二十里景德鎮, 內臣駐此燒造器皿

'Twenty li to the west of the Hsien seat of government is Ching-tê Chên.

A eunuch officer is here [to supervise] the manufacture of vessels'.⁵⁵

It is of some interest to note that eunuchs had an important place in the system, although they were not always employed. An important point to notice is that after Chang Shan's execution, the supervisory post he held was abolished, so that immediate supervision was withdrawn. After the date 1427 there appears

⁵¹ *Ming Hsüan-tsung shih-lu* 明宣宗實錄, ch. 9, 0231, 4a. It is not yet known when the practice of marking porcelain with a *nien-hao* 年號 began, and there are none so far recorded of the Hung-wu period that can be regarded as genuine. The mark of Yung-lo (1402-24) is known, but is perhaps only genuine on a few pieces of white ware, and possibly on two small blue and white bowls, which were published by Ch'ên Wan-li 陳萬里 in *Ku-kung po-wu-yüan yüan-k'an* 故宮博物院院刊 'Report of the Palace Museum', no 1, 1958, p. 61. I have not seen these pieces, and the photographs so far published are unfortunately so indifferent that it is impossible to be sure about them. It is possible that the white pieces, which all seem to be bowls and stem-cups, were in fact made early in the Hsüan-tê period and formed part of the order with which Chang Shan was concerned. Whatever the explanation, the number of marked pieces that may be attributed safely to the early fifteenth century must be far fewer than the number so far attributed to the period solely on the basis of the mark. It is, for instance, extremely unlikely that any of the so-called 'bodiless' type with *an-hua* 暗花 decoration belong to the period; they should perhaps be assigned to the eighteenth century.

⁵² *ibid.*, ch. 34, 0863, 4a.

⁵³ *Min dai-shi* 冊, 482.

⁵⁴ The text quoted by Sakuma runs, 即舊小監廳在月波門, 宣德間創每歲貢瓷器, 大監駐此檢封以進.

⁵⁵ *Chiang-hsi t'ung-chih*, ch. 8, 26a.

to be a gap in the record until 1433, when an officer was sent down by the Board of Public Works, not by the palace, with an order, probably with drawings of designs, for 443,500 pieces to be supplied for use in the palace.⁵⁶ An order of this size would have taken some time to fulfil, and it is hardly likely, for practical economic reasons, to have been the output of a single kiln.

None of this suggests that there was a specific kiln, or even group of kilns, operating solely for the benefit of the imperial household, or that manufacture was located only at Ching-tê Chên. The facts rather indicate the reverse, that these *ch'ang*, offices, with their packing and storage facilities were placed at convenient centres in relation to the very large number of kilns spread through the countryside. The *Chiang-hsi t'ung-chih* in its section on natural resources tends to support this when it points out under the heading *tz'ü-ch'i* 瓷器 for Kuang-hsin fu 廣信府 area, that I-yang hsien 弋陽縣 and T'ai-p'ing hsiang 太平鄉 both produced high-quality wares, and the wasters and pieces not up to the required standard were highly valued by the townspeople and were distributed among the craftsmen.⁵⁷

In the face of this accumulation of evidence it is necessary to accept that not only was there no such thing as an 'imperial kiln', but also at least until the Hsüan-tê period there was virtually no interest in the products of Jao-chou and no attempt to exert tight government control over the ceramic industry. Even after the commissioners were appointed and orders were sent down through the palace departments and the Kung-pu, the court remained dependent for supplies of wares made on a contract basis. Not only this, but it must be remembered that Jao-chou was not the only area supplying the needs of the court and capital. Tz'ü-chou, Chün-chou, Ch'u-chou, and Chên-ting fu all supplied the palace departments with wine jars, bottles, and flasks of various kinds.⁵⁸ A side-light on this is given in the *Ming Hsüan-tsung shih-lu* 明宣宗實錄 which records that the office called the Kuang-lu ssü 光祿司 calculated that the annual manufacture of wine and other liquors required the use of 220,000 pieces, and that the department was dependent upon the lower officials of the Board of Public Works 工部下 有司 to ensure that they were made as required,⁵⁹ a statement that does not suggest that in 1425 consistently high-quality wares had a very important place in the minds of members of the palace administration. Moreover, although commissioners were appointed, they were frequently withdrawn after quite a short time, and then after a lapse of time others would be appointed, themselves to be withdrawn in their turn. After the beginning of the Hsüan-tê period control of the ceramic industry seems to have been exercised mainly through control of the craftsmen. Only at intervals did this control extend to the production of specific wares in

⁵⁶ *Ta Ming hui-tien*, ch. 194, 2632, 4a.

⁵⁷ *Chiang-hsi t'ung-chih*, Yung-chêng edition of 1732, ch. 27, 7a.

⁵⁸ *Ta Ming-hui-tien*, ch. 194, 2631, 2b.

⁵⁹ *Ming Hsüan-tsung shih-lu*, ch. 8, 2a.

MATERIALS RELATING TO THE COWRY CURRENCY OF THE WESTERN SUDAN—II¹

REFLECTIONS ON THE PROVENANCE AND DIFFUSION OF THE COWRY IN THE SAHARA AND THE SUDAN

By M. HISKETT

The cowry

‘ Parmi tant de coquilles que le flot des mers rejette sur les plages, il n’en est pas que les hommes aient recherchées, recueillies, portées plus que les cauris. ’²

The purpose of this study is to investigate the cowry in the Western Sudan. But it is impossible to study any aspect of cowry diffusion and use in isolation, and some understanding of the complex and fascinating global history of the shell is essential to our knowledge of its history in this area.

There are several species and many sub-species of the cowry. We are concerned only with *Cypraea annulus* and *Cypraea moneta*. *C. moneta* is normally considered to be the larger, but as Quiggin points out, ‘ size is an unsafe guide in conchology and the *Cypraea* are notoriously variable ’.³

The use of the cowry is as old as intelligent man, for Jackson tells us ‘ The association of perforated cowry shells with men belonging to the Cro-Magnon group is not without interest when it is remembered that these people were members of our own species—*Homo sapiens*, and quite distinct from the earlier Neanderthal people ’.⁴ Within the era of civilized man, they have been found in pre-dynastic and dynastic burials in Egypt,⁵ and Jackson suggests the possibility that *C. annulus* found in a grave at Abydos, may have been used as money.⁶ Shells have been found in Tuscan graves, and were used by the

¹ For part I see *BSOAS*, **xxix**, 1, 1966, 122–42. We should like to add a note in explanation of the dating of the Emirs of Kano given in the introduction to part I of this article (‘ Materials relating to the cowry currency of the Western Sudan—I ’, *BSOAS*, **xxix**, 1, 1966, 122), which was unfortunately overlooked when *BSOAS*, **xxix**, 1, went to press. These dates are based on the lengths of reigns attributed to the emirs in the ‘ Song of Bagauda ’ (see ‘ The “ Song of Bagauda ”—III ’, *BSOAS*, **xxviii**, 2, 1965, 366). Although the chronology of *WB* is certainly less reliable than that of the Kano Chronicle up to the reign of Muhamman Bello, it gives the lengths of the reigns of the emirs who followed this ruler, with whom the Kano Chronicle stops short. These dates are obviously based on recent memory and are likely to be accurate (although it is true that while two MSS attribute ten years to the Emir Aliyu, the third gives him nine only: ‘ “ Bagauda ”—I ’, *BSOAS*, **xxvii**, 3, 1964, p. 550, n. 76). The date of the installation of Abbas is known exactly and by reckoning back from this we arrive at the dates given in ‘ “ Bagauda ”—III ’, 366. The alternative dates are those given by S. J. Hogben and A. H. M. Kirk-Greene in their *The emirates of Northern Nigeria*, London, 1966, 214. But these scholars do not give their authority for these late reigns which are not covered by the Kano Chronicle and they themselves agree that the Kano dates, as they have given them, may need revision. While we by no means assert that the *WB* dates are final, we feel that they are more acceptable than those given by Hogben and Kirk-Greene.

² E. G. Gobert, ‘ Le pudendum magique ’, *Revue Africaine*, **xv**, 426–7, 1951, 5.

³ A. Hingston Quiggin, *A survey of primitive money*, London, 1949, 26.

⁴ J. Wilfred Jackson, *Shells as evidence of the migrations of early culture*, Manchester, 1917, 137.

⁵ *ibid.*, 128.

⁶ *ibid.*, 129–30.

women of Pompeii as prophylactics against sterility.⁷ Jackson suggests, on the evidence of their discovery in medieval graves of women in Europe, that this use may have persisted into the Middle Ages.⁸ They have been found again in Anglo-Saxon graves.⁹ The Carthaginians used the shells, for they have been dug up in Punic graves,¹⁰ and the Romans appear to have given them the nickname *porci* or *porculi* 'piglet' which has passed through the Low Latin or early Italian *porcellana* to the French *porcelaine*, and thus into English 'porcelain'.¹¹ Indeed Jackson suggests that the Romans may themselves have taken the nickname from the Greeks.

On the other side of the world cowries were known from very early times in China and India, and the Sanskrit *kaparda*, from which our own 'cowry' is thought ultimately to have derived, may be, as one authority suggests, the Chinese loan-word *ho-pai*.¹² Cowries have been found at the site of Nimroud; ¹³ in Transcaucasia; and in Crete, Turkistan, and Scandinavia.¹⁴ Indeed it is apparent that this tiny, rotund, and pleasing object has accompanied man through countless centuries of his development and has been intimately involved in his emotional life and in the daily business of his living.

The paths of cowry diffusion have been delineated by Jackson in his classic work.¹⁵ Quiggin states 'westwards from India they spread through Afghanistan into Persia, and from thence into Europe, where they encountered the stream that had trickled up in prehistoric times, probably connected with the amber trade'.¹⁶

What they were initially used for, and for what reasons, is obscure. Despite Jackson's surmise, it seems doubtful whether they were really used by the ancient Egyptians as currency. Certainly they were valued at a very early date as charms. Much learned discussion took place in *Man* over the period 1939-43, as to whether the cowry was a charm against the evil eye because it resembled a half-closed eye, or a prophylactic against infertility because of its resemblance to the female vulva. This correspondence has been summarized by Gobert in an article in which with notable scholarship he demonstrates convincingly that behind the magical and life-giving properties attributed to the cowry lies an age-old concept of *le pudendum magique*.¹⁷ How and why the shells first came to be used as currency we shall never know on precise authority, although Elliot Smith's suggested explanation, given in his introduction to Jackson's work, carries conviction.¹⁸ But once the process has begun, the career of the cowry as an exchange medium is assured, for it possesses in addition to its

⁷ *ibid.*, 139.

⁸ *ibid.*, 139.

⁹ Quiggin, *op. cit.*, 26; *Man*, xli, 37, 1941, 48.

¹⁰ Gobert, *op. cit.*, 6.

¹¹ Jackson, *op. cit.*, 126.

¹² Quiggin, *op. cit.*, 30.

¹³ Jackson, *op. cit.*, 131.

¹⁴ Gobert, *op. cit.*, 5.

¹⁵ *op. cit.*

¹⁶ *op. cit.*, 28-9, but it is difficult to understand why they came overland across Afghanistan.

One would expect them to come by sea directly from India to Persia.

¹⁷ *op. cit.*

¹⁸ *op. cit.*, introduction, pp. xix-xx. He suggests that they were first given as bridal dowries, and that this practice may have given rise to their use as currency.

attractiveness, all the attributes of good coinage—convenience, durability, and an almost total resistance to forgery.

The cowry in Arabic literature

As we shall see, the first recorded evidence of the importation of cowries into the Western Sudan comes from an Arabic source.¹⁹ It is therefore pertinent to our study to inquire what the Arabs knew about the shell, and how they used it.

Arabic sources present a clear account of the use of cowry shells (*wada'*, *wada'ah*) from the first Islamic century. The *Lisān al-'arab* of Ibn Mukarram, who died in 711/1311, quotes the tradition: ²⁰ من تعلق ودعة لا ودع الله له 'He who hangs a necklace of cowries round his neck, God will not prosper him'; and has the comment on it: وإنما نهى عنها لانهم كانوا يعلقونها مخافة العين 'He (Muhammad) only forbade them because they used to use them in necklaces out of fear of the evil eye'.

If this tradition is authentic, it follows that cowries must have been in use among the Arabs during the lifetime of the Prophet—and thus, in effect, during the pre-Islamic era. Indeed, Gobert has a reference to al-Mustatraf which mentions the use of cowries during *al-Jāhiliyya* as a charm against the pangs of despised love.²¹

That they were in use during the first century of Islam is confirmed by the lines of the poet Jamil Buthaynah (d. 82/701)²²

الم تعلمى يا ام ذى الودع اننى
اضاحك ذكراكم و انت صلود

'Do you not know, O mother of the boy with the cowry necklace

That I laugh with joy at the thought of you, while you are hard-hearted?'

The *Ṣiḥāḥ* of al-Jawhari (d. 398/1007-8) has under *samma* 'the loop of the girth called *waḍīn*' and 'anything like cowries (*wada'*) brought up from the sea'. This description is repeated in the *Qāmūs* of al-Fīrūzābādī (d. 817/1415), and in the *Tāj al-'arūs* of Sayyid Murtaḍa al-Zabīdī, whose work was completed in 1181/1767.

A curious reference to the shells appears in the *Maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī: ²³

فاذا هو قراد يرقص قرده و يضحك من عنده فرقصت رقص المخرج

'And behold, he was a monkey trainer, making his monkeys dance, and amusing those who were with him. And I danced the dance of the dog with the cowry collar'.

In a footnote the editor, Muḥammad 'Abduh, says: '*al-muḥarraj* is the dog wearing a necklace of *al-ḥirj*, that is cowries (*wada'*), and he is not given this

¹⁹ Abu 'Abdullāh b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Bakrī.

²⁰ s.v. *wada'*.

²¹ 'Al Mustatraf, trad. fr. G. Rat, Leroux, 1899, II, p. 169.'

²² *Al-Amāli* of al-Qālī, second ed., Cairo, 1926, II, 300.

²³ Beirut, 1889, 93-4.

necklace until he is trained, and until, when he becomes strong in running, his whole strength is in leaping and bounding'.

Although the Arabs themselves do not appear ever to have used the shells as treasure, this use was well known to them, for Sulaymān al-Tājir (Sulaiman the Merchant), whose travelogue was recorded by an anonymous author in 237/851, gave this description of what he observed on his visit to the Maldives.²⁴

وكلها عامرة بالناس و النارجيل و ما لهم الودع و هذه الملكة تذخر الودع في خزائنها . . . و الودع ياتيهم على وجه الماء و فيه روح فوخذ سعة من سعف النارجيل فتطرح على وجه الماء فيتعلق فيها الودع و هم يدعون الكبتح

'They (the Maldiv Islands) are all inhabited by people and by coco-nut palms, and their treasure is cowry shells. This queen amasses cowries in her treasuries . . . and the cowry comes to them on the surface of the sea, and in it is a living creature. Branches of the coco-nut are taken and cast on the surface of the sea, and the cowries attach themselves to them. They are called *al-kibtah*'.

Al-Mas'ūdī (d. 345/956) has an almost identical description : ²⁵

و بيوت اموال هذه الملكة الودع و ذلك ان الودع حية نوع من الحيوان فاذا قل مالها امرت اهل هذه الجزائر فقطعوا من سعف نخل النارجيل بخصه و طرحوه على وجه الماء فيتراكب عليه ذلك الحيوان فيجمع و يطرح على رمل الساحل فتحرق الشمس ما فيه من حيوان ويبقى الودع خاليا مما كان فيه فيملا من ذلك بيوت الاموال

'The treasure of this queen is cowries. Now the cowry is alive, a sort of animal. When her treasure diminishes she orders the people of the islands to cut branches of the coco-nut palm with the foliage, and spread them on the surface of the sea. Then the creatures climb up on them and are collected and spread out on the sand of the sea-shore. The sun dries up the creatures inside, and the cowry remains empty and the treasuries are filled with them'.

Whatever uses of the shells the Arabs may have observed elsewhere in the world, they themselves appear to have used them solely as prophylactics against the evil eye and, possibly, as ornaments, although behind their use as ornaments there probably lay a belief in their magical powers. Their use in a magical role is amply attested by European observers of the last century. Burekhardt, writing in 1813 or 1814 of El-Fedja in Nubia, says : ²⁶

'I particularly noticed the Sorombak and the small white shell called in Cairo Woda (ودع) with which the Gipsy women tell fortunes, by tossing them up as they pronounce the person's name, and by observing the position in which they fall to the ground'.

²⁴ *Silsilat al-tawārikh*, Paris, 1811, 6.

²⁵ *Murūj al-dhahab*, ed. Barbier de Meynard, Paris, 1861, I, 337-8.

²⁶ *Travels in Nubia*, London, 1819, 465 ; second ed., London, 1822, 420.

Lane, in his *Modern Egyptians*, comments as follows : ²⁷

‘ The small shells called cowries are especially considered preservatives against the evil eye ; and hence, as well as for the sake of ornament, they are often attached to the trappings of camels, horses, and other animals, and sometimes to the caps of children ’.

The evidence of Daumas, writing in the mid-nineteenth century, is particularly interesting, for he describes the independent ritual use of cowries by nomadic Arab tribes living in what had formerly been the Saharan cowry currency area, and where vestiges of this currency still lingered.

‘ Sidi-Mohammed-el-Gandouz, qui vécut, mourut et fut enterré à l’endroit même où la piété des fidèles a depuis élevé le marabout qui porte son nom, était renommé pour l’hospitalité que trouvaient chez lui les pauvres et les voyageurs.

Les caravanes de passage, fournissaient à ses aumônes en lui laissant de la viande séchée, de la farine, des dattes, du beurre, etc. qu’il distribuait aux malheureux dont les provisions étaient épuisées et aux pèlerins indigents qui venaient le visiter et prier avec lui. Cet usage s’est conservé ; aucune caravane n’oserait passer près de ce lieu d’asile sans faire la prière et sans laisser une *ouada*.’ ²⁸

Here the cowry has become a votive offering. Subsequently Daumas makes it clear that the word *ouada* has itself come to mean ‘ a votive offering ’ :

‘ Les Kheddams d’un marabout sont obligés d’aller, une fois l’an, visiter le tombeau où repose le premier saint, chef de sa famille, et chaque pèlerin, suivant sa fortune, y laisse des cadeaux appelés *ziara*.

A son tour, le marabout, ou quelqu’un de ses parents, va visiter les Kheddams, et ce voyage est encore l’occasion d’une ample récolte de présents qui, cette fois, prend le nom de *el ouada*.’ ²⁹

O Sidi Abd-el-Kader, dit-il, tu es le protecteur du voyageur, le compagnon de celui qui va en ghrazia, l’ami du malheureux, sois avec nous et pour nous dans ce voyage, et, quand nous serons de retour nous donnerons en ton honneur aux pauvres, une riche *ouada* (cadeau, présent)’. ³⁰

Elsewhere, speaking of other Arabic-speaking Saharan nomads, he shows that the word has acquired yet another derived meaning, that of ‘ fête ’ or ‘ religious festival ’ :

‘ . . . mais il sait, quand il le faut, dignement fêter ses hôtes. Vienne *el ouada*, la fête patronale d’une tribu, d’un douar, où se trouvent ses amis, il ne leur fera pas l’injure d’y manquer ; et, fût-ce à trente ou quarante lieues, il faut qu’il aille y rassasier son ventre ’. ³¹

The shells were well known in North Africa at the beginning of the nineteenth century, for James Grey Jackson records that 32,000 lb. of cowries were imported into Mogador from Amsterdam in the year 1805. ³² Cherbonneau, in his

²⁷ London, 1860, 261.

²⁹ *ibid.*, 328.

³² *An account of the empire of Morocco. Third ed.*, London, 1814, 24.

²⁸ *Moeurs et coutumes de l’Algérie*, Paris, 1855, 65.

³⁰ *ibid.*, 365.

³¹ *ibid.*, 260.

'Définition lexicographique de plusieurs mots usités dans le langage de l'Afrique septentrionale [— première partie]',³³ the information for which was collected in Constantinople and which was compiled in 1849, writes under *ودع* simply 'coquillage de mer bigarré en forme de grain de café et fendu par le milieu'.

By the middle of the nineteenth century Barth had come across the Walid Rashid in Bagirmi with the head harness of their horses and camels adorned with cowries.³⁴

It becomes clear that although the Arabs carried cowries into the Sahara in their trading packs, it was certainly not their example which prompted their use as currency. Either they learned that the negroes already used them as an exchange medium, and decided to profit by this, or else, which seems more likely, they carried them in to sell as ornaments much in the same way as European traders brought in beads, and the Saharans themselves converted them to use as money. Be this as it may, at the same time as they traded in them with the negroes, the Arabs continued to use them as amulets and ornaments, as they had done since before Islam.

The early Saharan cowry exchange area

The possibility that the shells were known in the Western Sudan before the Islamic era cannot be ignored. Tin objects bearing a superficial resemblance to cowries have been found at a Nok site in Northern Nigeria, and fall within a time span 280 B.C. to A.D. 875. These objects, however, need not necessarily represent cowries, and for the time being they must be ignored as a factor in dating the introduction of the cowry to the area.³⁵

There is, however, ample evidence that the Carthaginians traded to some depth into the Sahara, and as we have seen, they certainly had the cowry. What may be significant is that *C. annulus* found by Gobert at Kerkouane were not pierced at the apex, but were ground down at the back,³⁶ for it is thus that cowries are normally prepared for stringing throughout the Western Sudan. But this is not conclusive, since back-ground cowries have been found in Egypt and spasmodically elsewhere, and are of course common in East Africa. The Romans are also possible carriers, for it is now certain that they penetrated deeply into the Sahara, and that their influence was at work in the Fezzan. Finally, there is the theory, espoused by Jeffreys, of Pharaonic provenance and diffusion.³⁷ This we propose to discuss in detail anon.

³³ *Journal Asiatique*, Sér. 4, Tom. XIII, 1849, 63-70.

³⁴ *Travels*, second ed., London, 1857, III, 382.

³⁵ I am indebted for this information to Mr. B. E. B. Fagg of the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford. Mr. Fagg writes 'The smelted tin objects do resemble cowry shells but there can be no certainty that they represent them; if anything, I think it rather improbable'. Mr. Fagg adds that since the resemblance is superficial it should be completely ignored as a factor in dating the introduction of cowry shells.

³⁶ *op. cit.*, 6.

³⁷ In an article 'The diffusion of cowries and Egyptian culture in Africa', *American Anthropologist*, I, 1948, 45-53.

The first written record of cowries in the Western Sudan which I have been able to discover is that of the Arab geographer al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094). This writer makes frequent mention of the media of exchange in use in the areas with which he was concerned.³⁸ Speaking of Kougha³⁹ he says :

‘ La plupart des marchandises que l’on y apporte consiste en sel, en cauris, en cuivre et en euphorbe, ce dernier et les cauris y ont le plus de débit ’.

It seems clear from his very comprehensive coverage of the exchange media of the Western Sudan during the eleventh century that both unminted gold and stamped gold *dinārs* and *mithqāls* were in general use ; so also was gold dust, and in certain areas grain, salt, copper rings, and cotton strips. Cowries were an article of trade much in demand, but at this early date there is no suggestion that they were used as coinage. Now since al-Bakrī makes a point of listing the various currencies, it seems unlikely that he would have omitted to mention the fact if cowries had been used for purposes of exchange, and the conclusion is that they may not have been so used during the eleventh century—at least not in the areas known to al-Bakrī.

The next reference is that of Ibn Sa‘īd, who died in 673/1274. His testimony may therefore be taken to apply to the situation prevailing in the mid-thirteenth century.

... واما مدينة غانة فهى من اعظم مدن السودان و هى فى اقصى جنوب المغرب و يسافر التجار من سجلماسة الى غانة و سجلماسة مدينة بالغرب الاقصى بعيدة عن البحر و يسرون من سجلماسة الى غانة فى مفازة لا يوجد فيها الماء نحو اثني عشر يوما و يحملون اليها التين و الملح و النجاس و الودع ولا يجلبون منها الا الذهب العين⁴⁰

‘ . . . and as for the city of *Ghānah*, it is one of the greatest cities of the *Sūdān*, and it is in the extreme south of the *Maghrib*, and the merchants travel from *Sijilmāsah* to *Ghānah* and *Sijilmāsah* is a city in the extreme west (of North Africa), far from the sea. They travel from *Sijilmāsah* to *Ghānah* in a waterless desert, in which no water is to be found in a journey of about 12 days, and they carry to it figs, salt, copper, and cowries, and nothing is exported from it except coined gold ’.

This reference is important on two counts. First, because it shows that cowries were still being imported into the Western Sudan from North Africa in the thirteenth century. Second, because it states that minted gold coins were

³⁸ *Description de l’Afrique septentrionale*, translated by de Slane, Paris, 1913. Arabic text, Paris, 1911, second ed. For example, 300/158 ; 325/173 ; 327/174 ; 330-1/176 ; 331/177 ; 333/177-8 ; 339/181.

³⁹ *ibid.*, 335/179. The medieval capital of Songhay, present Gao.

⁴⁰ *Abulfedas historia anteislamica*, ed. H. L. Fleischer, Leipzig, 1831, 175-6.

manufactured in the Sudan and exported to North Africa.⁴¹ It is still not certain, however, that cowries were used as currency. They may have been desired as ornaments and charms.

The first reference to the use of cowries in business transactions comes in the *Masālik al-absār* of al-'Umari (d. 749/1349).⁴² He states that gold was used by the king of Mali for trade with the north, for the upkeep of the court, and for rewarding his servants. But all internal business transactions were in cowries, imported by the merchants at a considerable profit. Some 20 years later Ibn Baṭṭūṭa states that cowries were employed as currency in Goga and in Mali.⁴³

For the fifteenth century we have the testimony of Maḥmūd al-Kāṭi (b. 872/1468) who mentions the use of cowries in Mali as payment to the parents-in-law of brides, in order to ensure that the children of the marriage should not claim emancipation from serfdom.⁴⁴ During the sixteenth century their use was noted in Timbuctu by Leo Africanus as small change,⁴⁵ and on the evidence of al-Sa'di they were still in use there during the seventeenth century.⁴⁶ The Kano Chronicle shows that cowries were first introduced into Hausaland during the reign of Sharefa—that is, during the first half of the eighteenth century.⁴⁷

⁴¹ It is not the purpose of this study to discuss the precious metal currency of the Sahara and Western Sudan, except in so far as it related to the cowry. It must be said, however, that the whole question of such a coinage poses an enigma. References to the mithqāl need not refer to a coin, but to an equivalent weight of gold dust or bullion. Al-Bakrī, however, refers to *dīnārs* and then he makes specific mention of an unstamped gold coin called *ḡula* 'دنانيرهم و تسمى الصلح لانها ذهب محض غير مختومة'. Therefore according to his testimony there were both *dīnārs* and certain pre-coins circulating in the eleventh century.

This is followed by the evidence of Ibn Sa'īd. But we are bound to ask why, when the whole trend of the trade was to pick up raw gold in the Sudan for processing in the mints of Sijilmasa and North Africa, the Ghanaians should mint gold coins for export? This appears to be 'coals to Newcastle', and we cannot do other than regard the word *al-'ayn* with extreme suspicion, as a very probable corruption. It is altogether more reasonable to suppose that ancient Ghana exported dust and bullion. But then, in the sixteenth century we meet again this insistence on the existence of an unstamped pre-currency in the testimony of Leo Africanus (*infra*, p. 347). Finally there is the statement of Dupuis (*Journal of a residence in Ashantee*, London, 1824, Pt. II, p. lviii) that 'ducats (mitskal)' were minted in Nikki, the capital of Borgou. Yet despite the persistent asseverations of our sources, as Mauny points out ('Ateliers monétaires Ouest-Africains', *Notes Africaines*, No. 78, 1958), no specimen of these gold coins has ever been recovered. Since gold coinage which has been circulating in significant quantities simply does not disappear, the whole thing is a puzzle. One is reluctant to do the observant Leo the possible injustice of assuming that he is merely echoing what may be an initial error of al-Bakrī, but we are bound to observe that such things did happen, and it is a possibility. We shall of course most humbly exonerate Leo should a specimen of this mysterious unstamped coinage come to light!

⁴² Paris, 1927, French translation (Gaufrey-Demombynes, vol. 1), 75-6, Arabic text, 202.

⁴³ H. A. R. Gibb (tr.), *Ibn Battūta. Travels in Asia and Africa, 1325-1354* (Broadway Travellers), fifth impr., London, 1963, 334, Gao, al-Bakrī's Kounga.

⁴⁴ *Tarikh al-fattāsh*, Paris, 1913, 107-8/56. In fact Maḥmūd Kāṭi began to write his work early in the sixteenth century, but the conditions which he describes apply to the fifteenth century.

⁴⁵ *The history and description of Africa . . . of Leo Africanus*, translated by Pory, ed. Robert Brown, III (Works issued by the Hakluyt Society, No. 94), London, 1896, 825.

⁴⁶ *Tarikh al-Sūdān*, Paris, 1900, 338/221-2.

⁴⁷ H. R. Palmer, *Sudanese memoirs*, Lagos, 1928, III, 123.

We thus have a continuous record of the cowry in the Sahara from the eleventh to the seventeenth century, together with the eighteenth-century reference of the Kano Chronicle, the significance of which we shall discuss below. It is not, however, certain that the cowry was used as currency during the first 300 years of this period.

Did the cowry come overland from the east coast?

G. I. Jones says in his article 'Native and trade currencies in southern Nigeria during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries', 'Cowries, which are shells found in the Maldive islands, must originally have come overland through the Eastern Sudan and East Africa, but with the development of trade between Europe and India, they were shipped from India to European ports, whence they were brought by European traders to the Slave Coast in ever-increasing quantities during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries'.⁴⁸ There are no grounds for asserting that the shells 'must' have come from the east overland to the west. This is but one possibility, and there are weighty objections to it.

As we have seen, cowries were being carried from North Africa along the Saharan caravan routes as early as the eleventh century. What were these shells, and from whence did they come? There is in fact no reason why the Arabs of the eleventh century should not have procured supplies of shells directly from India, for their contacts with India at this date were entirely adequate. But Barth states, presumably on the authority of oral tradition, that the cowries current in Songhay in the eleventh century were the large Persian variety, and that the smaller Indian variety were not introduced until much later.⁴⁹ Leo Africanus tells us that this was also so in the sixteenth century. Indeed, Barth's tradition may well derive from Leo:

'The coine of Tombuto is of gold without any stampe or superscription, but in matters of smal value they vse certaine shels brought hither out of the kingdom of Persia . . .'.⁵⁰

In the light of Quiggin's comment, no significance need be attached to size.⁵¹ But Jackson does mention that cowries are harvested in the Persian Gulf,⁵² and this may explain the provenance attributed to these early shells. More significant is Quiggin's description of cowry diffusion, in which she states that from India the shells passed through Afghanistan into Persia, and from thence into Europe.⁵³ It is to be expected that some of these shells on their way from Persia into Europe, would have been diverted southwards along the coast of the Maghrib and ultimately to Sijilmasa. Alternatively they may simply have come down into Morocco from Spain, and thus Leo's so-called 'Persian' shells may have come originally from India. One thing is certain, however: these eleventh-century 'Persian' cowries entered the Sudan via the Mediterranean and not overland from East Africa. If this was the position in the eleventh century, there is no reason to suppose that it 'must' have been

⁴⁸ *Africa*, xxviii, 1, 1958, 48.

⁴⁹ *op. cit.*, iv, 428.

⁵⁰ *supra*, p. 346, n. 45.

⁵¹ *supra*, p. 339.

⁵² *Shells*, 123.

⁵³ *supra*, p. 340, n. 16.

otherwise in Roman, Carthaginian, or even Pharaonic times. Indeed, a Mediterranean route is, at all times, more credible than a trans-continental overland route.

Jeffreys has argued for an ancient Egyptian origin, in the article to which we have already referred, and he links the Ibo sextuple cowry counting system with the ancient Egyptian duodecimal system. He writes, 'it seems that when it is reported that India and China were trading with Egypt, it was really Egypt that was trading with these lands, carrying cowrie shells across the Erythraean Sea with which the Egyptian mariners were familiar. Once the cowry was established as a means of foreign currency it would not be long before the Egyptians would introduce it into Africa and with it their own system of recording by sixes'.⁵⁴ This is highly speculative, but we do not exclude the possibility that the Egyptians could have introduced the cowry by sea. Elsewhere, however, Jeffreys appears to insist on an overland route: 'This shell, whose origin is the Red Sea and Indian Ocean, when found at Benin in 1480 must have spread from East to West'.⁵⁵ This, of course, is not so. First, as we shall see, a European cowry loan-word had become established on the Coast by 1508,⁵⁶ and it is therefore possible, at the least, that cowries from Europe had reached Benin by the end of the fifteenth century. But leaving this aside, it remains entirely possible that eleventh-century cowries from the Niger Bend could have found their way down to Benin by 1480. Also, while there is some evidence of a sextuple counting system in Ibo, Jeffreys's evidence for such a system elsewhere in West Africa is fragmentary, and as far as the present author is aware, quite incorrect for Hausa. There is no *loso* meaning 'sixty' in Hausa,⁵⁷ but only *laso* meaning 'twenty'. We cannot offer an explanation for the Ibo counting system, but in view of the other evidence which we have adduced, we regard it as of too slight a character to support so monumental a theory as overland trading contacts between Pharaonic Egypt and the West Coast. So many other possibilities could have intervened in the vast time span involved.

Sir Hamilton Gibb also appears to have given a blessing to the trans-continental theory, in the *apparatus criticus* to his edition of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa.⁵⁸ In n. 33 to ch. xiv he says:

'The existence of a cowry exchange in the Mali empire, alongside the salt exchange, is conclusive evidence of the commercial relations across the African continent referred to in note 14 [*sic*, read 15], as cowries are found in Africa only on the east coast, between the Equator and Mozambique'.

Like Jeffreys he begs the question, for he overlooks the possibility that the cowries in Mali were not East African natives, but had been imported from distant parts of the cowry-producing world—in fact, as we have seen, from Persia. In n. 15 to ch. xiv, where he discusses the origin and meaning of the word *Lamlam*, he says:

⁵⁴ *American Anthropologist*, I, 1948, 51.

⁵⁶ Pereira's *bozy*, *infra*, p. 351.

⁵⁷ Jeffreys, *op. cit.*, 50.

⁵⁵ *ibid.*, 47.

⁵⁸ *op. cit.*, 382.

‘ Ibn Battuta heard at Kilwa that gold dust was brought to Sofala from Yúfi in the country of the Limis, which was distant a month’s journey from there. For this trans-continental trade see note 33 below ’.

Then in n. 16 he says :

‘ Cooley’s identification of Yúfi with Nupe, on the left bank of the Niger between Jebba and Lokoja, has been accepted by all later authorities ’.

He thus appears to postulate a trans-continental trade route linking the Niger with the East African coast, in use during the fourteenth century. But is this credible? From Hausaland to the Zambezi is approximately 2,600 miles in a straight line across the centre of Africa. It took over two months to cross the Sahara from Hausaland to North Africa, a distance of some 1,400 miles. Camel portage was certainly not practical on the trans-continental route, and can we therefore accept that it was possible in anything like a month? But if such a route had existed and been of practical value, would not the diligent and opportunist Arab slavers and gold traders have known about it and exploited it? Yet not one of the Arab geographers breathes a hint of it, save only and doubtfully, Ibn Baṭṭūta. Not only this. East Africa was adequately endowed with her own gold-bearing areas. What conceivable economic reason can therefore have existed to carry gold dust from the Niger, right across the centre of Africa, on a trek that must have taken many months, in order to deposit it at Sofala, when it could be obtained with so much less labour close at hand—on the Zambezi itself for instance? Finally, Ibn Baṭṭūta and his contemporaries believed that the Niger was the Nile. Therefore, even though he may have imagined that the gold came from Nupe, his state of geographical confusion was such as to have misled him. There was, of course, a trade in copper between the East Coast and Katanga during the Middle Ages. It is therefore conceivable that what Ibn Baṭṭūta thought was a trans-continental trade was in fact this traffic to and from the Congo. But there is no evidence that this early trade was cowry-based, and indeed the cowry is reputed to have been introduced into the Congo by the Arab slavers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ If a trans-continental route did exist, it is easier to visualize it running across the grass savannah belt well north of the Congo forest, and in this case, of course, its eastern terminus could not have been Sofala. We do not believe in the existence of such a route during the Middle Ages for the good reason that there is no mention of it in the Arab historians from Ibn Ḥawkal onwards, and we are convinced that they could not have been ignorant, nor have maintained a conspiracy of silence about such a route. That it may have been in existence in pre-Islamic times and been blocked after Islam by the Christian Nubian kingdom is possible. Certainly Oliver and Fage (*A short history of Africa*, London, 1962, 42) have noted the discoveries of Arkell, which suggest that the remnants of the Kushitic dynasty lived out their day in the area between the Nile and Lake Chad and we have here a possible channel for the introduction of ancient Egyptian culture, including the cowry, into the Sudan. But if this were so how are we to explain the known absence of the cowry in Bornu and Kanem, for it is hard to believe that it went on leap-frogging this area for nearly two millennia, whatever the prowess of a rival currency? And how also do we explain the statement of a document which external evidence has shown to be remarkably truthful in other respects, that the cowry did not appear in Hausaland until the eighteenth century? As we shall argue below, it is simply not acceptable that the deoks should be cleared for the trans-continental theory by stating baldly that the Kano Chronicle is wrong.

If cowries came from east to west and carried with them elements of Pharaonic culture, it is necessary to establish with some certainty when they first acquired value in East Africa. As far as our researches have shown, the *Periplus* is the sole authority for an early cowry chronology on the East Coast. Jackson says :⁶⁰

‘ Among the articles mentioned in the “ Periplus ” as exported from this place—the Quiloa or Kilwa of modern times—is an item *Νάυπλιος ὀλίγος* (lit. little sea-shell), a term which has given rise to some discussion ’.

This is usually taken to refer to tortoise shells, but could be any one of an almost infinite variety of conchs, including of course the cowry. But Quiggin in her ‘ Trade routes, trade and currency in East Africa ’, admits that the reference in the *Periplus* is doubtful,⁶¹ and the theory of the early use of cowries in East Africa cannot stand on such slight evidence. Ibn Battūta visited Mombasa and Kilwa⁶² in the fourteenth century. While not conclusive, it is worth recording that this assiduous observer noted cowries in the Maldives,⁶³ in Ceylon,⁶⁴ and as we have seen, in the Sahara, but he does not mention them in Swahili country. A possibility is, therefore, that they were not used there.

Quiggin lists a number of early Portuguese travellers in East Africa. She does not record that any of them noted cowries, except Pinto, who saw them used as ornaments at the Cazembe court in 1798.⁶⁵

Roscoe says ‘ When they were first seen in Uganda they were extravagantly valued and two shells would buy a woman but they soon depreciated until (about 1860) 2,500 would only buy a cow . . . ’.⁶⁶ This same author says that cowries were probably introduced to the Baganda during the reign of Semakokiro, who lived during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The cowry has existed in its natural state on the east coast of Africa from time immemorial. Therefore we do not dismiss the possibility that it became an object of value from place to place in East Africa, and that this may have been so from very early antiquity. Nor would we exclude the possibility that occasional specimens may have reached the Atlantic coast in the course of the enormously complex pattern of human intercourse which we now know to comprise the history of Africa. We *do* contend that there is no general pattern of early or consistent cowry use throughout East Africa such as would justify us in believing that East Africa was the *point de départ* for the diffusion of the shells across the continent.

Jackson has given a map showing the distribution of the use of cowries.⁶⁷ But when we compare this map with a population map of the world, such as

⁶⁰ *Shells*, 143.

⁶¹ *Occasional Papers of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum*, No. 5, 1949, 15. Even if it could be shown that it was cowries which the Greeks carried, it does not follow that the shells were value objects to the East African natives of the day. There have been many instances of precious materials being garnered from natives who attached no worth to them.

⁶² Gibb, *op. cit.*, 112 f.

⁶³ *ibid.*, 243.

⁶⁴ *ibid.*, 248.

⁶⁵ ‘ Trade routes ’, 5–8.

⁶⁶ *The Baganda*, London, 1911, 456.

⁶⁷ *Shells*, 125.

that given in the *Oxford atlas*,⁶⁸ it becomes strikingly obvious that Jackson's area of cowry use corresponds closely to the areas of greatest population density. This is, of course, what one would expect, since it will be where populations have been thickest that objects, including cowries, will survive to testify to their own use. But this can mislead, for the pattern in which cowry use has been established does not necessarily correspond to the routes along which cowries moved. This is very obvious in the case of the Sahara. Jackson's map has a dot at Morocco and another approximately at Bilma. But in between is a blank. Yet there can be no doubt from our medieval Arab sources that the western and central Sahara was one of the busiest channels of cowry movement so far known to us, and that it remained so over five centuries. Thus the broad band which Jackson shows stretching from east to west across Africa is not necessarily the line of entry, but merely a line of retrieval.

To sum up: We do not exclude the possibility that cowries could have come to the West Coast by very early carriers, long before the Arabs or the Europeans. But we consider that in this case the bulk of them was either carried through the Mediterranean and down the west coast, or, more probably, that they reached North Africa from Middle Eastern sources and were carried in along the early Saharan trade-routes. We see no reason to assume that they must have originated from East Africa, and we regard the existence of a trans-continental route as highly unlikely. If specimens did trickle through overland, then this was a secondary and minor movement.

The cowry vocabulary of West Africa

Apart from the Arabic *wada'*, the earliest cowry word known to us is Dapper's *boesjes*, which appears to date from the late seventeenth century.⁶⁹ Pereira, however (whose work was available in 1508), refers to sheep used in trade on the Rio Real, and says that they were called *bozy*.⁷⁰ Dapper also observes that *bochie* was used to describe copper bracelets,⁷¹ and Jones wonders whether *bozy*, *boesjes*, etc., is not a general trading term of a Coast language used to describe any medium of exchange and later specialized to mean 'cowries'.⁷² We agree that this form appears to have become used generally, as Jones suggests, but we believe the whole complex of words *boesjes/bochie/bozy* to stem from the Portuguese *buzio*/French *bouges* which according to Quiggin arise in turn from the Maldivian *boly* = 'cowry/cowries'.⁷³ *Bozy* is therefore not a native word which came to be specialized in the meaning of 'cowry', but a foreign loan-word which came in with cowries and subsequently became generalized. Moreover, Quiggin states that the word appeared in Benin as *abuy*, and in Dahomey as *akwe*.⁷⁴ While we are not acquainted with the

⁶⁸ *The Oxford atlas*, revised repr., London, 1963, vi-vii.

⁶⁹ I am indebted to Jones, op. cit., 43, for this reference, and for other references to the early accounts of the Coast traders, all of which are given in his article.

⁷⁰ *ibid.*, 43.

⁷¹ *ibid.*, 44.

⁷² *ibid.*, 44.

⁷³ *Primitive money*, 30.

⁷⁴ *ibid.*, 30.

phonological processes underlying these naturalizations, they nevertheless seem to us to be quite possible derivations from a common source.

For the rest, the cowry words of West Africa are an enigma. We are faced with the fact that an article of such basic market importance, which is obviously exotic, failed to carry with it its own loan-word, but is described by a variety of words most of which appear to be unrelated. We list the cowry words known to us in the main languages of West Africa, moving broadly from east to west.

Waday	<i>kemti</i> ⁷⁵
Bagirmi	<i>kemé-kemé</i> ⁷⁶
Kanuri	<i>kungona</i> ⁷⁷
Hausa	<i>wuri</i> , plur. <i>kudi/kurdi</i>
Fula	<i>seedere/seerre</i> , plur. <i>ceede</i> ⁷⁸
Songhay	<i>noor</i> , plur. <i>noorey</i> ⁷⁹
Ibo	<i>mbudambu</i> (<i>C. annulus</i> ?)
	<i>ayolo</i> (<i>C. moneta</i> ?)
Yoruba	<i>owó</i>
Nupe	<i>woni</i> , plur. <i>wonizhi</i>
Mande	<i>kpoyo</i>
Mauritanian Arabic	<i>lwedea</i> ⁸⁰

The Nupe *woni* is the stem *wɔ* to which the numeral *ni* has been suffixed. It is therefore clearly related to the Yoruba *owó*. *Kemti*, *kemé-kemé*, and possibly *kungona* could also be related. We wonder whether the Bini *abuy* is to be detected in the Mande *kpoyo*, and we shall endeavour to demonstrate a link between the Nupe *woni* and Hausa *wuri*. Beyond this we are unable to recognize any link between the remaining 'cowry' words though we are aware that mere visual dissimilarity is of no significance in the complex processes of sound shifts. On phonological evidence, however, we conclude that Hausa is not indebted for its cowry terms either to the Arabic *wada'* or to the Songhay *noor*.

Meek has attempted to explain *wuri*, *kudi/kurdi* as follows: ⁸¹

'Another Hausa expression for "he gazed" is *ya yi wuri da ido*. *Wuri* is shown in the dictionary (p. 1094) as meaning "gazing in wonder, surprise, fear". *Wuri-wuri* means "in startled, terrified, amazed condition" (p. 1094). The more common expression *wuri da wuri* means "manifestly" "openly", or "face to face". The word *wurk'ila*, which is said to mean "to screw up one eye to look at a person", is obviously a compound of *wuri* and *k'il*, a root meaning "very small". Similarly *wurk'ilili* "a person with only one useful eye" (p. 1095).

⁷⁵ Barth, op. cit., III, 382.

⁷⁶ *ibid.*, 382.

⁷⁷ Barth, op. cit., II, 242, 297.

⁷⁸ *ibid.*, 446, *chede*.

⁷⁹ I am indebted to Professor P. F. Lacroix for information concerning this Songhay word. I am also indebted to a number of my colleagues at the School of Oriental and African Studies for information and suggestions concerning these West African words.

⁸⁰ Vincent Monteil, 'Sur le vocabulaire Franco-Maure', *Notes Africaines*, No. 42, 1949, 55.

⁸¹ *Man*, xli, 36, 1941, 48.

Now it appears that the Hausa word for "cowry" is *wuri* (plural *kur'di* or *ku'di*), and although the dictionary indicates a slight tonal difference between *wuri* = stare and *wuri* = cowry, this tonal difference (if indeed it exists) would not prevent the two words from being genetically the same. . . . Students of Hausa have often wondered why "cowries" (in the plural) should be *kur'di* whereas "cowry" (in the singular) is *wuri*. I think we now have the clue. *Kur'di* (or *ku'di*) is simply the Hindi or Urdu *kauri*, whereas *wuri* is a native African word meaning "eye".

Meek's explanation is ingenious, and certainly deserves consideration. We do not, however, agree with it. In the first place the root meaning of *wuri*, with high final tone, is 'place'. The tonal difference is a real one, and cannot be brushed aside. All the combinations meaning 'confront', of which 'gaze in fear' is clearly one, have a high final tone. There are on the other hand a number of combinations involving the notion of 'selling' in which *wuri* with low final tone occurs: *ya taya wuri* 'he offered it at a knock-down price'; *na karfi kudin wuri na gugar wuri* 'I was paid in full'; and the punning *ba su da wuri sai wurin zama* 'They haven't a penny to call their own' (lit. 'they have no *wuri* (cowry) except the *wuri* (place) of sitting down'), which is surely conclusive. We would argue that *wuri* and *wuri* are genetically quite different, and that *wuri* is almost certainly a loan-word.

As for the *kur'di*, *kauri* equation, since we must admit at the outset that we are defeated by *kur'di/kur'di* it is perhaps presumptuous to question Meek's explanation. Nevertheless there are considerable objections to it. According to Jackson, the Hindi and Urdu are *kauri* or *kauri*.⁸² *Kauri* has clearly given the English 'cowry'. Hausa does not change the internal diphthong *au* (or *ow*) to *u*, and 'cowry' would be expected to give a Hausa form *kawali* or *kawari*, after the paradigm Arabic *bawl* > Hausa *bawali*; Arabic *al-qawl* > Hausa *alkawali/alkawari*. Neither is there any precedent for the glottal *d*. As for any notion that the word comes directly from the Hindi form *kauri*, and not through 'cowry', this is remote, since it presupposes a direct link between Urdu or Hindi and Hausa independently of an English or Arabic filter. We do not reject out of hand Meek's explanation of *kur'di*, but we feel that these objections must be answered before it can be accepted. Indeed the whole teasing problem of the cowry words cries out for a full semantic and phonological study.

The later cowry currency area south of the Niger

Further discussion of the provenance and paths of entry of the cowry into our area involves an appreciation of its distribution. Dupuis, writing in the nineteenth century, states that eastwards from Dahomey 'the current coin throughout these regions is cowries; not only do they circulate east of the Aswada in Dahomey and Dagomba, but also in the Ashantee provinces of Bouromy, Baboso, Yobatya, Quahon, Agnamo and Ikhran, where gold is not found; for the Gold Coast extends no further east than Berracoo'.⁸³ Elsewhere

⁸² *Shells*, 126.

⁸³ *Journal of a residence in Ashantee*, Pt. II, p. xli.

he says, 'Cowries are the current coin of the Niger, and of most or of all the interior parts of the continent, excepting the westernmost countries of Wangara, Ashantee, Gaman and some of their dependencies, where gold is also found'.⁸⁴ Coming westwards across Bornu towards the Niger we have Clapperton's evidence for the position that obtained there at almost the same date. Arriving at Katagum he wrote, 'Here we found, for the first time, kowrie shells in circulation as money; for hitherto native cloth, or some other commodity of standard price, had been the common medium of exchange'.⁸⁵

In Barth's day the position was substantially the same. Cowries were marginally current in Kukawa, having been recently introduced by speculators. But eastward of this point, in Bornu, Bagirmi, and Waday, although known as trade articles, they were not acceptable as currency. They appear at infrequent intervals in Barth's account of his travels east of Bornu, but not as currency, and there is no doubt that the western edge of Bornu was the limit of the cowry currency area. Travelling north, Barth also used cowries in Timbuctu, but they were apparently not generally accepted beyond this point.

With this evidence before us, it is tempting to assume that the cowries, imported into the Sudan in the eleventh century from North Africa, crept southwards until, as the Kano Chronicle states,⁸⁶ they reached Hausaland early in the eighteenth century; that they then fanned out east and west, stopping short when they came up against the established cotton currency of Bornu, and merging with the flow of cowries from European sources imported into the Coast from the sixteenth century onwards. But this, like the theory of the direct east to west trans-continental route, is too facile.

Jeffreys has simply rejected the evidence of the Kano Chronicle in the following passage: 'Both Codamosto and Ibn Batuta give the lie to the following statement in the Kano Chronicle of Northern Nigeria: In Sharefa's time (1703-1731) cowries first came to Hausaland'.⁸⁷

Now as we shall show, Palmer mistranslated the Arabic of the Kano Chronicle in one small but significant particular. Nevertheless, we believe that the import of his translation is correct. But certainly Jeffreys is not justified in summoning Ibn Baṭṭūṭa to his aid, for this traveller did not get within 500 miles of Hausaland, and Quiggin appears to share Jeffreys's error when she states that he saw cowries sold at 1,150 to the dīnār 'in what is now Nigeria'.⁸⁸ There is no reason to suppose that because cowries were in use in fourteenth-century Mali and Songhay, they must also have been in use some 500 miles further to the south-east. We know that Bornu and Kanem were involved in the trans-Saharan caravan trade at an early date. In fact, the Bornuese were probably responsible for initiating the slave-trade from the Hausa countries. Yet they never adopted the cowry currency. Jeffreys assumes too readily that cowries spread down from Songhay, but the question that really arises is whether they came to Hausaland from the north at all. If they did come from

⁸⁴ *ibid.*, p. cxi.

⁸⁵ Denham and Clapperton, *Travels*, London, 1831, III, 248.

⁸⁶ *supra*, p. 348, n. 47.

⁸⁷ *op. cit.*, 47.

⁸⁸ *Primitive money*, 9.

this quarter why did they not carry with them either the Arabic or the Songhay word? Can they then have come from any other direction?

At this point it is necessary to establish what the Kano chronicler did say. An Arabic MS of the Kano chronicle,⁸⁹ which I believe to be the oldest extant copy, and the one from which Palmer took his working copy, reads as follows:

وفي زمان شارييف جاء كردى الى حوس لانه ذو همة في الغزو و غزاه زمانه اولهم
سرکن دواک صد

Palmer translated this: 'In Sharefa's time cowries first came to Hausaland. The Sarki was a mighty warrior. Among his captains were Sarkin Dawaki Sodi . . .'.⁹⁰

In fact, the translation should read 'In Sharīfa's time cowries (*kurdī*) came to Hausaland because he was zealous in raiding, and first among the champions of his time were Sarkin Dawāki Ṣodi . . .'. In omitting the conjunction and reducing his translation to two apparently unrelated sentences Palmer unwittingly deprived us of the reason behind the coming of cowries to Hausaland. At first sight one might be tempted to read *kurdī* simply as 'money, wealth', but on consideration this is unlikely. The chronicler is writing in Arabic and had he meant merely 'money', 'wealth', or 'booty' he would have used the normal Arabic word *māl*, as in fact he has done throughout his narrative,⁹¹ or possibly *ghanīmah*. The fact that for the first time he now uses a non-Arabic word, and moreover one that is a foreign loan-word in Hausa, indicates that he means specifically 'cowries'. This view is strengthened by the fact that elsewhere in his narrative he has used Hausa terms such as *bindiga* (بندغا)⁹² and *goriya* (غوريا)⁹³ when referring to the introduction of these articles into Hausaland. More significantly still, why does he say 'to Hausaland' and not 'to Kano'? Sharefa's activities could only be expected to enrich Kano, not the other and rival kingdoms of Hausaland. We believe that the chronicler was writing with all deliberation when he used the words *kurdī* and *hausa* and that he meant precisely that cowries came to Hausaland because of the slave-raiding activities of Sharefa. The explanation could be that Sharefa brought in large quantities as booty and decided to make use of them. More probably, he found it profitable to trade his captives down south for the cowries which were by now the established currency of the coastal slave-trade. In either case, it is clear from Barth's evidence that there was

⁸⁹ Hiekett, 'The Kano Chronicle', *JRAS*, April 1957, MS (C). A photostat copy of this MS is in my possession and another from the same negative is housed in the Library of Ibadan University. The passage in question appears on sheet 104 of my copy.

⁹⁰ Palmer, *op. cit.*, III, 123.

⁹¹ For instance at points corresponding to Palmer, *op. cit.*, III, p. 102, ll. 13 and 37; p. 103, l. 20, and *passim*.

⁹² *ibid.*, p. 109, l. 8, 'guns'.

⁹³ *ibid.*, p. 109, l. 29, 'kolas'. The chronicler also uses the Hausa plural بابني (*babanni*) for 'eunuchs' in the same line.

no obstacle to a ruler introducing the cowry currency into his domains for his own profit.⁹⁴

Palmer's loose translation could be due to his copyist having picked up *اولهم* in the next sentence, and read it as *اوله* for *لانه*. But what is much more likely is that Palmer—not unnaturally—was puzzled by this sentence, turned to a Hausa gloss, and relied upon it too literally in his translation. But the gloss recorded the import of the original, though not its exact wording!

Before we reject what the chronicler has to say it is well to remember that he wrote before 1900. The events in question happened between 200 and 150 years earlier. Local memory of what took place some six generations ago is not lightly to be disregarded and we believe that the chronicler must be taken at his word.

Apart from North Africa and the Sahara, Bornu and Nupe are the areas most closely associated with *fatauci*—the long-distance trade of the itinerant Hausa merchants which has played so important a part in the Hausa economy. Since the influence of Bornu had declined by the eighteenth century, and since in any case the Bornuese did not use cowries, there is no point in looking to that source. But if we turn westward, towards Nupe, the outlook is more promising.

In the reign of Kumbari (1731–43) trade with Nupe was significant, for the Kano Chronicle states that during this reign shields were brought up from Nupe, and also guns.⁹⁵ This latter is particularly significant. Guns are mentioned in Kano as early as the first half of the fifteenth century, but if this dating is accurate they were almost certainly from Bornu and ultimately of Oriental origin.⁹⁶ The guns from Nupe on the other hand are likely to have been the cheap muskets imported into the Coast and commonly bartered for slaves. Dapper (c. 1680) mentions them and no doubt they were present on the Coast considerably earlier.⁹⁷ Mungo Park lists fire-arms and ammunition as among the trade goods imported from Europe to Gambia at the end of the eighteenth century.⁹⁸ In this reference to Nupe we have a direct link with a trade area in which the imported 'Indian' cowry was current coinage. This link emerges in the same half-century that cowries are first mentioned in Hausaland, and it suggests strongly that they came as part of the general expansion of the coastal trade. As to the extent of the trade from the Coast inland we need be in no doubt, for Dupuis speaks of natives who were 'in frequent habits of traversing the African Continent from south to north (or vice versa) from the forests of

⁹⁴ *op. cit.*, II, 310.

⁹⁵ Palmer, *op. cit.*, III, 124.

⁹⁶ *ibid.*, 109. But the statement must be received with considerable scepticism. If fire-arms came to Kano at this early date, they must have derived ultimately from either Egypt or North Africa. But the Burji Mamluks, although they did not entirely reject gunpowder, had a conservative prejudice against it. As a result, in 1517, they were heavily defeated by the Ottomans, who had whole-heartedly adopted the new weapon, and used it intelligently. In 1591 the Moroccan musketeers routed the Songhay army which was still armed with bows and arrows. It is therefore difficult to credit that either Bornu or Kano possessed fire-arms as early as 1438.

⁹⁷ Jones, *op. cit.*, 51.

⁹⁸ *Travels*, London, 1799, 25.

Ashantee to the several parts of the Ghulby and Niger eastward, as far as Bornou, and even Baghirmi where it is stated the Shary forms a junction with the waters of the Shady in its course to the Egyptian Nile'.⁹⁹ Dupuis was writing from Ashantee just over a hundred years after the introduction of cowries to Hausaland, but he was describing a well-established trade and it is entirely reasonable that we should regard the guns from Nupe as coming within the ambit of a wide pattern of west to east cowry based trade which must have been well under way during the eighteenth century.

Barth mentions cowries from Bahr al-Ghazal in the market of Abu Gher, in Bagirmi,¹⁰⁰ and this is the first and as far as we know, the only concrete evidence of their entry by a direct east to west route. Apart from this, Barth's evidence is clearly to the effect that cowries were drifting into the eastern Sudan not from further east, but from the west, for he points out that a large quantity of cowries had recently been exported from Kano to Bornu where, as he says later, they had been introduced as a speculation by the ruling people.¹⁰¹ Indeed, this movement had caused a shortage of shells in Hausaland. And in Sarawu, where shells were not currency, it was nevertheless the Hausa *kurdi* (*kurdi*) or Fula *chede* (*ceede*) which was used to describe them. The same was true in Wushek, in western Bornu, where they had come to be used as coinage and where the western Hausa *zango* was used to describe a lot of 100 shells.¹⁰² Thus, in the middle of the nineteenth century there is still a clearly defined drift of cowries from west to east, now beginning to spill over beyond the established cowry currency limit on the western edge of Bornu.

As for the Hausa *wuri*, it is more likely to be the Nupe *woni* than any other form which we have so far traced: *n* and *l* are close in Hausa and *l* and *r* are sometimes interchangeable. Thus *wuri* is a possible Hausa naturalization of *woni*.

Finally, the 'Song of Bagauda' points to another definite link between the 'Nupe' cowry and the Hausa, for the poet says:

' He has a charm made of the horn of a duiker,
And he has cowrie shells of the sort used in the necromancy of the Nupe
people'.¹⁰³

The Hausa therefore not only acquired the use of cowries as currency from Nupe, but also a method of using them in fortune-telling.

We now propose the following conclusion. The medieval cowry currency area of the Sahara did not extend south of the Niger, except for possible minor percolations such as may have accounted for the early presence of the shells in Benin. Its failure to establish itself in Hausaland is probably to be attributed to the dominance of Bornu during the sixteenth and part of the seventeenth

⁹⁹ *op. cit.*, Pt. II, p. xvi.

¹⁰¹ *supra*, p. 356, n. 94.

¹⁰³ Hiskett, 'The "Song of Bagauda": a Hausa king list and homily in verse—II', *BSOAS*, XXVIII, I, 1965, 112-35, at A19/37.

¹⁰⁰ *op. cit.*, III, 386.

¹⁰² *op. cit.*, IV, 61.

centuries and the resistance offered by the ancient copper currency of that empire.¹⁰⁴ As the Saharan trade declined it was replaced by the expanding coastal trade. Correspondingly, the cowry currency area of the Sahara stagnated, while the cowry currency of the coastal trade advanced to take in Hausaland and encroach on Bornu. At the same time it is probable that the cowry currency area of East Africa, which was by now well established, was slowly drifting westwards, and no doubt we have a trace of this movement in Barth's shells from Abu Gher. The culmination of these movements is the pattern of cowry use across Africa which Jackson established early in the present century.¹⁰⁵

Currency values in the Sahara and the Western Sudan

For currency values, and the relationship between the various exchange media up to the nineteenth century we are dependent on the fragmentary information of the Arab geographers, and, at the very end of the eighteenth century, on certain information culled from Mungo Park. For the nineteenth century we have a number of European travellers, primarily Dupuis, Clapperton, and Barth.

A prime difficulty in attempting to assess the accounts of the Arab geographers is uncertainty as to the identity of the coinage which they quote, and the continuity over so many centuries, of its value. We propose therefore only to take cognizance of prices given in mithqals (Arabic *mithqāl*), dinars (Arabic *dīnār*), or cowries where these can be readily converted back to the mithqal by virtue of the fact that we know the rate of exchange prevailing at the time. From the time of Mungo Park onwards we can also relate the dollar either to the mithqal or to the cowry.

The mithqal is a gold coin which, according to Mauny, weighed between 4.25 and 4.729 grammes.¹⁰⁶ Its value was approximately 10 shillings sterling. The dinar was also a gold coin—the unit of currency in the eastern Caliphate, and was equivalent in value to the mithqal. Hitti gives its value as about 10 shillings sterling,¹⁰⁷ and for our purpose dinars and mithqals are of equal value. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa states that the cowries he saw bought at 400,000 to the dinar in the Maldives were sold at 1,150 to the dinar in the Sudan.¹⁰⁸

Leo Africanus has a reference which is obscure. He states :

'The coine of Tombuto is of gold without any stampe or superscription,

¹⁰⁴ Barth, *op. cit.*, II, 310, mentions the tradition that the ancient currency standard of Bornu was the pound of copper—'rotl'. There is also evidence of an iron currency, for Denham records such a currency in Loggun (Denham and Clapperton, *op. cit.*, III, 23), but Barth observes that in his day it had been replaced by the cotton currency (*op. cit.*, III, 309).

¹⁰⁵ *Shells*, 125.

¹⁰⁶ *op. cit.*, but as we have observed above (p. 346, n. 41) references in the Arab geographers may equally well refer to the equivalent weight in gold dust or bullion. It is also possible that when the Arab travellers use the term *dīnār* they may be using it merely as money of account, and that the actual transaction took place in gold dust or bullion.

¹⁰⁷ *History of the Arabs*, London, 1943, p. 171, n.

¹⁰⁸ Gibb, *op. cit.*, 243.

but in matters of small value they use certain shells brought hither out of the kingdom of Persia, fewer hundred of which shells are worth a ducate : and six pieces of their golden coin with two thirds parts weigh an ounce'.¹⁰⁹

Leo's Arabic text has unfortunately not come down to us, and so we do not know what 'ducate' represents in the original Arabic. But if these 'ducates' weighed just under one-sixth of an ounce it is clear that they were coins of approximately the weight and value of the mithqal, for the Roman ounce weighs 27.288 grammes.¹¹⁰ It is therefore a most extraordinary circumstance that, at the beginning of the sixteenth century the cowry rate had fallen from its fourteenth-century level of 1,150 to 400—or put in different terms, the cowry had become scarce and thus more valuable—and this at a time when the trans-Saharan trade was still enjoying its hey-day. It appears however, that this was a temporary state of affairs, for al-Sa'di states that as a result of the drought which struck Timbuctu in 1617 the rate fell to 500.¹¹¹ Obviously therefore it must have risen to something above 500 in the intervening century. Nevertheless, it does appear that the value of the cowry in relation to the mithqal rose substantially over this period from the beginning of the sixteenth to the beginning of the seventeenth century, for al-Sa'di twice states that slaves were sold for from 200 to 400 shells.¹¹² In both cases this was during a glut of war captives on the market, but even so it is a remarkable figure when compared with the 40,000 mentioned by Maḥmūd al-Kāṭi (b. 872/1468, writing of conditions during the fifteenth century) as a payment made to ensure that the children of domestic serfs did not claim emancipation.¹¹³ Clearly this figure of al-Kāṭi's must represent the value of a slave, otherwise it would have been entirely uneconomic. Although we have no record of the exchange rate in the fifteenth century as far as we have been able to discover, al-Kāṭi's figure does enable us to work out a presumptive rate which seems reasonable. At Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's rate of 1,150, 40,000 cowries would represent 34.7 mithqals. This is more than Ibn Baṭṭūṭa paid for a slave girl by approximately one-third.¹¹⁴ In the same order of increase we may therefore suppose that the rate during the fifteenth century stood at from 1,725 to 2,000 cowries to the mithqal.

Mungo Park does not convert mithqals directly to cowries, but only to sterling, stating that one 'minkalli' was equal in value to 10 shillings sterling.¹¹⁵ But he then values 250 cowries at one shilling sterling and it therefore appears that the cowry was 2,500 to the mithqal.¹¹⁶ The exchange rate had obviously risen from the level to which it had dropped in Leo's day, and the value of the cowry was correspondingly considerably less.

Dupuis, who wrote in Ashantee and whose work was published in 1824, values the mithqal at between 3,400 and 3,500 cowries.¹¹⁷ Barth, whose

¹⁰⁹ *supra*, p. 346, n. 45.

¹¹⁰ Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopædie*, IX, A, 1, col. 620, s.v. *uncia*.

¹¹¹ *Ta'riḫh*, 338, Arabic text, 221-2.

¹¹² *ibid.*, 157/95, 243/158-9.

¹¹³ *supra*, p. 346, n. 44.

¹¹⁴ Gibb, *op. cit.*, 335.

¹¹⁵ *Travels*, 280.

¹¹⁶ *ibid.*, 199.

¹¹⁷ *op. cit.*, Pt. II, p. cxiv.

observations relate to the period *circa* 1850, notes that the mithqal was worth 4,000 in Timbuctu, but also observes that the price fluctuated considerably.¹¹⁸ We therefore propose to regard Dupuis's 3,500 as an average rate for the nineteenth century. We thus have the following table to guide us :

fourteenth century, one mithqal—	1,150 cowries
fifteenth " " "	1,725–2,000 (?) cowries
sixteenth " " "	400 cowries
seventeenth " " "	500(+) cowries
eighteenth " " "	2,500 cowries
nineteenth " " "	3,500 cowries

This suggests that the supply of cowries was plentiful during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries ; then became very scarce during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries ; revived in the eighteenth century and increased quite sharply during the nineteenth century, due no doubt to the nineteenth-century importations of shells from Zanzibar which Jackson notes.¹¹⁹

Our first informant as to the value of the cowry in relation to the silver dollar is Clapperton, who was in the Western Sudan from 1822 to 1824. He states that four dollars were equal to 8,000 cowries—2,000 to the dollar.¹²⁰ He subsequently confirms this rate when he states that 3,000 were equal to a dollar and a half.¹²¹ Barth gives the exchange rate as 2,500 to the dollar.¹²² Although this rate varied from time to time and Barth was forced on one occasion in Katsina to accept 2,300 to the dollar,¹²³ 2,500 seems to have been normal. The difference between Clapperton's valuation and that of Barth is small, and may be accounted for by normal fluctuations in the exchange rate. Nevertheless, it is probable that the value of the cowry was still declining in relation to precious metal currencies during the first half of the nineteenth century.

Our schedule quotes 192 dollars at 384,000 ;¹²⁴ then 10 dollars at 40,000¹²⁵ and another lot of 5 dollars at 25,000.¹²⁶ This is 2,000, 4,000, and 5,000 to the dollar respectively, a puzzling set of figures. The difference in price between the three lots could be accounted for by the fact that we are dealing with Spanish and Austrian dollars, although Barth states that both were of equal value.¹²⁷ More probably some of the coins could have been clipped, while local minting out of adulterated silver is not out of the question. It does appear, however, that a sound dollar was worth as much as 5,000 and thus the cowry must have depreciated sharply in relation to the dollar during the last half of the nineteenth century. Since both the dollar and the mithqal were precious metal currencies it is reasonable to assume that their value in direct relation to each other remained constant, and on this assumption the following comparative table emerges :

¹¹⁸ *op. cit.*, II, 142.

¹¹⁹ *Shells*, 143.

¹²⁰ Denham and Clapperton, *op. cit.*, IV, 31.

¹²¹ Denham and Clapperton, *op. cit.*, IV, 46.

¹²² *op. cit.*, II, 163, and *passim*.

¹²³ *op. cit.*, IV, 102–3.

¹²⁴ *supra*, f. 7.

¹²⁵ *supra*, f. 16.

¹²⁶ *supra*, f. 17.

¹²⁷ *op. cit.*, II, 142.

Clapperton, c. 1822	2,000 cowries	1 dollar	‡ mithqal ¹²⁸
Barth, c. 1850	2,500 cowries	1 dollar	‡ mithqal
our text, c. 1880-90	5,000 cowries	1 dollar	‡ mithqal

The cost of goods

(a) *The medieval period.* Unfortunately the medieval geographers give such scant information on the price of goods that we are unable to arrive at any really valid comparisons. What little information we have is based on the mithqal, not on the cowry. Al-Bakrī states that in Awdaghost during the eleventh century six rams could be bought for a mithqal.¹²⁹ Mungo Park bought one sheep for three *teelee-kissi*,¹³⁰ which were equal to half a mithqal, so obviously mutton in eleventh-century Awdaghost was extraordinarily cheap. On the other hand Al-Bakrī values corn at six mithqals the *kintar*.¹³¹ A *kintar* is one hundred *rothl*, and the *rothl* is approximately one pound avoirdupois, so that for the price of six rams one could buy only approximately 16½ pounds of corn. It seems clear therefore that while mutton was locally produced and plentiful, corn had to be imported into the eleventh-century Sahara and was therefore a luxury foodstuff. This is confirmed by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in the fourteenth century, for he states that the people of Sijilmasa subsisted partly on millet 'imported from the Negro lands'.¹³² He also confirms that wheat was scarce in the Saharan towns, and that mutton was plentiful.¹³³

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's 'price list' is a little fuller than that of al-Bakrī. He states that a horse cost 100 mithqals, but observes that this is expensive.¹³⁴ Leo states that 'Horses bought in Europe for ten ducates, are sold againe for fortie and sometimes fiftie ducates a piece'.¹³⁵ Mungo Park prices a horse at from 10 to 17 mithqals.¹³⁶ Barth bought a 'first rate horse of foreign race' in Kukawa and paid 750,000 cowries for it.¹³⁷ At Dupuis's reckoning this would be the equivalent of 213 mithqals! The schedule values an *akawal* horse at 60,000¹³⁸—that is just over 17 mithqals at Dupuis's rate. Since Ibn Baṭṭūṭa points out that 100 mithqals is expensive, presumably the average price was something below this, and therefore a price of 50 mithqals 200 years later suggests that the gold currency (as opposed to the cowry) remained remarkably stable. Mungo Park's figure and that of the schedule no doubt represent the price of a locally bred animal.

(b) *Slaves.* Al-Bakrī notes negro slave girls selling at 100 pieces of gold or more.¹³⁹ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa bought a slave girl at 25 mithqals.¹⁴⁰ Leo states 'a young slave of fiftene yeeres age is sold for sixe ducates, and so are children sold also'.¹⁴¹ To judge then by the fourteenth-century price, and that suggested by al-Kāṭī in the fifteenth century¹⁴² the price of slaves had dropped sharply

¹²⁸ Reckoning 3,500 to the mithqal.

¹³¹ op. cit., 300/158. ¹³² Gibb, op. cit., 317.

¹³⁵ op. cit., III, 827. ¹³⁶ op. cit., 306.

¹²⁹ op. cit., 300/158.

¹⁴¹ op. cit., III, 827.

¹³⁰ op. cit., 300/158. ¹³⁰ op. cit., 306.

¹³³ *ibid.*, 335.

¹³⁴ Gibb, op. cit., 331.

¹³⁷ op. cit., II, 315.

¹³⁸ *supra*, f. 5.

¹⁴⁰ *supra*, p. 359, n. 114.

¹⁴² *supra*, p. 346, n. 44.

by Leo's day. Mungo Park informs us that 'the price of a prime slave when I was at Kamalia was from nine to twelve minkallies'.¹⁴³ Elsewhere he says 'The price of a slave varies according to the number of purchasers from Europe, and the arrival of caravans from the interior; but in general I reckon that a young and healthy male from 16 to 25 years of age may be estimated on the spot from £18 to £20 sterling'.¹⁴⁴ With the mithqal at approximately 10 shillings this is equivalent to a top price of 40 mithqals.

Denham notes slaves bought in Yawari for from 60 to 70 dollars.¹⁴⁵ At 2,000 to the dollar, which was the rate prevailing in his day, this is 120,000 to 140,000 cowries, or up to 40 mithqals at Dupuis's rate.

Barth is uninformative on the price of slaves, except to comment how cheaply they were to be bought in the east. Thus in the market of Abu Gher, in Bagirmi, a slave was to be had at from six to seven dollars¹⁴⁶—that is, 17,500 cowries, while in Yola apparently the price was as low as 8,000.¹⁴⁷ Both these were slave harvesting areas, however, and certainly the price became greatly enhanced by the time the slaves reached the main markets. It is interesting incidentally that Monteil, some 50 years later gives a figure of 100,000 cowries for a slave in Yola.¹⁴⁸ Was Barth mistaken, and should his figure have been 80,000?

The schedule records the position at the end of the nineteenth century. Our Habibatu, Asiri, Ghanbu, and Irmakulla each fetched 160,000,¹⁴⁹ slightly above the figure Denham quotes in Yawari. Arzuqi, despite her name, fetched a mere 40,000¹⁵⁰ and so also did Fanta and Anfana.

Obviously slave prices were subject to very wide fluctuations. We may note, however, that the 25 mithqals which Ibn Baṭṭūṭa paid in the fourteenth century would certainly have bought him a slave at the end of the nineteenth, though perhaps not the pick of the *Madaki*'s seraglio. The 40,000 cowries paid in the fifteenth century would have sufficed to secure the Dati of our schedule.¹⁵¹

¹⁴³ op. cit., 305.

¹⁴⁴ *ibid.*, 26.

¹⁴⁵ Denham and Clapperton, op. cit., III, 108.

¹⁴⁶ op. cit., III, 420.

¹⁴⁷ op. cit., II, 502.

¹⁴⁸ P.-L. Monteil, *De Saint-Louis à Tripoli par le lac Tchad*, Paris, 1895, 252.

¹⁴⁹ *supra*, f. 1. Dr. Bivar has kindly drawn my attention to the following letter from a Sultan of Sokoto, drafted apparently by the Waziri Buhari in the late nineteenth century, to the Emir of Maradi making proposals for the ransom of 'the woman Jimma'.

الى امير كاشته مصلاش ابن امير كاشته د معتمد تحية تامة عامة وافرة طيبه كما يحبه و يرضاه و بعد فاعلام ان مرأة تسمي جم في حسو عند سركن نوم فانا نريد ان تجعلها بيد حامل الكتاب فياتينا بها فتجعل بيد علامك اغض ابن غلب ليفدى الحر الحر كما طلب ذلك اغض منا فيكو بدل فدائه اربائة الف: هذا والسلام

'To the Emir of Kāshina (Katsina) Maṣālahi (Masalaci), son of the Emir of Kāshina and Ma'ādi (Maradi), greetings etc. As for what follows, know that a woman called Jimma is in Ḥasaw at the house of Sarkin Noma. We desire that you hand her over to the bearer of the letter, that he may deliver her to us and we will hand over to him your youth Aghuḍu b. Ḡhulbi, in order that the free may ransom the free, as Aghuḍu has requested from us. Let this be in lieu of his ransom of 400,000 (cowries). This and peace'.

Baba (Mary Smith), *Baba of Karo. Second impression*, London, 1964, 69 and *passim* mentions 400,000 cowries as a ransom price. It would therefore seem that this figure was a standard one for a ransom as opposed to a sale.

¹⁵⁰ *supra*, f. 2.

¹⁵¹ *supra*, f. 4.

It therefore seems that the fluctuations in slave prices, wide as they were, remained within stable limits over five centuries.

(c) *Clothing, commodities and foodstuffs in the nineteenth century.* Articles of clothing provide us with our most fruitful source of information for nineteenth-century values. Denham prices the 'turkedee' at from 2,000 to 3,000.¹⁵² Barth prices this article in Kano at from 1,800 to 2,000,¹⁵³ but at 4,000 in Say and Timbuctu.¹⁵⁴ *Turkuda* in our MS range from 2,000 to 3,000. A much more expensive article, the burnous (*barnūs*) is valued by Barth at 52,000¹⁵⁵ and another decorated with silk and gold lace at 60,000;¹⁵⁶ two were worth 100,000 in Timbuctu.¹⁵⁷ Our schedule has burnouses from 10,000 to 80,000, the latter figure including one 'with copper wire decorations'.¹⁵⁸ Barth mentions the *zane*, of which there are many varieties, at from 2,500 to 3,000.¹⁵⁹ Our schedule lists one at 5,000. Barth has *riga saki* at from 18,000 to 20,000.¹⁶⁰ Our schedule has a *girke of saki* at 60,000¹⁶¹ and another at 20,000;¹⁶² also a *gare of saki* at 40,000.¹⁶³

There are certain other miscellaneous items priced by Barth which we may compare with our schedule. He values a small skin of dates at half a *turkudī*,¹⁶⁴ that is, about 1,000 cowries. This agrees with our 'dried dates with jasmine: one thousand cowries'. He has a camel at 60,000,¹⁶⁵ while our schedule values the *Madaki's* beast at 100,000.¹⁶⁶ Barth has two rams, two vessels of honey, and 'two loads of corn worth from eleven to twelve cowries', all at 100,000.¹⁶⁷ Our scribe values 11 rams at 44,000—4,000 each ram. A pot of honey in perfect condition he values at 10,000; others at 2,000 the pot. If we allow 20,000 for Barth's two pots of honey and 24 cowries for his corn we are left with 79,976 for two rams, almost 10 times our scribe's valuation. It seems possible that Barth may have been cheated quite substantially at times.

We have no evidence for comparing the price of clothing and foodstuffs in the nineteenth century with preceding centuries. Expressed in cowries, such articles appear to have become slightly more expensive at the end of the century than at mid-century. There is, however, no general pattern of significant increase observable in the prices quoted by Clapperton, Barth, and our *fin de siècle* scribe.

Taxation in the Fulani emirates during the nineteenth century

We have discussed elsewhere taxation in the Fulani emirates.¹⁶⁸ We now have a means of measuring this taxation more accurately against the cost of living prevailing at the time. Barth mentions a *kurdīn kasa* (land tax) of

¹⁵² Denham and Clapperton, op. cit., IV, 46. ¹⁵³ op. cit., II, 142. ¹⁵⁴ op. cit., IV, 290.

¹⁵⁵ op. cit., II, 84. ¹⁵⁶ *ibid.*, 106. ¹⁵⁷ op. cit., IV, 439.

¹⁵⁸ *supra*, f. 12. ¹⁵⁹ op. cit., II, 125. ¹⁶⁰ *ibid.*, 128.

¹⁶¹ *supra*, f. 10. ¹⁶² *supra*, f. 17. ¹⁶³ *supra*, f. 11.

¹⁶⁴ op. cit., III, 112. ¹⁶⁵ op. cit., IV, 200. ¹⁶⁶ *supra*, f. 8.

¹⁶⁷ op. cit., II, 81.

¹⁶⁸ '*Kitāb al-farq*: a work on the Habe kingdoms attributed to 'Uḥmān dan Fodio', *BSOAS*, XXIII, 3, 1960, 574 f.

2,500 cowries levied both in Katsina and Kano on the head of every family.¹⁶⁹ This is in fact equal to one silver dollar and according to our schedule would purchase one goat,¹⁷⁰ a most fecund animal the flesh of which constitutes the staple meat diet of the poorer classes in Northern Nigeria. In Zaria a *kurdin kasa* of 200 cowries was levied on every hoe.¹⁷¹ This is equal to two *minwa* of honey,¹⁷² a foodstuff widely and easily produced by the wild bee in the characteristic tree hives of the Hausa peasant. The tax of 500 cowries on an ox, horse, or ass load, which appears to have been standard both in Clapperton's time and Barth's is,¹⁷³ for instance, the value of one-fourth of a jar of Asben salt,¹⁷⁴ five *minwa* of honey, or just over four skeins of *war-war* silk thread.¹⁷⁵ Obviously we do not know everything about the administration and incidence of these taxes, but measuring values in terms of local produce and manufactures, there is no evidence of fiscal oppression in the Fulani emirates of the nineteenth century. On the contrary, these imposts seem mild.

The scribe's accountancy

Barth states that cowries were packed in rush sacks called *takrufa*, each containing 20,000 cowries.¹⁷⁶ This is confirmed by our MS, and the Arabic *ḥaṣīr* 'mat' is the scribe's rendering of the Hausa *takrufa*.

On f. 3 of the MS the scribe strikes a total of 141 mats. The total number of cowries up to this point is 2,820,000. At 20,000 to a sack this is exactly 141 sacks. At the foot of f. 4 he strikes a total 67 mats for the male slaves. Our addition is 1,340,000 cowries, which is precisely 67 mats. Thus there can be no doubt that 20,000 to the sack is the proper figure.

At the bottom of f. 5 the scribe gives a total of 108 sacks. We have a total of 2,399,000, which gives 119·9—say 120 sacks. There can hardly be a possibility that a folio is missing, for the folio commences with the statement 'And this is the record of the value of the quadrupeds'; thus no other folio could have intervened. At the bottom of f. 6 he gives a total of 30 sacks and 8,000 cowries. We arrive at a total of 369,000, which is approximately 19 sacks. The curious fact however, is that the scribe's total for ff. 5 and 6 is 138 sacks, and 8,000 cowries, while we have a total of 139 sacks to the nearest sack. We therefore agree his total but cannot follow his addition!

The next total is struck at the bottom of f. 8, where he gives 60 sacks and 6,470 cowries. We have a total of 883,000 cowries, which gives 44 sacks. We thus assume that certain folios are missing. From f. 9 to f. 19 our scribe gives no running totals. Our totals for each folio are as follows:

f. 9	217,000	10 sacks and 17,000 cowries
f. 10	370,000	18 sacks and 10,000 cowries

¹⁶⁹ *op. cit.*, II, 83.

¹⁷¹ Barth, *op. cit.*, II, 144.

¹⁷³ Hiskett, 'Kitāb al-farq', 575.

¹⁷⁵ *supra*, f. 14.

¹⁷⁰ *supra*, f. 5.

¹⁷² *supra*, f. 16.

¹⁷⁴ *supra*, f. 16.

¹⁷⁶ *op. cit.*, II, 28.

f. 11	465,000	23 sacks and 5,000 cowries
f. 12	369,000	18 sacks and 9,000 cowries
f. 13	220,000	11 sacks
f. 14	305,000	15 sacks and 5,000 cowries
f. 15	130,000	6 sacks and 10,000 cowries
f. 16	65,000	3 sacks and 5,000 cowries
f. 17	131,000	6 sacks and 11,000 cowries
f. 18	350,000	17 sacks and 10,000 cowries
f. 19	183,000	9 sacks and 3,000 cowries
Total = 140 sacks and 5,000 cowries		

This gives a grand total of 531 sacks, to the nearest sack. On f. 20 the scribe gives a grand total of 599 sacks. We have thus not accounted for 68 sacks, and we must assume that the schedule is not complete.

The final allocation of the estate to the heirs is interesting. The Qur'anic principle to be applied in the distribution of the estate of a Muslim deceased is that a male shall have twice as much as a female. This, however, can be modified in certain circumstances. Our scribe first deducts his fee of 69 sacks. This is something over 10% if we accept his total of 599 sacks. He then states that there is a remainder of 531 sacks to be divided among the heirs. In fact there are only 530. Each of the two males is to receive 154 sacks and 2,286 cowries—a total of 308 sacks and 4,572 cowries. Each of the three females is to receive 77 sacks and 1,143 cowries—a total of 231 sacks and 3,429 cowries. Thus the total inheritance is 539 mats as against 531 originally to be divided! We cannot explain this discrepancy. It appears, however, that the division of this inheritance was intended to be in the ratio of three-fifths to the males and two-fifths to the females.

Conclusion

We have led the reader through long and sometimes involved arguments, which we have tried to summarize as we proceeded. Nevertheless it may be helpful if we now finally draw together our conclusions and present them in brief.

We believe that the problem of the provenance and routes of entry of the cowry into the Western Sudan is a complex one, for which no single explanation exists. However, the main channel by which they came in during medieval times was certainly the Sahara, and we see no reason why this should not have been the case in antiquity.

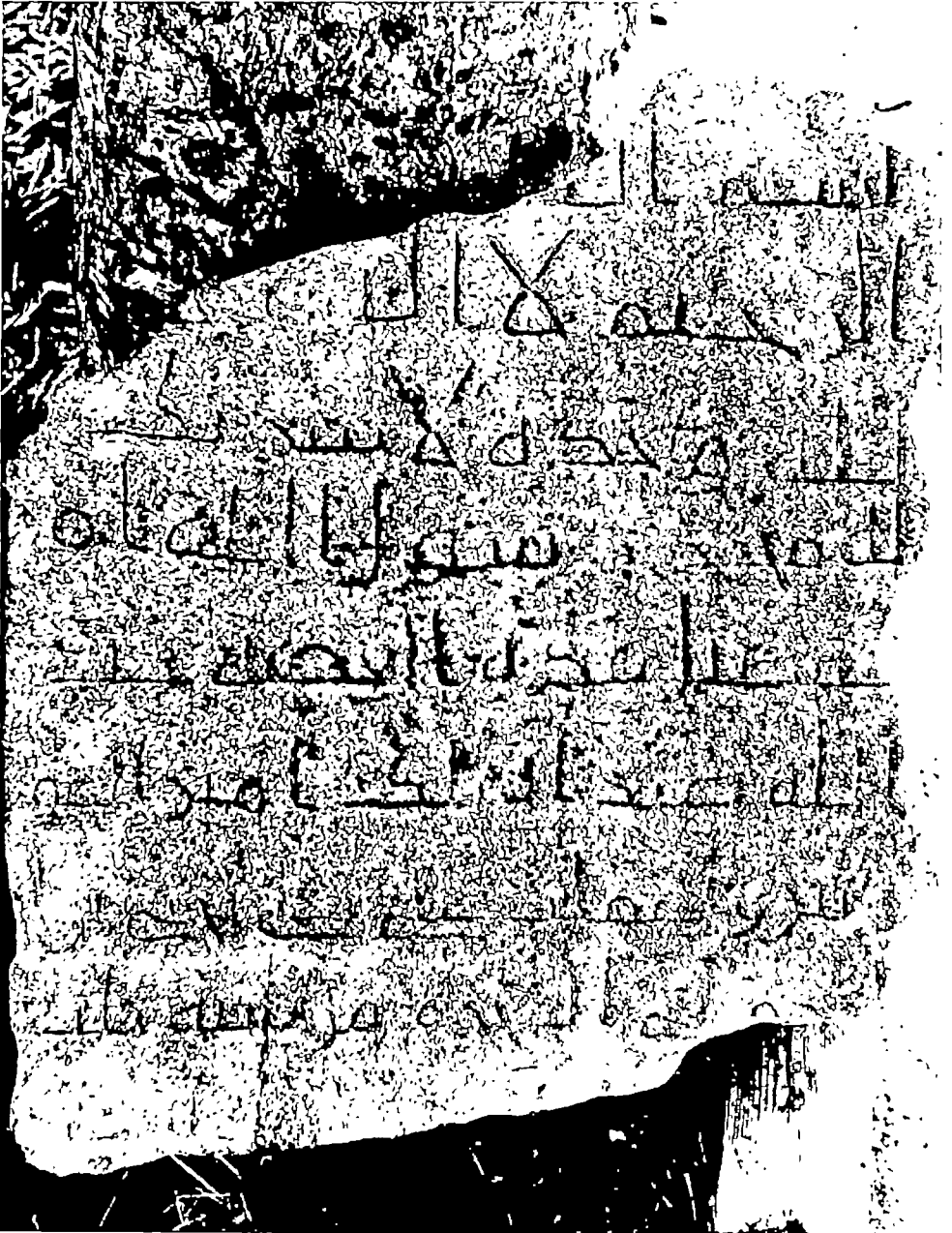
Certainly we have no faith in the theory of an early trans-continental route linking West Africa with the East Coast or with ancient Egypt. In medieval times some cowries may have trickled through from East Africa to West Africa via the Congo, but this was not a significant channel. We reject the notion that a major trans-continental route existed in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's day.

The medieval Sahara was an important cowry exchange area and we know that the cowry currency became established as far south as Songhay. But that

it spread from Songhay to the Hausa states is an assumption which the Kano Chronicle contradicts. On the authority of the Chronicle we believe that the cowry came to Hausaland, via Nupe, as part of the general eastward expansion of the coastal trade, and not by way of the Sahara ; this is supported by phonological evidence. Moreover, we accept that the cowry did not reach Hausaland until the first half of the eighteenth century.

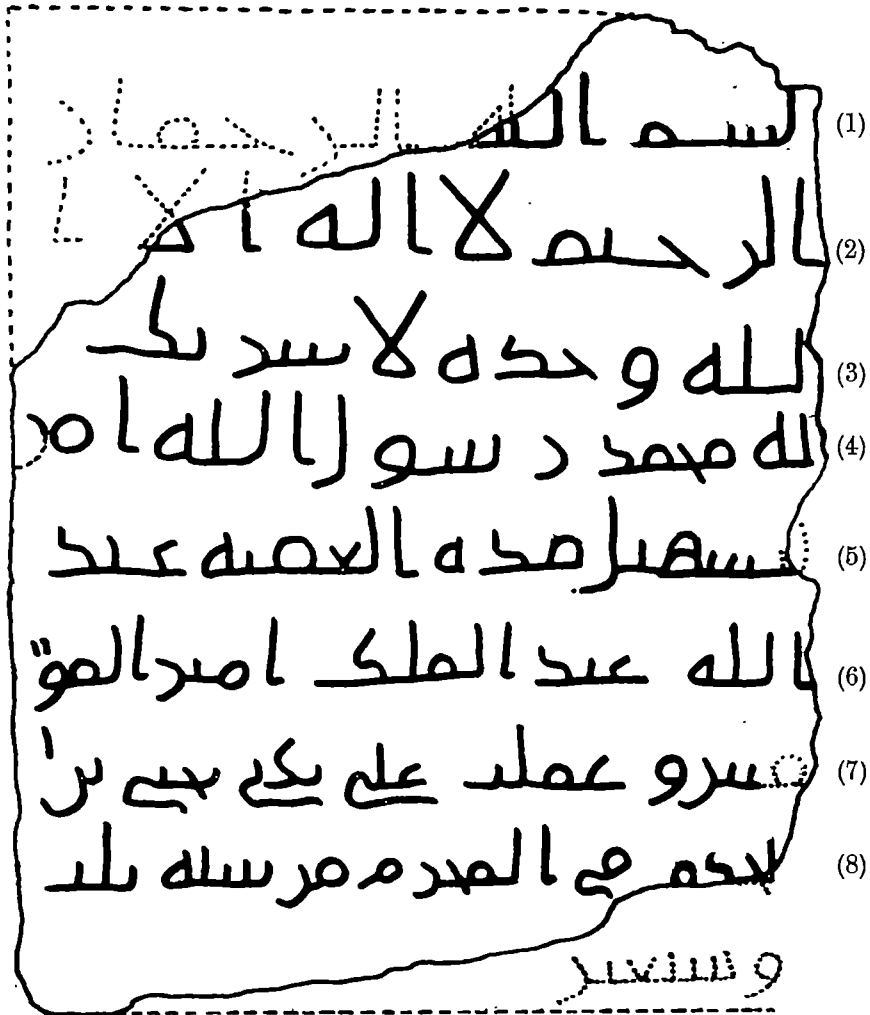
As for the value of the cowry, we record an overall deterioration from 1,150 to the mithqal in the fourteenth century to 3,500 to the mithqal in the nineteenth century. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, however, it became scarce and its value rose sharply. Throughout the nineteenth century, which is the only period for which we have adequate information, its purchasing power remained stable.

PLATE I



NOTES AND COMMUNICATIONS
 AN ARABIC INSCRIPTION
 FROM THE TIME OF THE CALIPH 'ABD AL-MALIK¹
 (PLATE I)

The very hard, grey basalt stone on which this inscription is cut was discovered in 1961 by Mr. Shalom Kotzer (of the kibbutz Shā'ar ha-Golān) in shallow water off the southern shore of the Sea of Galilee, near the modern amphitheatre of Tsēmaḥ (Samakh). In 1962 it was moved from the water to the kibbutz by Mr. Kotzer and his son Moshe. A preliminary note on the inscription in Hebrew by the present writer appeared in *'Al ha-Mishmār* of 11 January 1963. The inscription consists of eight readable lines in simple Kūfī script, incised on a fairly smooth surface. The back of the stone is not worked. Its maximum measurements are: height 0·64 m., width 0·52 m., thickness 0·15 m. The inscription is now preserved and exhibited in the Israel Museum, Jerusalem (no. 63-428).



¹ I wish to express my deep gratitude to my teacher and friend Dr. M. J. Kister, who helped me in deciphering the seventh line of the inscription, to Mr. Israel Shen, who read the manuscript of this note, and furnished valuable comments, and to Dr. A. D. H. Bivar, who read the final version and made valuable criticisms.

The inscription reads as follows :

- (١) بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ
 (٢) الرَّحِيْمِ لَا اِلٰهَ اِلَّا
 (٣) اللّٰهُ وَحْدَهُ لَا شَرِيْكَ
 (٤) لَهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَّسُوْلُ اللّٰهِ اَمْرٌ
 (٥) بِتَسْهِيْلِ هٰذِهِ الْعَقْبَةِ عَبْدُ
 (٦) اللّٰهِ عَبْدِ الْمَلِكِ اَمِيْرِ الْمُو
 (٧) مَنِيْنِ وَعَمَلْتُ عَلٰى يَدَيَّ يَحْيٰى بْنِ
 (٨) حَكَمٍ فِي الْمَحْرَمِ مِنْ سَنَةِ ثَلَاثِ
 (٩) [وسبعين — — —]

- (1) In the name of God, the Compassionate,
 (2) the Merciful. There is no God but
 (3) Allāh alone ; He hath no companion.
 (4) Muḥammad is the Apostle of Allāh. Hath ordered
 (5) the levelling of this difficult pass the servant of
 (6) God, 'Abd al-Malik, the Commander of the Faith-
 (7) ful ; and it (i.e. the work) has been fulfilled by the two hands of Yaḥyā b.
 (8) al-Ḥakam in the (month) Muḥarram of the year three
 (9) [and seventy — — —]

From the main part of the inscription, which begins on the fourth line, it can be inferred that it was erected to commemorate the making of a difficult road in the time of the caliph 'Abd al-Malik. Four milestones from the time of this caliph and bearing his name were found in Palestine at the end of the last century,² and they testify to the attention he paid to the roads of this province. The present inscription, however, gives a far wider conception of the official enterprise connected with the maintenance of the roads during the reign of this caliph. Moreover, inscriptions commemorating the inauguration of roads are rare in the abundant material of Arab epigraphy.³ This is, apparently, the oldest inscription in Islam relating to the inauguration of a road ; it is also the second longest and almost the fullest inscription from the time of 'Abd al-Malik after that of the Dome of the Rock (Qubbat al-Ṣakhra) in Jerusalem.⁴

The word *tashīl* (تسهيل), which occurs in l. 5 of the inscription, and which was rendered as 'levelling', is found, as far as the writer knows, in only one other inscription, namely that which apparently commemorates the paving

² M. van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un corpus inscriptionum arabicarum*. II. Syrie du sud. I (Jérusalem 'ville'), Le Caire, 1922, pp. 17-21.

³ See G. Wiet, 'Une inscription du Sultan Djakmak', *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*, xxi, 1939, 80.

⁴ *Répertoire*, no. 9.

of a road from Acre to Tyre under the Mamluk sultān Jaqmaq in 850/1446.⁵ Professor Wiet translates this word by the French *aplanissement*, and suggests that the Arabic expression may have a wider meaning than the French. This is because *tashīl* in the inscription of Jaqmaq appears with the word *ṭarīq*.⁶ In the present inscription the word can have only one meaning, since it is connected with 'aqaba, which must be smoothed or levelled if a route is to be cut through it.

The word 'aqaba signifies a difficult ascent or mountain pass,⁷ of which the Arab geographers mention many examples. Almost every one is distinguished by a special name, e.g. 'Aqabat al-Ṭīn, 'Aqabat al-Rummān, 'Aqabat al-Nisā', 'Aqabat al-Sayr.⁸ The find-spot of our inscription (map reference 20552347) leaves no doubt about the identification of the particular 'aqaba mentioned in l. 5. In the vicinity of the Sea of Galilee there is only one 'aqaba, called by the Arab geographers 'Aqabat al-Fīq or 'Aqabat Afīq.⁹ The beginning of the ascent (211232) is about 7 km. from the find-spot of the stone. The way there climbs a very steep mountain, rising from 74 m. below sea-level to a plateau about 300 m. above sea-level. The ascent is about 5 km. long, and is named after the village of Fīq or Afīq.¹⁰ It thus corresponds with the description of Yāqūt, who says that the 'aqaba is two miles long,¹¹ and that the village of Fīq stands at its entrance.¹²

From the Arab geographers it may be deduced that the village of Fīq and its 'aqaba were important stations on the way from Damascus to Jerusalem. Ibn Khurdādhbah mentions this place when writing on the route Damascus-Kuswa-Jāsīm-Fīq-Ṭabariyya-Lajjūn-Qalansuwa-Ramla-Jerusalem.¹³ Maqdisī also gives a detailed account of this route, and of its many branches in various directions after reaching Ṭabariyya.¹⁴ Ya'qūbī mentions Fīq, 'which has

⁵ G. Wiet, op. cit. Professor Wiet kindly drew my attention to this article.

⁶ *ibid.*, and cf. Lane, *Arabic-English lexicon*, s.v. سهل where he says under 'سهلة' (II): 'He rendered it *smooth or soft, plain or level or smooth and soft*; namely a place, etc.'

⁷ Lane, op. cit., s.v. 'aqaba (عَقَبَة): 'A difficult place of ascent in the mountains . . .' etc.

⁸ Yāqūt, III, 692; Mas'ūdī, *al-Tanbīh wa'l-īshrāf*, Leiden, 1893, 58, 385, 390; Ibn Rustah in *Bibliotheca Geographorum*, ed. de Goeje, VII, Leiden, 1892, 184, 185; and Ya'qūbī, *Kitāb al-buldān*, in the same volume, 311, 314, 325.

⁹ G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London, 1890, 385; Yāqūt, I, pp. 332, l. 22-333, l. 12; Ya'qūbī, op. cit., 327.

¹⁰ The Biblical *Afeq*, see 1 Kings xx, 26; 2 Kings xiii, 17. Cf. Abu 'l-Fidā', *Géographie d'Aboulfeda*, tr. M. Reinaud, Paris, 1848, II, 2, p. 15 and n. 3.

¹¹ On the value of the Arab mile see M. van Berchem, op. cit., pp. 27-9.

¹² Yāqūt, loc. cit., and also III, p. 932, l. 21-933, l. 3, where he says: '*Aqabat Fīq yunḥadar minhā ilā al-ghawr ghawr al-Urdunn wa minhā yushraf 'alā Ṭabariyya wa buḥayratihā wa qad ra'aytuhā mirāran*' 'One may descend from 'Aqabat Fīq down to the *ghawr*, the Jordan Valley. It overlooks Ṭabariyya (Tiberias) and its lake, and I have seen it many times'. See also, *ibid.*, II, p. 684, ll. 6-12, where almost the same words are repeated. A convent (*dayr*) was built near the 'aqaba 'between the pass and the lake on the mountain slope above the pass. The place is cut out of the rock and is still (thirteenth century) inhabited by monks. It is frequented by travellers and is held in much veneration by the Christians'. Le Strange, op. cit., 429. See also 'Umari, *Masālik al-abṣār*, Cairo, 1924, I, 336-7; Ya'qūbī, op. cit., p. 327, l. 11.

¹³ Ibn Khurdādhbah, *Kitāb al-masālik wa'l mamālik*, Leiden, 1889, p. 78, ll. 1-6.

¹⁴ Maqdisī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm fī ma'rifat al-aqālīm*, Leiden, 1906, pp. 190, l. 14-191, l. 1.

an 'aqaba' (*Fīq dhāt al-'aqaba*) on the road from Damascus to Ṭabariyya.¹⁵ It appears from the accounts of some of the Arab historians that this route, which led from Damascus via Fīq, passing the southern extremity of the Sea of Galilee, was for many generations used in preference to its alternative, which passed to the north of the lake via Jisr Banāt Ya'qūb. It was by the southern route that Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn invaded Palestine before the Battle of Ḥittīn.¹⁶ It is mentioned in his time, and in the subsequent Mamluk epoch in connexion with military operations and movements.¹⁷

This route was in fact already important in Biblical times,¹⁸ and in the Roman-Byzantine period.¹⁹ With the increasing importance of Syria under the governorship and caliphate of Mu'āwiya (from A.D. 639), and under his successors, particular attention was paid to the province as a whole, and especially Palestine. In addition to its own significance, Palestine continued to play an important role as a country of transit between Syria and the rich province of Egypt.

Near the south-western end of the Sea of Galilee, the village of Ṣinnabra gained importance under the Umayyads. There Mu'āwiya and 'Abd al-Malik used to spend their winters. Other Umayyad caliphs are also reported as having resided in this palace from time to time.²⁰ Yāqūt mentions the place as 'lying opposite to the 'Aqaba of Afīq', and we may assume that the road which led to it, by way of the 'aqaba, was carefully maintained.²¹ When 'Abd al-Malik came to the throne (65/685), and built the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem (72/691),²² the road through this difficult terrain would have been broadened, repaired, or even paved anew. Unfortunately the date of this operation is not fully preserved in our inscription (l. 8). All that can be seen is the month *muḥarram* and the year three (*thalāth*), i.e. the beginning of the year 73 (May-June A.D. 692) or 83 (February-March A.D. 702). The evidence is in favour of the earlier date

¹⁵ Ya'qūbi, op. cit., p. 327, ll. 12-14; Ya'qūbi, *Le pays*, tr. G. Wiet, Le Caire, 1937, p. 178, and the notes there. See also Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam mā ista'jam*, Cairo, 1945, p. 178, ll. 7-9; Iṣṭakhri, *Kitāb masālik al-mamālik*, Leiden, 1927, p. 66, ll. 16-17; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris, 1923, p. 119, n. 1.

¹⁶ S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, London, 1926, 204-5; J. Prawer, *A history of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (in Hebrew), Jerusalem, 1963, 531.

¹⁷ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, Leiden, 1853, xii, p. 39, ll. 24-5; Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufrij al-kurūb fi akhbār Banī Ayyūb*, Cairo, 1953-7, iii, 255; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira*, ed. Popper, vi, p. 126, l. 19.

¹⁸ Y. Aharoni, *The land of Israel in Biblical times: a geographical history* (in Hebrew), Jerusalem, 1962, 41-2. For detailed discussion on the Via Maris, see pp. 33-44, and consult also maps 6 and 7.

¹⁹ M. Avi-Yonah, *Historical geography of Palestine from the end of the Babylonian exile to the Arab conquest*, third ed. (in Hebrew), Jerusalem, 1962, 82, 88.

²⁰ Yāqūt, iii, 419: 'al-Ṣinnabra, mauḍi', bi 'l-Urdunn muqābil li 'Aqabat Afīq . . . kāna Mu'āwiya yashītu bihā'. Balādhuri, *Anonyme arabische Chronik*, ed. Ahlwardt, Greifswald, 1883, p. 200, ll. 11-16. Cf. Le Strange, op. cit., 531. L. A. Mayer, 'Aṣ-Ṣinnabra' (in Hebrew), in *Eretz-Israel* (Israel Exploration Society), I, 1951, 169-70.

²¹ Yāqūt, loc. cit.

²² Ya'qūbi, *Ta'rīkh*, ed. T. Houtama, Leiden, 1883, ii, p. 311, ll. 6-16; Maqdisī, op. cit., 159.

(73/692), as Yahyā b. al-Ḥakam, who is mentioned in ll. 7–8, died not later than 80/699–700.²³

The man who was charged with the supervision and management of this project was Yahyā b. al-Ḥakam. The word *al-Ḥakam* which begins l. 8 of the inscription can easily be reconstructed. The *mīm* is fully preserved, and also the upper half of the *kāf*, the diagonal line of the *hā* and the vertical line of the *lām*. It is probable that this is Yahyā b. al-Ḥakam b. Abi 'l-Āṣ, the stepbrother of the caliph Marwān b. al-Ḥakam—Yahyā's mother was of the tribe of Murra²⁴—and therefore the paternal uncle (*'amm*) of the caliph 'Abd al-Malik. In the battle of the Camel (36/656) he fought by the side of his brother Marwān with Ṭalḥa and Zubayr against 'Alī and managed to escape wounded from the battlefield. A member of the tribe of Taym al-Ribāb gave him shelter, and afterwards brought him safely to Damascus.²⁵ He apparently remained in Damascus, where in the time of the caliph Yazīd I he publicly expressed his detestation of the murder of Ḥusayn b. 'Alī.²⁶ Under 'Abd al-Malik he is mentioned as the commander of a military expedition sent against the Banū Kalb in 75/694–5.²⁷ In the same year he was appointed governor of al-Madīna.²⁸ In 76/695–6 he was dismissed from his service in al-Madīna and returned to Damascus.²⁹ In 79/698–9 he commanded a raid against the Byzantines.³⁰ Balādhurī also mentions that he was appointed governor of Filastīn, but he does not give the date of that appointment.³¹ It seems, therefore, that before he was nominated governor of Madīna—and he could not have been sent there prior to the pacification of Ḥijāz and the transfer of Ḥajjāj to 'Irāq in 75/694—Yahyā b. al-Ḥakam was charged with the supervision of the works at 'Aqabat al-Fīq.

In studying the four milestones from the time of 'Abd al-Malik which were found in Palestine,³² van Berchem says of 'Abd al-Malik: '... ce Calife n'a fait que réparer les routes qui sillonnaient son empire'.³³ Our inscription furnishes clear evidence that 'Abd al-Malik did not satisfy himself with repairing the old roads and maintaining them in a fit state for traffic, but that he also thought of, and at least in this one instance executed enterprises on a larger scale. The 'aqaba inscription completes the picture which the four milestones

²³ of. L. Caetani, *Chronographia Islamica*, Paris, n.d., I, 965, no. 113; Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh al-Islām*, Cairo, 1949–50, III, 213.

²⁴ Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, ed. S. D. Goitein, Jerusalem, 1936, v, p. 160, ll. 11–13.

²⁵ Ṭabarī, 'Annals', ed. de Goeje, I, p. 3219, ll. 11–19.

²⁶ *ibid.*, II, 376; p. 382, ll. 3–10.

²⁷ Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, p. 186, ll. 15–16.

²⁸ Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, II, p. 863, ll. 8–9; p. 873, ll. 3–6; p. 1085, ll. 7–8; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, pp. 162, l. 21–163, l. 10, and also p. 160, l. 11; p. 374, l. 12. Balādhurī, ed. Ahlwardt, 69, 188, 189.

²⁹ Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, II, p. 940, ll. 5–6.

³⁰ *ibid.*, p. 1035, ll. 15–16.

³¹ Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, p. 163, l. 10.

³² See p. 368, n. 2, above.

³³ *op. cit.*, pp. 22–3.

sketched, namely that the caliph gave priority to the maintenance of roads which connected his capital with Palestine. The special attention paid to Jerusalem³⁴ and the need for preserving good communications with the important province of Egypt (once again in the hands of the Umayyads from the time of Marwān I), were amongst the causes which led 'Abd al-Malik to carry out his projects of paving new roads, and repairing and delimiting the old ones.

This inscription enables us to fix the date of these undertakings, which was not possible on the basis of the four above-mentioned milestones.

It is likely that in addition to the four milestones in question, others were installed along the way (or ways) between Damascus and Jerusalem, as these two towns are mentioned on the milestones.³⁵ The other milestones may have been replaced or simply destroyed by the 'Abbāsids. If we add the present inscription to the four already mentioned, we may come to the conclusion that the main road which connected Damascus with Jerusalem under the Umayyads passed to the south of the Sea of Galilee.³⁶

MOSHE SHARON

³⁴ See p. 370, n. 22, above.

³⁵ Van Berchem, *op. cit.*, p. 21 (plates).

³⁶ Dealing with the route which connected Damascus with Palestine van Berchem says (*op. cit.*, p. 27): 'Quant à celle de Damas, on ne connaît même pas son parcours; pour le fixer, il faudrait retrouver plus au nord une série de millaires pareilles à ceux-ci'. No more milestones have been found but the 'aqaba inscription at all events indicates the route followed by the road.

REVIEWS

J. A. SANDERS: *Discoveries in the Judaean desert of Jordan. iv. The Psalms scroll of Qumrân cave 11 (11QP^a)*. (American Schools of Oriental Research, Palestine Archaeological Museum.) xi, 99 pp., 17 plates. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965. 63s.

This latest volume in the series presenting the Qumrân scrolls for fuller study has the great advantage of simplicity in the sense that it contains only material from one scroll and substantially though not entirely from one book of the Old Testament. The whole of the manuscript, containing 28 columns and some fragments, appears in the plates. The very clear photography enables a ready check to be made of the transcription except at the damaged bottom edge where about one-third of the columns is lost and there are many points at which letters are regrettably only partially visible.

The continuous text is clearly of the greatest importance for it reveals a number of features which are very valuable for psalm study. Thus, we have a different order for some of the psalms (the same is true of manuscript 4QP^a in which Ps. ciii is immediately followed by Ps. cxii, the MS covering Pss. xci–cxviii). Ps. cv is here followed by cxlvi and cxlviii, then (cxxx) cxxi–cxxxii (cxxx is missing but may be assumed to have been present in the lost lower part of the preceding column), then cxix, cxxxv, cxxxvi (! cxviii, about which something further must be said), cxlv, a psalm known in Syriac (Syriac Ps. II), a plea for deliverance, Ps. cxxxix, cxxxvii, cxxxviii, Sirach li, 13 ff., an apostrophe to Zion, Ps. xciii, cxli, cxxxiii, cxliv, Syriac Ps. III, Ps. cxlii, cxliii, cxlix, cl, a Hymn to the Creator, 2 Sam. xxiii (only verse 7 appears but it may be reasonable to assume that the remainder of the so-called 'Last Words of David', xxiii, 1–7 appeared in the text), a prose account of David's compositions, Ps. cxl, cxxxiv, and finally Ps. cli A (known from both Greek and Syriac Ps. I) and a fragment of a further psalm (cli B) known also as part of Ps. cli in Greek. In addition the fragments contain parts of ci, cii, cix, and possibly the opening of either ciiv or civ.

This listing of the contents already shows how markedly divergent the scroll is from the accepted psalter. The indication in the list of David's compositions that he wrote 364 songs

for daily use, and 52 for sabbaths and 30 for other special days (which, together with 4 for 'the stricken', totals 450), suggests that the relation of this form of the psalter with the Qumrân calendar may well need to be investigated, as it has also seemed appropriate to consider the relation of the Biblical Psalter with a particular type of liturgical use. Some of the earlier discussions concerning the order and use of the psalms clearly need re-examination.

Moreover, this psalter includes a number of extra psalms. Of these, Ps. cli A (Syriac Ps. I) and B and Syriac Ps. II and III are already known, and Dr. Sanders offers a detailed discussion of the textual problems. It is interesting to note here how perceptive was Professor Martin Noth's study of the Syriac Psalms and his proposed retranslation of them into Hebrew 35 years ago. The psalm known from Sirach li, 13 ff. also appears here, totally detached from that setting. This need not surprise us, since we also know of an example of this from the Old Testament, where Ps. xviii appears also as 2 Sam. xxii, and indeed other psalm passages in the Old Testament—Habakkuk iii, Jonah ii, Isaiah xxxviii for example—might perfectly well appear in a psalter and may in fact have so appeared in lost collections. The remaining compositions here are new to us, though close to analogous poems already familiar; they give us a further insight into the wealth of psalm literature, and in particular show the interrelationship of psalmody and wisdom already observable in the Old Testament psalms.

The conception of what constitutes the Psalter is inevitably affected by this manuscript. The Old Testament Psalter is the one finally accepted by the Jewish and Christian communities; but it was not the only Psalter to exist, and we may perhaps not unreasonably suppose that other arrangements and collections were known. The Syriac psalter of the Nestorian church, with additions to the Old Testament Psalter, is another such collection. Such a recognition is important for any approach to what constitutes a canonical body of writings such as both Jewish and Christian communities accept as in some measure authoritative.

This form of the psalter also presents us with an interesting insight into the place of David, and it is possible that the form of Ps. cli A here presented gives evidence of some Orphic influence. Dr. Sander's discussion of this, on pp. 61–3, is not perhaps as clear as it

might be, and one may wonder whether we have here evidence of actual Orphic influence or simply an indication of a point to which such influence might readily attach itself, namely, the picture of David as the good shepherd and as the sweet singer. This Qumrān psalter lays very great stress upon psalmody as Davidic, and it is perhaps of particular interest to note the attribution to David of prophetic power—'all these he spoke by means of the prophecy which was given him from the presence of Elyon' and to compare this with the similar attribution of prophecy in Acts ii, 30. Dr. Sanders compares Old Testament usage for his translation of *n'bu'ā* as prophecy (p. 93); one may, however, wonder whether the term here does not carry something more of a sense of 'prophetic status, prophetic power' rather than merely the words of a prophecy.

The detailed examination of the text of these psalms reveals a very wide measure of agreement with the Masoretic text, and this is even greater if merely orthographic variants are disregarded. Yet there are important points of difference, of which only one or two can be noted here. In the text of Ps. cxlv a refrain is added 'Blessed be the LORD and blessed his name for ever and ever' after each line; this suggests the probability that such a psalm as cxxxvi with its refrain existed also without the refrain, and furthermore that the insertion of such refrains was a part of actual use. It is possible that the psalm also has a colophon dealing with its use (cf. p. 38). In column 16 Dr. Sanders finds Ps. cxxxvi, 26 followed immediately by Ps. cxviii, 1, though the latter is uncertain because it is in fact so common a psalm phrase, and the former is very unlikely since, as Dr. Sanders admits, there is no space like that to be found elsewhere between psalms. But is what follows really a short selection from Ps. cxviii? The matter needs fuller discussion than can be given here, but we may note that whereas elsewhere psalms known to us from the Old Testament Psalter appear with their verses in normal order, here we should have cxviii, 1, 15, 16, 8, 9, a verse not in Ps. cxviii, and 29 (which is again a common refrain like the opening). It would seem more reasonable to suppose that we have here a new psalm, allied in part with cxviii but not to be identified with it.

The opening verses of Ps. xciii in column 22 present us with three points of interest. The psalm is prefaced by *hall'lūyā* as is the case with a number of psalms in the Old Testament Psalter; have we here too an indication of use? The very badly damaged text of v. 1 is read by Dr. Sanders to contain two important variants. The second, [] *kn* i.e. *tikkēn* for Masoretic *tikkēn*, would correspond with some

manuscript and versional evidence, and provides a reading preferred by some scholars: 'He established the world' rather than 'the world was set firm' which may have been influenced by the following form *tinmōt*. It must be admitted, however, that the photograph leaves a lot to the imagination. The first variant, again uncertain because of the damage to the text, suggests a reading *wayyit'azzēr* (confirmed by LXX) for Masoretic *hit'azzār*. If this reading is accepted, then it would seem reasonable to take the following 'ap as the object of the verb 'and he girded himself with wrath', paralleling the two preceding phrases, and not, as Masoretic text and LXX, taking 'ap with the verb following in the sense of 'even, indeed'. Such a reading does in fact provide a better poetic structure.

Dr. Sander's edition provides the necessary factual information about the manuscript; it includes a discussion of the palaeography on the basis of which he proposes a date in the first half of the first century A.D., and of orthography and the like. The Syriac Psalms and the apocryphal compositions are discussed in considerable detail, and there is an index of Hebrew forms in the non-Biblical texts. All this provides a wealth of information for the further discussion both of these texts and of the Biblical material corresponding to them, and we may be grateful for this further instalment in the slow and laborious process of publishing the Qumrān documents so that they may be fully and adequately discussed.

PETER E. ACKROYD

MOSHE PIAMENTA: *The use of tenses, aspects and moods in the Arabic dialect of Jerusalem*. [xx], 601, [xxxvii] pp. Jerusalem: Bureau of Adviser on Arab Affairs, Prime Minister's Office, 1964. \$10.

PINCHAS WECHTER: *Ibn Barūn's Arabic works on Hebrew grammar and lexicography*. xvi, 235 pp. Philadelphia: Dropsie College, 1964. (Distributed in G.B. by Oxford University Press. 60s.)

JOSHUA BLAU: *The emergence and linguistic background of Judaeo-Arabic: a study of the origins of Middle Arabic*. (Institute of Jewish Studies, University College, London. Scripta Judaica, v.) xix, 227 pp. [London]: Oxford University Press, 1965. 75s.

Each of the three works under notice reflects, in its own way, highly praiseworthy Jewish scholarly interest in Arabic. An eminently practical purpose is pursued in Dr.

Piamenta's study of the current local Vulgar Arabic Dialect of Jerusalem. A doctoral dissertation under the guidance of his teachers at the then School of Oriental Studies of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, it contains some material published earlier. However, also this part of the study is thoroughly revised and vocalized according to the original texts. As Jerusalem Arabic is the author's native tongue, he is in an exceptionally suitable position to furnish useful material *inter alia* for the comparative study of modern Arabic dialects. His study is at the same time a historic-linguistic record of no mean significance, seeing that it represents the last phase of the Arabic dialect as it was spoken by those Jewish inhabitants of Jerusalem who had mingled with its Arab population until the partition of the city with the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948. Thus, this study represents a useful bridge between the respective speakers of Arabic and Hebrew in the region divided between Israel and Jordan. Its publication by means of the process of duplication was facilitated by the Bureau of the Adviser of Arab Affairs, Prime Minister's Office, Jerusalem. The bulk of the book is written in Hebrew and comprises a preface, a detailed table of contents, lists of abbreviations (in lieu of bibliography), a general introduction, and finally six chapters dealing with the perfect and imperfect tenses, the jussive and imperative moods, the uses of participle and conditional sentences. At the far end of the book there is a useful table of contents and general summary in English.

Likewise specialized, yet on an entirely different level, is the late Pinchas Wechter's study of Isaac Ibn Barūn, a little-known Spanish-Jewish Hebrew philologist of the eleventh century. Wechter's study comprises a summary of Hebrew-Arabic comparisons prior to Ibn Barūn and of the scanty material about his life and cultural activity, his sources and his influence on the subsequent philology of Semitic languages. The bulk of the book is devoted to Ibn Barūn's 'Book of comparison', to the discussion of the structure of its grammatical and lexical parts, and the translation of its grammatical part. All the sections are profusely, at times perhaps too profusely, annotated; the notes taking up somewhat more than half the book. Yet, even though they might not have lost any value in condensation, they represent the findings of sound and solid painstaking research.

The book also contains a preface by Lawrence Marwick on studies of Ibn Barūn prior to Wechter, and on Wechter's life and works; acknowledgements by the Pinchas Wechter Publication Fund Committee; and a list of abbreviations. (It is not clear whether

this was drafted by Wechter himself or by Lawrence Marwick who put the finishing touches to Wechter's manuscript and prepared it for the press.) Scholars in the field of Biblical studies, as also of Hebrew and Arabic linguistics, will have cause to be grateful for this fine, scholarly English rendering of a great medieval classic.

Dr. Joshua Blau, well known to the circle of specialists and beyond for his publication of the *Responsa* of Maimonides and other studies in the field of Judaeo-Arabic, deals in his present work with the subject on a far larger canvas. He examines the salient problems connected with Judaeo-Arabic under six headings, and discusses in another two chapters some general trends and isolated features. The book is rounded off by an additional chapter containing his general conclusions; three respective appendices on 'The linguistic character of early Muslim Middle Arabic', 'The integration of Hebrew elements in Judaeo-Arabic', and 'Vestiges of *tanwin* in Judaeo-Arabic and modern Bedouin dialects'; two indexes of subjects and words; and two lists of abbreviations (in lieu of bibliography).

Parts of this book, as stated by the author, were published previously. Yet also these have now been much amplified or substantially modified. Dr. Blau's reasoning, as his readers have learnt to expect from his earlier books, is always lucid and most of the time compelling. His arguments for Judaeo-Arabic as a separate dialect or language, clearly distinct from all other forms of Middle Arabic—already championed very ably in his previous *Grammar of mediaeval Judaeo-Arabic* (in Hebrew)—are certainly sound. On the other hand, he perhaps overstates his case in his arguments for the thesis that Judaeo-Arabic was deliberately used as a separate Jewish language by authors with sufficient knowledge to write in a style nearer to Classical Arabic. Also, in his discussion of the 'surprising fact' that some noted authors, e.g. Maimonides and his son R. Abraham, at times use for the most hallowed matters of Judaism terms borrowed from Islam, Dr. Blau rather surprisingly evinces no acquaintance with the interesting modern parallel in the linguistic usage of Hungarian Jews who are otherwise saturated with traditional Jewish lore and hardly assimilated religiously or culturally with their gentile neighbours; a phenomenon which elicited acid comments in the Israeli press in a noted article entitled '*Miért magyarul?*' with the Hebrew sub-title '*Mah ha-hungarish ha-zoth la-khem?*' It is also of some moment that in demonstrating this 'surprising fact', as also throughout his present book, Dr. Blau again neglects most of those Judaeo-Arabic works whose omission in his aforementioned *Grammar*

was pointed out in my review (*BEOAS*, xxvi, 3, 1963, 653-4); e.g. Moses Maimonides' 'Book of precepts' and commentary on the Mishnah, and Abraham Maimonides' commentary on Genesis and Exodus and his *Ma'aseh nissim*.

However, minor omissions of this kind hardly detract from the great value of this signal contribution to scholarship which richly deserves praise.

E. WISSENBERG

EARL BERGER: *The covenant and the sword: Arab-Israeli relations 1948-56*. x, 245 pp. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd.; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965. 35s.

The Arab-Israeli conflict never ceases to intrigue and occupy students of international politics and conflict. In this instance, a Canadian journalist who was in Jerusalem at the time of the Sinai campaign in 1956 has tried to reconstruct from the documented records of this conflict—potentially always an explosive confrontation between Israel and her Arab neighbours—the reasons why it continues unresolved. A major theme of his inquiry is the discussion of 'What happened in those intervening seven years' between the first Arab-Israeli war which ended in January 1949 and the second which began in October 1956 with Israel's invasion of Egypt. What compelling reasons persuaded the Israelis to attack?

First, according to the author, was the Israeli conviction after the armistice agreements signed in 1949, that the Arabs did not want peace, that they would prepare for a 'second round' against Israel. Consequently, they adopted a militant attitude regarding the inevitability of another armed confrontation with the Arabs. For the next seven years the Ben Gurion activists predominated over Israeli politics. On the other side Arab propaganda against Israel intensified. Matters were moreover complicated by the rapid political changes which took place in the neighbouring Arab countries.

After a discussion of the border situation between Israel and Jordan and Israel and Syria, 1949-56, the author devotes the last four chapters in his book to the relations between Israel and Egypt from 1949 to the Gaza raid in February 1955, and from that time to the Sinai war in 1956. He seeks to unravel why the armed clash between them developed in October 1956 after an auspicious beginning of an attempted rapprochement between Israel and the new régime of Egypt in 1952-3. He makes the point that this had

failed before the Gaza raid, not after, and attaches great significance to the rivalry between Iraq and Egypt, intensified by the Baghdad Pact, in making matters worse. With the Czech arms deal in 1953 and the nationalization of the Suez Canal in July 1956 the Israelis were convinced that Egypt would precipitate a clash the moment she felt able to do so. At the same time the old safeguards of the Tripartite Declaration were virtually inoperative, the UN rather uncertain. The effect of all these factors was great in leading Israel into preparation for the eventualities of a war.

The major points made by Dr. Berger are as follows. (1) While the armistice agreements and the commissions supervising them have worked well in preventing border clashes from erupting into wider conflicts, the agreements nevertheless have not brought the opponents any closer to peace. They have not been able to preclude full-scale warfare such as occurred in 1956. (2) Whatever the pros and cons of the issue, neither side trusts the other. Instead there are fears of expansionism on either side. (3) Both sides are fiercely nationalistic and therefore militarist and implicitly expansionist. The Israelis are determined to survive whereas the Arabs have not at least ostensibly relinquished their search for revenge.

One should note, however, that since the removal of Ben Gurion from active political life in Israel there has been a marked toning down of those vociferous activities usually associated with militant nationalism. On the other hand the preoccupation of the Arabs with their own affairs and rivalries has so far precluded concerted military action even on the delicate issue of the diversion of the Jordan waters. While this is no precondition for a resolution of the Arab-Israeli issue, it is at least a *détente* forced upon the parties involved by circumstances.

The book is, as political reporting goes, well written. It does not really add anything new or hopeful to this perennial problem in international conflict. The psychological motives it introduces to explain Israeli action in October 1956 were not unknown to keen observers. Nevertheless, the author has made clear the immense difficulties involved in the task of those attempting to keep two such irreconcilable contestants from getting at one another's throat.

P. J. VATIKIOTIS

J. AQUILINA (comp.): *Il-muża Maltija: antologija ta' poeti Maltin (2ni edizzjoni)*. [viii], 285 pp. [Valletta]: A. C. Aquilina & Co., 1964.

Professor Aquilina does himself scant justice

when he calls this anthology the second edition of *Il-muża Maltiġa*, which was first brought out in 1948. The first edition contained selections from the works of 22 poets, beginning with Richard Taylor (1818-68). These selections have been revised—in the case of some of the poets, very extensively—and to them have been added three traditional songs and poems representative of another 23 poets, most of these belonging to the post-war generation. A critical essay which introduced the first edition has been omitted from the second, as it has been reprinted in *Studji kritiċi letterarji* ([Valletta], 1950). All in all, not much more than one-third of the material in this second edition is taken from the first.

A poet himself—some of his own compositions figure in this second edition—and an energetic scholar who keeps his finger constantly on the pulse of Maltese life, Professor Aquilina is happily placed and well equipped to compile such an anthology. From books in print and out of print, from periodicals, and no doubt from personal acquaintance, he has put together useful biographical and bibliographical notices on the poets, and has made selections that are both broadly representative of Maltese poetry and entirely up to date.

With so good a lens it is not difficult to form a pretty sharp picture of the Maltese muse. There is no mistaking the fact that she was born in the nineteenth century, and that—despite her oriental tongue—hers was a south European pedigree, and a long one. Indeed the acknowledged father of Maltese secular literature, Muscat-Azzopardi, tells us (in *Il-muża*) that when he had his first vision of the Muse she led him to . . . a well-stocked library.

This attachment of Malta's nascent poetry to a massive and well-formed tradition has been the source of great strength. The fumbings of the beginners were few, the passage to competence and even to the virtuosity of a Dun Karm rapid and impressive. Free verse, jingling quatrains, and fairly elaborate strophic forms (as in Serracino-Inglott's *Il-warda u jien*) are confidently handled. The narrative, didactic, and lyrical genres alike are well served. And the surest sign that Maltese poetry is not merely striking attitudes but standing confidently on ground it shares with others is that we find in it, alongside the ponderous and the sentimental, the wit and the deft sensitive touches of an Anton Buttigieg.

At the same time one cannot help wondering whether originality has not been inhibited by the fact that there was enough in the common-places of nineteenth-century Italian literature to slake Maltese thirst. The range of Maltese lyricism—love, nature in its varied moods, the aspirations of youth and the perspectives of

maturity—is well indicated in Briffa's *Mill-ġdid poeta*. And when Biancardi borrows the subtly balanced form of the Petrarchan sonnet for pen-portraits that are a mere catalogue of personal characteristics, the result is no more elegant than may be expected of a suit bought off the peg.

Perhaps what makes Maltese poetic experience even more stable and less adventurous than even that of its parent culture is the extent to which it rests on an ancestral faith. The Maltese poet may rebel against his time and inveigh against the perversity of man; but like the *bidwi* in the field he seldom has to delve deep before he strikes bed-rock. Aquilina may imagine himself in Baudelaire's Paris, sinking into Hell; but he does not sink very far before he is redeemed from deep despair by the sound of the bells of the Madeleine (*Infernu knisja*). And the orphan's appeal to the Madonna (Pesci's *Anglu iswed*) to take his mother's place, although transparently elemental in its sentiment and not devoid of *gaucherie*, reveals that the relations of the Maltese with the Holy Family are truly familiar:

*Jegq tibqa', 'l imnek ckejken,
irrid indewqu l-ilma biż-żanbur.
Nghallmu jistad għall-brimba w għall-ħaddiela;
Nghid il missieri jżina x-żibka l-kbira,
għalbiez naqbadlu cerna jew għaẓẓiela.*

Even among the post-war poets—although sensitive, like Cardona, to the problems of the underdeveloped areas of the world; although sharing, like Camilleri, Europe's sense of responsibility towards others; although making, like Achille Mizzi, wry faces at the Science that produced Hiroshima, or rattling out their questions like Gulia in his spirited *Trid temmen*—there is no revolt and no revolution.

To the cries of anguish that reverberate from one end of the Mediterranean to another, Maltese poetry has no distinctive note of its own to add; but it has the safe qualities of a tree whose roots lie by still waters.

P. CACHIA

ERIN SERRACINO-INGLOTT (tr.): *Dante Alighieri: Id-divina commedia bil-Malti. L-infern.* xxxix, 318 pp. [Valletta]: Stamperija tal-Gvern, 1964.

Like other masterpieces of Italian literature, the *Divina commedia* has long engaged the attention of Maltese men of letters. As early as in 1864 Richard Taylor made a verse translation of the Count Ugolino episode (*Inferno*, canto xxxiii). Ganni Sapiano Lanzon (1858-1918) published at different times an integral translation of the *Inferno* in prose, and verse translations of 'Francesca da Rimini' and

again of 'Count Ugolino'. Alfred Edward Bong (fl. end nineteenth and early twentieth century) also rendered the entire *Commedia* in Maltese verse, and yet another anonymous verse translation is quoted by Mr. Rob. Mifsud Bonnici in a small collection of studies published under the title *Dante Alighieri* ([Valletta], 1956). Now—dissatisfied with these earlier efforts on grounds both of accuracy and of literary style, and noting that the familiarity of the Maltese with Italian has declined in the past 30 years—Mr. Erin Serracino-Inglott offers his version as a contribution alike to the understanding of Dante and to the advancement of Maltese literature. It is the first part, the *Inferno*, that has appeared in time for the celebration of the seventh centenary of Dante's birth. More than half the space is taken up with notes, and the volume includes a select bibliography and brief studies on Dante's life, on the *Divina commedia*, and on the topography of the *Inferno*.

To his formidable task Mr. Serracino-Inglott has brought an unexpected combination of talents, for he is best known as a dramatist and as a translator of Gaston Leroux; also, on a lesser scale, as a poet and philologist.

His is a strict line-for-line rendering, in which he has forsaken the rhyme altogether rather than jeopardize fidelity to the sense; here and there, however, he has tried to reproduce special alliterative or rhythmic effects.

One tercet taken almost at random (the fifth in canto xxxii) will illustrate the main features of this new translation:

*Noi andavam con li diece demoni:
ahi fiera compagna! ma nella chiesa
coi santi, ed in taverna co' ghiottoni.*

*Aħna baqajna sejr in mal-ghazar rjaten;
Puh, x'xirka tat-tkekkir! Imma, go knieja
mal-gaddisin, u f' miekka maż-zaggieg.*

The verse flows easily, the syntax is unrestrained. Dante's graphic style and concrete imagery seldom call for the subtleties of overtone and connotation that, say, Dun Karm had to contend with in his translation of Foscolo's *Sepolcri*. Instead, Mr. Serracino-Inglott's major problem has been with vocabulary, not only because Dante uses a number of words not common in present-day Maltese, but also because the translator shares the Maltese writer's preference for words of Semitic derivation; hence in the above example his choice of the obscure *miekla* (from 'k-l 'to eat') rather than the everyday *taverna*. So Mr. Serracino-Inglott ransacks Vassalli and de Soldanis in search of forms now obsolete, and some he gives on his own authority. The

bulk of his notes is a discussion and explanation of the words thus resuscitated; well over 500 of these are listed at the end of the volume.

Very seldom does he relinquish these furnishings of a philologist's ivory tower and stray towards what Goethe called the 'parodist's' attempt to interpret a text in terms of what is most familiar to his public. A curious instance of this is in canto xxx, v. 49, where he declines to translate *luto* as *ljut*, despite the Arabic pedigree of the word, on the ground that it is not known in Maltese; instead, he uses *kitarra*. He does, however, have the candour to admit that one reason for the choice is that at this point he needed a polysyllabic word. The result is particularly infelicitous as the reference is to the shape of the lute, not to its use as a musical instrument.

There are object-lessons here for those interested in the use of Arabic colloquials as literary idioms. As a translation, the work will fully answer the needs only of a restricted public, a public scholarly enough to share Mr. Serracino-Inglott's enthusiasms, yet incapable of reading the original. But collectors of Maltesiana will certainly want it on their shelves, for it is—in every sense of the word—monumental.

P. GAOHLA

KAMAL HAFUTH ZAND and others (tr.):
The Eastern key: Kitāb al-ʿifādah wa ʿl-ʿitibār of ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baġhdādī, translated into English by Kamal Hafuth Zand and John A. and Ivy E. Videan. 293 pp. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1965. 63s.

As long ago as 1810 Silvestre de Sacy translated this work into French under the title of *Relation de l'Égypte*, providing his translation with copious and excellent notes. The *Relation* in his rendering and commentary has well stood the test of time and the volume has been used by generations of scholars. This new presentation of ʿAbd al-Laṭīf consists of a facsimile of the Pococke MS in the Bodleian Library, already utilized in the preparation of the early orientalist editions, accompanied by a rendering into English.

It is an understatement to say that the English translation appears in no way to improve upon the French version in point of accuracy, but where the reviewer has made sample comparisons of the English with the Arabic and French versions of the text, the English may broadly be said to have rendered the Arabic original more or less correctly. The transliteration is so bad, inconsistent, and plainly inaccurate as to mutilate many names, and the translators have often ignored the plainly marked vowelings of the Arabic

original in favour of incorrect vowelings of their own. The notes are little short of derisory, as is the bibliography, and it is regrettable that, even if economy in annotation was felt to be desirable, a little more should not have been drawn from the wealth of de Sacy's commentary.

Of the grosser type of inaccuracy we find (p. 67) '*Bostan al-tai'a*' (for *al-qif'ah*), rendered 'Garden of Peace', (p. 71) *jalh* rendered as 'plantain', (p. 95) *waral* spelled as *waran*, (p. 103) *Barada* for *Ra'ād*, (p. 113) '*hasemik*' of the footnote should probably be read as *Hāshimī*, but, on p. 171, de Sacy appears to be mistaken in reading *al-amir al-ṣādiq* for *al-amīn al-ṣādiq*. It is curious that on p. 284 an Arabic number should be described as 'Persian'. No doubt there are many more errors and inaccuracies than these few here noted. As a species of literary curiosity of 'orientalism' there may be remarked the reference to the spiritualist communication which Mr. and Mrs. Videan claim to have had with 'Abd al-Laṭīf through a medium, the first occasion known to the reviewer that a medieval Arab writer has so manifested himself in the twentieth century. From a practical point of view, however, Arabists will be grateful rather for the excellent reproduction of a well-written MS in *nashh* hand. One of its peculiarities, not unknown in other MSS, is occasionally to omit the top stroke of the *kāf*.

R. B. SERJEANT

RUUDOLF SELLEHEIM (ed.): *Die Gelehrtenbiographien des Abū 'Uбайдاللّٰه al-Marzubānī in der Rezension des Hāfiẓ al-Yaghmūrī. Teil I: Text.* (Bibliotheca Islamica, Bd. 23a.) 32, 471, *41 pp., 6 plates. Wiesbaden: in Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH, 1964. DM 48.

Abū 'Uбайдاللّٰه al-Marzubānī (296-384/909-94) was a voluminous writer, but comparatively little of his output (cf. *Fihrist*, 132 ff.) has survived. He compiled a huge work entitled *al-Muqtabas* in which he provided information about grammarians, literary men, poets, and learned men. Although it is not extant in its original form, there are an epitome (*mukhtaṣar*) by Yūsuf b. Aḥmad al-Yaghmūrī and a selection (*mukhtār*) by 'Alī b. Ḥasan, both from the seventh/thirteenth century. Only part of *al-Mukhtār* has survived, but the whole of *al-Mukhtaṣar*, which is the text here presented, exists in a unique manuscript, Nuruosmaniye 3391 ii (new number 2887). It was not prepared from the original work, but from one entitled *al-Muntakhab*, a selection from the original,

compiled by Bashīr b. Ḥāmid early in the seventh/thirteenth century, which is no longer extant.

The editor quotes al-Qifṭī as saying that the original work consisted of almost 20 volumes with 3,000 sheets. al-Yaghmūrī quotes Bashīr b. Ḥāmid to the effect that there were 18 volumes, adding that in compiling *al-Muntakhab* he had omitted *isnāds* and matters which seemed inessential, but had given the best parts of all the biographies. The editor estimates that Yaghmūrī's *al-Mukhtaṣar* of 179 folios contains only about a seventeenth of *al-Muqtabas*. He raises the question why a work so important for the history of Islamic literature should not have been widely spread and makes some suggestions. As the copying of huge works was a heavy task, copyists might hesitate to undertake this one which would interest a very limited public. War and destruction were further reasons, notably the destruction wrought by the Mongols in the seventh/thirteenth century. The flooding of the Tigris which caused damage to the Nizāmiya *madrasa* before the Mongol invasion may have been the reason for the loss of the autograph copy which was housed in its library. There were other possible reasons. Marzubānī was criticized for his Mu'tazilite beliefs and his adherence to the Shī'a, also for his fondness for alcohol. He is said to have had two bottles in front of him while he worked, one of ink and the other of *nabīdh*, to both of which he applied himself assiduously.

It is fortunate that Bashīr b. Ḥāmid made his abbreviation before the autograph copy disappeared and that Yaghmūrī worked on this *Muntakhab*, no longer extant, to produce his *Mukhtaṣar*. This work, which is divided into four *ajzā'* relating to the number of pages dealt, after some introductory matter, with four main subjects: (1) learned men, grammarians, and transmitters of Basra; (2) transmitters, learned men, and Qur'an readers of Kūfa; (3) learned men, grammarians, and transmitters of Baghdad; (4) the genealogists, this last occupying only pp. 347-51. Nos. (2) and (3) are preceded by a note on the beginning of the towns and their occupation; no. (1) has such a note more than half-way through the articles on the men. Altogether there are 125 articles of varying length, some very slight. For example, on p. 272 one man is merely named and another has nothing but a vague reference to the date of his death. Other notices are quite lengthy, the longest (pp. 125-70) being that on al-Aṣma'ī. The articles contain many quotations of poetry and give brief biographical notes, the interest being mainly in what the men said on various topics. The date of death is usually given, and frequently the date of birth also.

This important and welcome addition to the biographical works in which the Arabic language is so rich has been very carefully edited with an admirably informative introduction both in German and in Arabic. There are eight indexes covering people, places, battles, Qur'ān references, traditions and proverbs, etc., verses of poetry with the metre, books mentioned in the text, and books mentioned in the notes. There is also a lengthy list of errata and corrigenda to which may be added that one should read on p. 31, l. 2 *wāfir* for *ṭawīl*; on p. 33, l. 8 *kāmil* for *sarī*, and on p. 300, l. 21 Qur'ān II, 124 for VI, 124. Corrections should also be made in the index on pp. 441 and 431. The Qur'ān reference is correct in the index. On p. 165, l. 3 the pointing 'Amrwaihi is obviously a misprint. The only pointing which fits the metre is 'Amrūyah.

JAMES ROBSON

M. ABDUL HAQ ANSARI: *The ethical philosophy of Miskawayh*. (Faculty of Arts Publication Series, 15.) xiv, 200 pp. Aligarh: Aligarh Muslim University, 1964.

The kernel of this book consists of chapters on 'Happiness', 'Virtue', 'Cardinal virtues', and 'Practical ethics', with a short chapter on 'Society and the State' and a still shorter conclusion. The relevant parts of *Tahdhīb al-akhlaq* and to a lesser extent of *K. al-sa'āda*, are summarized in a competent and readable fashion. The relation of Miskawayh's views to those of Plato and Aristotle are discussed on the basis of the generally accepted views of the Greek philosophers, but there is no attempt to consider (*à la* Walzer) his relation to the later developments of Greek philosophy. Though the author has much sympathy with Miskawayh, he is able to criticize, for example, his excessive use of the Aristotelian mean. His chief interest, perhaps, is in presenting the ethical philosophy of Miskawayh as one that, with a few modifications, may be brought into harmony with the religion of Islam and with modern needs. The book may thus prove to be of some importance in the *aggiornamento* of Islamic thinking.

It has unfortunately to be recorded that the opening chapters, especially that on 'Islamic ethics before Miskawayh', are much less satisfactory. Here the author again relies on commonly-held views, e.g. of Mu'tazilism as 'unbridled rationalism' which was 'routed' by al-Ash'arī. . . a view now definitely out of date. Note 34 to ch. ii, purporting to give the basis of an assertion about the Ash'arites appears to be in fact from al-Shahrastānī's account of the Mu'tazilites (ed. Cureton, p. 30;

ed. Cairo, 1948, I, 59) with whom the Ash'arites are here contrasted. On the whole the author has little sympathy with the Sūfīs and little knowledge of them. A glaring piece of slipshod scholarship is on p. 45 where he takes a statement by al-Ghazālī in *Mizān al-'amal* and on this builds the general statement that 'The Šūfī conception of the highest good or Sa'ādah was similar to that of the philosophers'. He fails to realize that *Mizān al-'amal*, which is in the tradition of philosophical ethics, was an early work of which al-Ghazālī seems in his Šūfī period to have disapproved, since he never quotes from it nor repeats its main doctrines.

Despite such weaknesses the book should give a further fillip to the study of Islamic ethical thought.

W. MONTGOMERY WATT

LUCIEN GOLVIN: *Recherches archéologiques à la Qal'a des Banū Hammād*. 311 pp., 110 plates. Paris: G.-P. Maisonneuve et Larose, [1965].

In this work, substantial in content as in volume, the author gives a definitive account of excavations which have extended over many years. The site, lying about 62 miles south of Bougie, in the Hodna Mountains of Algeria, at an altitude of over 3,000 feet, constituted the capital of the Hammādid dynasty—an offshoot of the Zīrids of Ifriqiya (Tunisia)—between its foundation in 398/1007, and the transfer of the dynasty to Bijāya (Bougie) in 543/1148-9. In c. 547/1152 the city was captured and laid waste by the Almohades, but the author concludes from the finds that there was some subsequent occupation. The period is one summarily treated by the Arabic historians, and, for reasons which will appear, unknown to numismatists. The author has already used archaeological data to supplement the texts in his previous work, *Le Magrib central à l'époque des Zīrides*. Now he examines the archaeological finds from every point of view, considering such diverse matters as the mentions in poetry of the palaces of the site, and the industrial implications of the copious finds of pottery.

The book is divided into two parts: one is devoted to the site and its monuments, and the other to the small finds from the excavations. The city lay on a plateau surrounded by rugged mountains, presenting a complex topography made clearer by the four aerial photographs (pl. II-IV)—although these, like the site-plan in fig. 1, would be more easily grasped if on a larger scale. The only monument above ground is the minaret of the mosque, a square tower decorated with arched niches, and reminiscent of the Giralda of Seville, though more austere. Excavations, started by de Beylié in 1908, and

entered. On p. 170 it is said that 'when Arab rule was in its turn superseded the Guptas were reigning in the East and West of the Punjab'. This seems to invert the true succession of events. On p. 144 the date of 185 B.C. attributed to 'the Seytho-Parthian king Azes I' is more than a century too early. Another anachronism is the statement (p. 146) that Gandhāra sculptures 'reveal Sassanian influences', since the author seems to maintain, correctly in this reviewer's opinion, that the sculptures of the lifetime of Kanishka belong to the second century A.D., whilst the Sassanians belong to the third century. It was thus not possible for Sassanian influence to affect these sculptures.

Besides a few routine misprints, there are a rather large number of erratically-spelt names of persons and places, for which the following corrections are suggested: p. 75, for 'Kvarasm' read 'Khwarizm'; p. 78, for 'Cyreskatu' read 'Cyreschata'; p. 85 and *passim*, for 'Surk Khotal' read 'Surkh Kotal'; p. 88, for 'Khaja-i-Khodja' read 'Kūh-i Khwāja'; p. 124, for 'his wife Apamea' read 'his wife Apama'; p. 132, for 'Kundar' read apparently 'Kunduz'; p. 133, for 'Bucephalus' read 'Bucephalus'; p. 143, 145, for the barely recognizable 'Gondolphus' read 'Gondopharus'. On p. 145 the present reviewer is nonplussed by the words 'Then the Seytho-Sakian king Mauryas invaded northern India and established a kingdom there bearing his name. It included Gandhara, where St. Thomas is believed to have visited him'. On p. 150 there is another reference to a king named 'Mauryas', and one can only conclude that this strange name is a misprint for 'Maues'. Even with this correction, the text is not entirely freed of difficulties. On p. 150, for 'Amurat' read, perhaps, 'Amaravati'; p. 164, for 'Peshwar' and 'Balk' (the latter *passim*) read 'Peshawar' and 'Balkh'. On p. 176 'Tivetans' is apparently a mere variant for the more familiar 'Tibetans'; on p. 197 'Idigutschai' would, it seems, be better spelt 'Idiqutschahr'.

There are also several mistakes in the captions to the plates. Thus fig. 75 illustrates a representation of a Sassanian king, whose individual crown shows that he is not Shapur II, as claimed in the caption, but most probably Khosrau II. The coin of Spalapati-deva illustrated in fig. 131 is, if genuine, actually of silver and not of gold. Despite this rather high incidence of clerical errors, the book forms a stimulating introduction to the work of a wide range of artistic schools, whose products are thus conveniently brought together within a single volume.

A. D. H. BIVAR

VINCENC POŘÍZKA: *Hindština: Hindī language course. Part 1.* 534, 44 pp. Praha: Státní Pedagogické Nakladatelství, 1963. Kčs. 34.50.

This teaching course compiled by Dr. Vincenc Pořízka, with the collaboration of many of his colleagues and others whose contributions are acknowledged in the preface, fills a long-felt want. Essentially it presents a series of 20 graded lessons each with a reading text, vocabulary, and grammatical notes, the exegetical material being bilingual (Czech and English) throughout. An introduction treats of the transcription used and its phonetic realization, which is generally sound and careful; the English-speaking learner, however, needs a caution on the clear quality of Hindī final *l* and post-vocalic *r*. The introduction also provides general notes on the Devanāgarī script, with a full list of conjunct characters. The first four lessons proper introduce the Devanāgarī script gradually, with texts based on only the characters brought in up to that point, and at the same time take the student through the essential grammar of the noun—albeit in a paradigm of eight cases, which may suit the Czech learner better than his English counterpart; the author has, however, previously pointed out that formal recognition of only direct, oblique, and vocative plural cases is necessary. The remaining lessons present the essential grammar of Hindī in convenient sections, with generous and lucid explanation and a wealth of examples, and full vocabularies in which the provenance of each word is unambiguously indicated. Vocabularies and examples, and in the earlier lessons the texts also, are given in transliterated form as well as in Devanāgarī. A section after the last lesson is devoted to conversational sentences and expressions, with its own glossary, and further grammatical summaries, and an appendix on the Urdū alphabet, complete the material. There is a full general index and a select bibliography, and a separate key to the lessons.

The course as a whole is well planned, and no point of Hindī grammar is left unexplained. The transcription used is an extension of the conventional Sanskrit system, with additions for modified Devanāgarī characters used to represent the Urdū sounds [q], [x], [ɣ], [z], and [ʃ], the Hindī retroflex flaps, and rather strangely a double transcription for ʁ, which is represented by **v** and **u**. There is indeed a strong case for recognizing two diaphones, to borrow Daniel Jones's convenient but neglected term, which may be symbolized as /v~w/ and /v~b/ the former occurring for example in the 'deictics', e.g. [vəhāā]~[wəhāā], and in verbal infixes, the latter regularly as the

realization of Skt. *v* in loan-words, e.g. [vɪɪɐk]~[hɪɪɐk]; these may fall together in the case of some speakers, thereby leaving [v] and [w] as allophones. It is, however, open to question whether this distinction is necessary for students in the elementary stage of learning the language. This transcription is certainly workable; but experience in teaching the language in London has shown that to represent the so-called 'diphthongs' by *ai* and *au* leads in practice to distortions in the learner's pronunciation, and we have preferred to break away from the conventional Sanskrit model (our system is briefly described in my article 'The syntax of participial forms in Hindi' in *BSOAS*, xix, 1, 1957, p. 94, n. 1).

The lessons are rather too long (an average of about 18 pages) for any of them to be taken as a day's unit of work. But at a rate of two lessons per week, supplemented by language laboratory work and drills devised by the teacher, they could form a solid first term's work for the average student. The book will be of great value for the student of Hindi who has to work alone, and the more fortunate student working with a teacher will find it of great use for reference and for revision.

J. BURTON-PAGE

SARVA DAMAN SINGH: *Ancient Indian warfare, with special reference to the Vedic period.* xiv, 203 pp. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965. Guilders 25.

In this work, substantially the thesis he submitted for the degree of Ph.D. in London, the author has made a study of the nature of warfare in India as it developed in a period so far given scant attention. The great progress made in archaeological research in India in the last 20 years has done much to extend our knowledge of the 'empty millennium' before the Buddhist period, and Dr. Singh has made full use of the evidence now available from archaeology as an addition to, and often as a corrective of, the evidence of the texts he has studied. The textual material considered is for the most part Vedic, from the early R̥gveda to the later classical Upaniṣads. The Buddhist Nikāyas and the *Vinayapīṭaka* have also been used to provide material in support and extension of the earlier textual evidence. Material from the Epic has been used only in corroboration of the Vedic and archaeological evidence, and Dr. Singh has wisely been cautious in its use; for a considerable portion of the Epic, which contains much graphic description of warfare of various kinds, is generally considered to be late, in spite of the undoubted antiquity of much of the Epic tradition.

Dr. Singh considers first the various branches of the fighting power—infantry, chariots, cavalry, elephants; he then proceeds to such more general topics as arms and armour, forts and fortifications, and military organization, and concludes with a chapter on the ethics of war. An appendix on 'archery in modern India' seems somewhat out of place. Throughout his discussion he is concerned to show the development of the conception of warfare in its various branches, for example, in the nomadic Aryans' gradual assumption of the principles of fortification already developed to a high degree in the pre-Aryan Indus valley urban civilizations, in their adoption of the elephant, in the decline of the Aryan war-chariot in favour of the cavalry, and so on; necessarily this involves an investigation of the metallurgical techniques underlying the manufacture of arms and armour, and Dr. Singh adduces powerful evidence to show that iron was established by the time of the Painted Grey ware, c. 1100–800 B.C. Here a passing reference to the "wootz" process is unfortunate; see further the review of *Studies . . . in honour of K. A. C. Creswell*, p. 391, *ad fin.*

Many of Dr. Singh's findings have great relevance in the wider context of Indian warfare in the historical period; for example, he draws from the *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa* an indication of the prevalence of night attacks, features which are condemned as essentially Hindu in the Indian Muslim manuals of war, to be guarded against but never emulated (for references see e.g. the article 'Ḥarb (India)' in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second edition). Again, the use of the elephant to carry archers and perhaps also projectile engines is clearly paralleled in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century texts.

The question may be raised as to whether the Vedic texts, especially when taken out of context, can be expected to yield a valid picture of factual institutions; to what extent, for instance, may the verbal picture of the chariot of the sun relate to the reality of the battle-chariot? Clearly there is some danger of the incautious author trying to extract too much, as when some of the wilder speculators discover aeroplanes and flying saucers in the *Mahābhārata*. In many cases, however, the Vedic verses obviously do reflect the direct human experience of their authors, and in his selection of them Dr. Singh has, as we have stated above, constant appeal to the testimony of the *realia* which objective archaeology has provided; the Vedas thereby stand revealed as more generally reliable cultural source material than they are frequently supposed to be.

The work is well produced and printed, and

misprints seem to be very few. Dr. Singh's clear statement leaves us in his debt.

J. BURTON-PAGE

D. C. SIRCAR : *The Guhilas of Kīṣkindhā*. (Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series, No. xxxiv. Studies, No. 18.) xv, 87 pp., 8 plates. Calcutta : Sanskrit College, 1965. Rs. 10.

With this volume the author demonstrates once again his excellence in a type of historical research which may be called the first level of synthesis, by which I mean the gathering together of related epigraphs, squeezing out every drop of information they will yield, and collating the evidence of literature, numismatics, and the epigraphs of contemporary kingdoms in assessing their full significance. One can almost say of Professor Sircar that, like a hunger-artist, the less nourishment he has, the more he thrives : the basic ingredients of this book are three copper plates and two stone inscriptions concerning six seventh-century rulers of an obscure line of the early Guhilas of Mewar, belonging to Kīṣkindhā (near modern Kalyanpur), some 40 miles south of Udaipur. Because of the concentration which he devotes to a subject, little escapes his scrutiny and much has a wider significance than one would at first suppose. Such is the case with this book. The title misleads : only one and a half of the six chapters deal directly with the Kīṣkindhā branch of the Guhilas, the first two concerning the origin of the Rājputs in general and the Guhilas in particular, the third with the rise of the Guhilas, and the next two with the early history of Mewar and its relations with Harṣa and the Later Mauryas. Photographs and printed texts of the Kīṣkindhā epigraphs are included in the back. The result is a book which no one concerned with Rājput history can afford to overlook, which few concerned with Indian dynastic history would want to overlook, and from which many could profit.

Professor Sircar is right in rejecting the view of V. V. Murashi that the dates of the inscriptions refer to an unknown era founded by an ancestor of mahārāja Bhatti of Kīṣkindhā who ruled 'a great empire flourishing in Rajputana and the neighbouring territory in the seventh century A.D.' (p. 63). To the arguments he adduces against this theory could be added the fact that all the titles of the Kīṣkindhā inscriptions are feudatory including the title *mahārāja*, as appears from the fact that Aparājita of the main line of Guhilas employed a mahārāja Varāhasimha as commander of his army (Udaipur Insc. of A.D. 661). He is also right in eliminating the

Bhāṭika era, of purely local scope and probably not in use at this time. He advances cogent arguments in favour of the Harṣa era, and it must now be generally admitted that the Harṣa era best suits the Kīṣkindhā dates. That being so, Kīṣkindhā must have been subject to Harṣa.

Professor Sircar further puts forward a theory that the Nagda-Ahar branch of the Guhilas were feudatories of Harṣa for a while and sees in the use of the Vikrama Samvat in the unique inscription of Śīlāditya, Harṣa's contemporary (v.s. 703/A.D. 646), 'a conscious attempt on the part of this branch of the Guhilas to repudiate the use of the Harṣa era' (p. 48), toward the end of the latter's reign. He thinks Śīlāditya may have been named after his overlord (Harṣa bore the *biruḍa* Śīlāditya), and gives parallels; and he finds evidence that the Puṣyabhūti power in western India was declining in Harṣa's later years in the fact that the Maitraka king adopts the imperial style in A.D. 645. He therefore thinks it possible that Śīlāditya 'had some credit for the decline'. It is an attractive theory but against it (though not disproving it) can be brought the fact that the Nagda-Ahar Guhilas were independent kings before and after Harṣa; the coins of Guhila figure a crowned head, and Śīlāditya himself issued coins, although this could have been after his break with Harṣa. Professor Sircar's view must remain an interesting hypothesis at the present state of knowledge.

THOMAS B. TRAUTMANN

ANTHONY D' COSTA, S. J. : *The christianisation of the Goa Islands, 1510-1567*. [x], 234 pp., map. Bombay : [Heras Institute, St. Xavier's College], 1965. Rs. 9, ₹3.

It is a matter of ascertainable fact from the voluminous published sources referring to this period, that the conversion policy pursued by the Portuguese in India during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries involved a variety of carrot-and-stick methods with the stick sometimes predominating. Fr. D'Costa's book, which is clearly aimed largely at countering A. K. Priolkar's recent works on *The Goa Inquisition* (Bombay, 1961) and *The printing press in India* (Bombay, 1958), seeks to show that 'the Christian doctrine that a person who accepts Baptism must do so freely and sincerely was itself never in doubt', and that this doctrine was applied during the years 1510-87 with a few relatively insignificant exceptions. In discussing this problem, it is essential to remember that Portuguese policy was not

always consistent, and that in any event the Church Militant only got into its stride in Portuguese India with the mass destruction of the Hindu temples in 1540 and the arrival of the Jesuits at Goa two years later.

From 1540 onwards, the Portuguese authorities certainly enacted a large number of harsh and oppressive laws with the object of preventing the public practice of Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islam in Portuguese-controlled territory in Goa and its vicinity, but the application of these laws varied from the exceedingly rigorous to the purely formal. Similarly, the laws which were enacted for the purpose of favouring converts to Christianity and discriminating against those who declined to be converted, and also with the declared object of taking Hindu orphan children to be catechized and baptized as Christians, were sometimes applied to the letter and sometimes not. Fr. D'Costa stresses that 'the Christian priests were ordinarily kind men', and so they doubtless were, according to their lights; but they watched without a qualm the writhings of crypto-Jews being slowly burnt to death at the stake. Moreover, many of the most eminent of them, including the Bishop of Dume in 1522 and the Archbishop of Goa some 25 years later, advocated that the local Hindus should be given the alternative of mass conversion to Christianity or expulsion from their ancestral lands. Things never proceeded quite so far as this, although the same suggestion was made by responsible Portuguese prelates at intervals down to 1728 at least. Fr. D'Costa does his best to minimize the effect of the partial exodus of Hindus through fear of forcible conversion to Christianity in 1561, but the very sources which he partially quotes (Silva Rego, *Documentação, Índia*, ix, 410-11, 615-17), show that the Count of Redondo (1561-4) and D. Antão de Noronha (1564-8), had to reverse the policy of the priest-ridden D. Constantino de Bragança (1568-81) and give the Hindus of Goa specific assurances that they would not be converted by force.

Fr. D'Costa has two interesting and well-written chapters entitled 'the debate round the rigour of mercy' and 'the working of the rigour of mercy'; but those on the receiving end of this policy were apt to experience more of the rigour than of the mercy. A Jesuit missionary's eyewitness report of 1568 describes how the Padres forcibly prevented the Hindus from celebrating their own rites and ceremonies, even in their own homes and behind closed doors at night. He explains how the missionaries encouraged stool-pigeons to spy and inform on their friends and neighbours, and even on their own kith and kin. 'By thus impeding the heathen rites, by punishing those who perform them, and with the support which

the lord governor Francisco Barreto and the lord Dom Constantine gave and give us in this matter, the number of the chosen of the Lord increases daily.' (Letter of Pedro de Almeida, S.J., Goa, 26 December 1558.) Fr. D'Costa evidently considers that such measures need not be classified under the heading of 'forcible'; but it is likely that he would so classify the similar restrictions on the practice of Roman Catholicism in some Protestant countries in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

My chief criticism of this book is that Fr. D'Costa makes insufficient allowance for the spirit of the age, which, after c. 1540, was one of increasing religious intolerance in the Christian World. He projects backward into the past the eirenic and ecumenical spirit of Vatican II. This is a dangerous historical anachronism. Among Catholics and Protestants alike, genuine believers—and the vast majority were genuine in that age—were convinced that tolerance of a heathen religion was dangerous to men's souls, and might easily bring down on their own heads the wrath of the Living God. This belief was reflected in the proceedings of the First Ecclesiastical Council held at Goa in 1567, which declared that all religions other than the orthodox Roman Catholic Faith as defined in the Council of Trent were intrinsically wrong and harmful in themselves.

This Ecclesiastical Council of 1567 also admitted that heathens often complained to the secular authorities at Goa that 'their children, or slaves, or retainers' had been made Christians by force. Fr. D'Costa dismisses these complaints as greatly exaggerated where they were not altogether unfounded. Doubtless some of them were exaggerated; but it is significant that a representation to the Crown drawn up at Lisbon in February 1563 by the Bishops of Ceuta, Lisbon, Tangier, Angra, Portalegre, Lamego, and the Algarve, categorically stated that there were great abuses prevalent in all of the Portuguese overseas mission-fields, including the use of force and the farcical baptism of uninstructed converts. It is unlikely that seven leading Portuguese prelates would have made these grave allegations without being quite sure of their facts. Fr. D'Costa's unfamiliarity with the 'climate of opinion' in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is also shown by his claim on p. 24 that Jesuits all over the world freed all their slaves as the result of an order from their General to do so in 1569. Nothing could be further from the truth. Whatever the Jesuit General may have ordered in 1569, the fact remains that many Jesuit Colleges and Institutions in Asia, Africa, and America, retained the use of Negro slaves down to the

suppression of the Society in the Portuguese dominions by Pombal in 1759-60, and in the Spanish empire a few years later. There are, literally, thousands of published and unpublished documents to prove this.

I do not wish to conclude this review by giving the impression that Fr. D'Costa's book is worthless. On the contrary, it is an excellent work in many ways, carefully documented, and giving one side of the problem in great detail. But it does not dispose of the arguments of the 'Devil's Advocates', and it does not refute the facts adduced by Cunha Rivara and Priolkar, although it may modify them slightly in some instances. Finally, it does not follow that because dubious methods were used to obtain converts at that period, the descendants of those converts did not become good Christians. This fact was realized by the Bishop of Dume in 1522, when he stated that even though those Indians who accepted Christianity in order to avoid expulsion from their ancestral lands could hardly be expected to become good Christians, 'yet their children will become so'. Just as the descendants of the Saxons, Teutons and Slavs who in many cases were forcibly converted to Christianity, subsequently became fervent Christians, so the inhabitants of the Goa islands in the course of two or three generations became profoundly attached to the religion which had been imposed, none too gently, on their forefathers.

C. B. BOXER

K. N. CHAUDHURI: *The English East India Company: the study of an early joint-stock company, 1600-1640*. ix, 245 pp. London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd., 1965. 65s.

Dr. Chaudhuri reviews the organization, policy, and financial and trading methods of the East India Company in its first 40 years. He ascribes the formation of the Company to the desire of the English Levant merchants to share in the probable diversion of spices from the overland route after the successful Dutch East Indies voyages of 1598-9. Thus he sees the Company initially as an offshoot of the Levant Company and minimizes the quest for new markets for English manufactures as a stimulus in early English voyages to the East Indies. Dr. Chaudhuri rightly regards the pre-1620 period as an experimental one, in which the Company developed its trading structure from Japan to Persia, concentrating initially on the easily purchasable Indonesian pepper and expanding after the opening of the Surat factory in 1613 to more complex investments in Indian calicoes and indigo and

Persian silk. The decade of 1620-30 was a particularly bad one for the Company, in terms of shipping losses, negligible profits for the disastrous second Joint Stock, and disturbed European markets. Adverse developments also occurred in Asia, where the Anglo-Dutch alliance of 1619 failed, the English were excluded from the Spice Islands, and the Far Eastern factories were closed. At such times, friction was acute between the Company's small short-term investors and the affluent members of the Court of Committees, who, with extensive European export connexions, could wait longer for dividends. The reversion from the Joint Stock to three separate voyages to Persia in 1628-30 reflected the lack of confidence. Thereafter the Company recovered slowly, seeking greater efficiency in proven, limited branches of Asian trade.

The drawbacks in Anglo-Asian trade, as Dr. Chaudhuri shows, were the great export of money from London to Asia and the limited, unstable market in London for certain Asian commodities, particularly pepper and indigo. The money problem was resolved after the Cottington Treaty in 1630, when Spain agreed to market her American silver in London not Genoa, but the other weaknesses remained. The Company imported 1 million to 2 million lb. of Indonesian pepper annually, but English domestic consumption was about 300,000 lb. The domestic demand for indigo was tied to the British textile industry and by the 1630's calico, for which the demand appeared insatiable, was the most promising investment. The restricted market for pepper and indigo in London involved the Company by the 1620's in a re-export trade to the Mediterranean, which Dr. Chaudhuri suggests was necessary for the viability of the Company and contrasted with the simple bilateral character of earlier English overseas trade.

Some of Dr. Chaudhuri's generalizations are debatable. Did the community of interest between the Levant Company and East India Company persist after 1600 in view of the latter's re-exports to the Levant? This needs further investigation, because the bulk of the Levant Company's exports to the Mediterranean remained British manufactures. What was brought back to London and did those commodities face competition from the imports of the East India Company? Again, did the East India Company really appreciate the importance of inter-Asian trade in this period? The English never exploited its ramifications as the Dutch did, for example between Patani, Ayuthia, and Japan. Even in the Indonesian pepper trade, the English relied more upon Spanish money in their purchases than upon imported Indian textiles. The declining

profitability of the pepper trade should also not be over-emphasized. The margin of profit still remained considerable and other commodities also showed a decline in price. In the 1660's and 1670's the Company doubled its investment in Indonesian pepper, when the selling price in London was half that of the 1630's. Finally, in analysing the proportion of shipping which returned to London from Asia, would not the tonnage provide a better ratio than the number of ships? Thus, although only 38 ships out of 50 returned to London in 1620-30, the respective tonnages were 21,050 and 23,103. A loss of about 2,000 tons over 10 years is negligible and can be explained by the working to destruction of the Company's inter-Asian ships.

These are minor criticisms. Dr. Chaudhuri's book is a comprehensive one, scrupulously careful in its analysis and restrained in its conclusions. It is to be hoped that he will extend his period of study.

D. K. BASSETT

A. F. SALAHUDDIN AHMED: *Social ideas and social change in Bengal, 1818-1835*. xi, 204 pp. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965. Guilders 28.

In this book Dr. Salahuddin Ahmed has investigated some of the social problems which confronted Bengali society in the years between 1818 and 1835. There are six chapters: the first examines the nature of the Western impact on Indian society in Bengal, the second outlines the reactions and attitudes of the conservatives and those who were pressing for certain reforms, the following two chapters deal with the newspapers, both in English and in vernaculars, while the last two tell us something about the interplay of public opinion and Government policy on questions such as social reforms by legislation and the establishment of an educational system for Indians. Dr. Ahmed's main conclusion is that with the successful termination of the Maratha Wars in 1818, British rule in India entered a new phase of development the effects of which can be seen most clearly in Bengal. Its political stability and security was now assured, its administrative framework had been firmly established, and the British Government in India could now with increasing confidence move towards a more positive role in respect to Indian society in place of the old policy of strict non-interference with indigenous customs and conventions. The abolition of the censorship of the press by Lord Hastings in 1818 in the face of opposition from the Court of Directors at home was the first step taken in

this direction, while under Bentinck as Governor-General this process gathered further momentum and led to the suppression of the practice of suttee and the establishment of English as the medium of instruction and the language of public affairs.

If the attitude of the Government was still cautious and hesitant, at the same time its members were impressed and influenced by the agitation for social reforms coming from within Bengali society. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century this society had sunk to a deplorable level of moral corruption and ignorance which, as the progressive Indians came to see, had to be altered before any social progress could be made. Contact with the West and familiarity with European institutions and values through the British in India had loosened some of the rigidity of social outlooks and attitudes of traditional Indian society, although as Dr. Ahmed has shown, the effects of the impact of British rule in Bengal were different among Hindus and Muslims. The distaste with which the Hindus had regarded the Muslim domination of India made them welcome English rule with a certain amount of relief, while the Muslim community in its anger at having lost its political power to the English held aloof for a long time from the benefits of Western education and ideas. The Hindu leaders of Bengali society were themselves divided into three groups: the conservatives, the moderate reformers who included such notable figures as Rammohan Roy and Dwarkanath Tagore, and the radicals, at first inspired and led by Henry Derozio, the young Anglo-Indian teacher at the Hindu College.

Dr. Salahuddin Ahmed's book was originally presented as a Ph.D. thesis at the University of London, and the main criticism of it must be that it still has the narrow framework of thesis requirements. The present title is misleading, since the book makes no attempt to examine the fundamental ideas which still characterized the structure of Hindu and Muslim society in Bengal, nor does it attempt to measure the effects and degree of change in the society at large. Occasionally, some of Dr. Ahmed's generalizations seem a little far-fetched. For example, he states on pp. 100-1 that the new landed aristocracy in Bengal contained two elements, one with an urban and commercial background and the other whose interests were solely confined to land, and he attributes progressive ideas to the first because 'commerce appeared to them more important not merely because it was more profitable; it held aloft the banner of change and progress and was therefore, ideologically more acceptable' (p. 102). Apart from the fact that no reference is cited to show whether

in fact this was the view of any zamindar with twin interests in land and commerce, it seems highly doubtful if the latter could by itself induce any such ideological notions in its participants. The fact that many of the successful Indian merchants and trading agents were buying land and setting up as wealthy zamindars can be explained simply on the ground that, in the absence of a wide range of outlets for investment, land provided a lucrative and stable source of employment for surplus capital.

K. K. CHAUDHURI

STEPHEN N. HAY (ed.): *Dialogue between a theist and an idolater; Brāhma paṭṭalik samvād. An 1820 tract probably by Rammohun Roy*. v, 200 pp., front., 2 plates. Calcutta: K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1964. Rs. 15.

In this volume Mr. Hay has republished with an introduction, glossary, and index a nineteenth-century Bengali tract on Hindu idolatry and its contemporary English translation. Although it is known from various sources, as well as from the title-page of some reprints, that the author of the Bengali tract is Brajamohan Dev, Mr. Hay has raised doubts about the authorship and discussed the question in detail in a fairly long introduction. Mr. Hay's thesis is that 'there is a strong probability that Rammohun Roy wrote the tract on which Brajamohun Majumder's name occurs' (p. 41). In the light of Mr. Hay's argument this conjecture does not seem to be totally improbable.

Within 40 years of its publication the tract ran into several reprints. Several English translations also were published, some with annotation. In this volume Mr. Hay has reprinted the earliest available (1842-3) Bengali text (the first edition is untraceable) and an English translation of 1821. We are grateful to Mr. Hay for the reproduction of the Bengali and English texts in one single volume.

A few points may be raised here which puzzled me and may be puzzling to other readers. First, the English text of Mr. Hay's edition represents that of the 1821 edition, but the title-page of Mr. Hay's edition describes it as *An 1820 tract*. The introduction, too, refers to 'an 1820 tract' (p. 29), '1820 edition' (p. 35). One wonders what has happened to this '1820 tract'. Is it a translation earlier than 1821? If it were so, we should have more information about it. Alternatively, if the date is wrong, we must be told so in the beginning. Second, we are told that the

1842-3 Bengali edition contained 38 footnotes, but they are not included in Mr. Hay's edition. One may be inquisitive to know what sort of notes they were and what were the reasons for their exclusion. Third, one fails to understand why a facsimile of the title-page of a later edition is included whereas that of the 1842-3 edition, which supplies the text for Mr. Hay's edition, is excluded. Fourth, one may also ask why Mr. Hay found it necessary to change the original title of the 1842-3 edition from *Tathya prakās* to *Brāhma paṭṭalik samvād* in the title-page of his edition. This probably has been done on Long's testimony. But *Tathya prakās* antedates Long's *Catalogue*, the accuracy of which is doubtful, by not less than 15 years.

This book would have been more useful if Mr. Hay had compared the texts of the different editions. His brief comment on the Tatvabodhinī Sabhā edition is interesting. This could have been more interesting if he had pursued it further instead of laying so much emphasis on the authorship which he knew he could not settle conclusively.

T. MUKHERJI

JATINDRA CHANDRA SENGUPTA: *West Dinājpur*. (Gazetteer of India. West Bengal District Gazetteers.) xv, 259 pp. Calcutta: [Government of West Bengal], 1965. Rs. 15.

The old Imperial, Provincial, and District series of the Indian gazetteers have been called the finest monument of the British administration in India; Spate, in the introduction to his *India and Pakistan: a general and regional geography*, London, 1954, points out that 'no comparable area of the world has anything like this survey of all aspects of life', and calls them 'a Domesday and much more'. But the old District Gazetteers of Bengal, valuable though they still are in many ways, are now over 50 years old, and vast sociological, demographic, and political changes have occurred in the areas they covered. The international boundary drawn in 1947 between the new India and Pakistan cut the old Dinājpur District into two; the present volume, of course, relates only to the new district to the west of the frontier.

This gazetteer conforms with the general pattern for revision of District Gazetteers recommended by the Government of India. Within this pattern it is substantially a revised version of the 1912 *Dinājpur gazetteer* of F. W. Strong, I.C.S., much of whose work has been appropriated (with due acknowledgement) verbatim, especially in the sections on

flora and fauna, geology and climate. For the rest the revision seems to have been extensive, competent, and painstaking, and the compiler has on occasion been able to incorporate the results of work in which he was engaged elsewhere—for example, he was during three years of his task simultaneously Superintendent of Census Operations in West Bengal, and has therefore been able to ensure that the demographic information was the latest possible. Information he received from various Government, State, and other bodies has similarly guaranteed the freshness of the industrial, fiscal, legal, educational, agricultural, and chrematistic data. In some cases, however, the information still stands in need of revision; for example, in the historical section the name of the conqueror is given as Muhammad Bakhtiyār Khalji (*recte* Muhammad-i Bakhtiyār or M. ibn B.), and Rājā Gaṇeṣh is said to have acceded to the Bengal throne in a 'short interregnum of a few years', although the numismatic evidence shows an uninterrupted sequence of Muslim rulers until the accession of Gaṇeṣh's son the convert Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad. Again, in the section on language, the specimen of Dinājpur Bengali is simply that of Grierson from the old *Linguistic survey of India*, Prodigal Son and all.

At some places the English reads a little strangely; for example, the chapter on 'General administration' is divided into two sections, headed 'The State Government set-up' and 'The Central Government set-up'; and the reader needs to be aware that a 'police station' is a small administrative area within a sub-division, lest he take fright at such statements as 'the maximum number of Bengali speakers, numbering 128,245, reside in Raiganj police station'.

In general, however, this gazetteer is a mine of useful and recent information on the district it covers. Geography, history, 'people' (demography, language, religion, caste, and social life, with population tables), agriculture and irrigation, industries, banking and commerce, communications, economic trends, administration, revenue, crime and justice, local government, education and culture, public health, social service organizations, and places of interest, all have chapters devoted to them; a bibliography of 3 pp. lists the works most utilized in the compilation of the volume; and the index is full and accurate. The one serious omission is a map, or preferably a series of maps. But if the series continues on the lines of this gazetteer it will represent a worthy line of succession to the old I.C.S. gazetteers.

J. BUXTON-PAGE

VED PRAKASH LUTHERA: *The concept of the secular state and India*. xv, 187 pp. Calcutta, etc.: Oxford University Press, Indian Branch, 1964. 22s.

Brief, but closely argued, this work provides a valuable addition to the literature relating to the nature of the Indian polity. The author is concerned to demonstrate that the continual insistence, in public utterances and academic writing, that India is a secular state, causes confusion and stems from imprecise thinking. Building up his case mainly upon the basis of constitutional debates and legal judgements, he first sets out to refine the proposition of a 'secular state' until he arrives at a valid conceptual theory. He then seeks to discover how far the Constitution of India measures up to theory. If one chooses to question Dr. Luther's approach, it must be over the fundamental question as to whether it is feasible or useful to attempt a total definition of the term 'secular state'. When we examine broad concepts, such as democracy, nation, parliament, it is certainly not enough to be content with some vague general impression of what the term implies. But the concept of democracy differs markedly when it is employed by Woodrow Wilson, Lenin, Atatürk, Gandhi, or Mao Tse-tung, and we need to know precisely how each man interprets the concept. The point at issue is whether it is acceptable to determine that one interpretation (say, that of President Wilson) is correct, and all the others to some degree faulty. Dr. Luther does follow this course, and he finds that the United States—although it has not entirely fulfilled the ideal—approximates most closely among the nations of the modern world to a secular state. Turning to India, the author has little difficulty in showing (with a wealth of legal citations) that even the limited goal of a quasi-secular state envisaged in the Indian Constitution has not been realized. His approach has the virtue of exposing the humbug which sometimes surrounds the secular state notion in India. Dr. Luther cites the example of Article 48 in the Constitution which is the basis for legislation (now widely adopted) against cow slaughter. The Article rests upon the argument that animal husbandry ought to be developed 'on modern and scientific lines'; but Dr. Luther exposes the hollow nature of this claim to be looking forward, and demonstrates that the cow slaughter ban represents a return to ancient Hindu religious custom. Of course, the author is a purist, and he insists (p. 108) that 'though the objective of the eradication of untouchability which the state has set before it is, it needs to be emphasised, highly

desirable and noble, the performance of such functions by the state as far as the religious institutions is concerned is not consistent with the concept of the secular state'. Excluding, as he does, the reform of religious abuses from the true function of a 'secular state', Dr. Luthera allows very little of the accepted orthodoxy to escape unscathed, though he is prepared to concede that India may qualify for the description of a 'non-communal' state. This is a distinguished work; deserving to be pondered by those who approach politics both from the theoretical and the practical standpoint.

HUGH TINKER

HANS-DIETER EVERS: *Kulturwandel in Ceylon: eine Untersuchung über die Entstehung einer Industrie-Unternehmerschicht*. (Sozialwissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Entwicklungs-forschung, Bd. I.) 206 pp. Baden-Baden: Verlag August Lutzeyer, [1964]. DM 27.

It is gratifying that the first volume in a new series should be devoted to Ceylon, a country that does not strike the headlines so often as many of the 'emerging' nations and which is, as the author remarks, generally overshadowed by India in the allotment of research programmes. Dr. Evers's study, based on two visits to Ceylon lasting in all 18 months, is of outstanding interest, and adduces a comprehensively large quantity of data from which hypotheses are proposed with great acuteness.

After an introductory section explaining the problem to be considered, namely who is to lead the new society in Ceylon in a technical age, and the methods by which cultures can change and new leadership groups arise, there follows a summary of the traditional order in pre-European Ceylon, which, though it naturally touches on caste and 'feudalism', is noteworthy for its isolation of various less often noticed features of the 'Indian period' of Ceylonese history. Such are the interdependence between the charismatic ruler, whose position was based upon rites of a brahmanical origin, and the *sangha*, which has always exerted political influence—and after all, Buddhism was sponsored by royalty in Ceylon from the first (or almost from the first). The ideal of the *cakravarti* monarch reflected the position of a philosopher-king, and the rulers of Ceylon have almost always sought to maintain and further the Buddhist *sāsana*. One might add here mention of the Diyasena legend, especially since publicists

have sought to identify the late Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandāranāyaka with Diyasena. Another idea of far-reaching importance is what Dr. Evers describes as the idea of the Buddhist welfare state, i.e. that rulers in general must acquire merit by good works towards their peoples (notably by constructing irrigation works, for instance). It was a reflection of this idea that caused the kings of Ceylon to be treated as bodhisattvas. Furthermore, Ceylon itself was and is held to be a place of particular importance in Buddhist contexts, and to be under special protection from the gods for this reason.

Moving to modern times, Ceylon has lived, for the last century at least, under a plantation economy, and still does so for the most part. Apart from graphite mining, which started in the mid-nineteenth century, industrial undertakings on a small scale have opened up since 1920, and more particularly since 1940. The post-war developments have not been the object of much systematic inquiry, and are still indeed in relative infancy. Dr. Evers has collected data, mostly summarized in tables, of the community, caste, religion, and education of the entrepreneurs, and also, it is somewhat curious to find, of their occupations, or original occupations—since these developments are mostly so recent that the entrepreneurs have in fact been trained for, and often still practise, other jobs. In this section some mention is made of the Indian Muslim communities of Ceylon and also of the Chinese; on these two almost untouched fields, further research is greatly needed. The present work, however, is mostly concerned with the Sinhalese, since they do provide the majority of the economic leaders of the country. These leaders are almost all of *goyigama* or *karāva* caste, with a preponderance of the latter, except in state-owned industry. Most of them are Buddhist, and in spite of the fact that nearly all Sinhalese Roman Catholics are of *karāva* caste, virtually no Roman Catholics are found in positions of industrial prominence. (Theories that the Protestant ethos favours the acquisition of gain will not, however, apply in Ceylon.) They have almost all had a 'Western' education, and are mostly land-owners (still almost the only really respectable occupation in Ceylon) or else lawyers. The connexion between caste, public office, and the ownership of land is still very strong.

Based upon these data, a rough distinction is then drawn between three types of entrepreneur: the feudal type, corresponding roughly to the kind of family which acquired a dominating position under the Portuguese and Dutch occupations (cinnamon-*mudaliyars*); the intellectual type, corresponding roughly to the kind of family which acquired a dominating

position in the British period after the Colebrooke-Cameron reforms of 1833, i.e. those of a Westernized liberal outlook; and the true capitalistic type, conformable to the secularized, technical world that emerged (in Ceylon) after independence—but this last type is rare in Ceylon, and agrees ill with the current trend of revived nationalism. Of these, it is the second type which seems most likely to prevail at present. These three types of entrepreneurs are illustrated by a short series of family histories—of the de Soysa family for type 1, and of other less clearly recognizable families for the other two types. This section is also of absorbing interest. While the Ceylonese themselves are very well aware of family ties and connexions, this information is not generally widespread among foreigners, and a reference book of Ceylonese families is greatly to be desired, and would surely be fascinating to compile. Wright's *Twentieth-century impressions of Ceylon* (1908) is almost the only available work containing any such information. Directories, who's whos, and even newspaper obituaries, are astonishingly reticent with regard to the families of the men they are considering, and do not usually even name their fathers, let alone their mothers. While the names borne by Sinhalese persons often give the student much information, it needs considerable patience to trace family connexions in the absence of a system of surnames, and Dr. Evers's consultation of electoral lists for this purpose is particularly praiseworthy.

Caste tension and the Buddhist revival are the factors that have had the greatest influence upon the emergence of the new economic leadership. In the caste structure, the *karāva* caste has had the advantage of being almost exclusively a low-country caste, which had never developed feudal obligations, and whose members could therefore sell their skills (fishery and carpentry) where they would. There has been *goyigama-karāva* tension since before 1800, as is shown by the establishment of the Amarapura *nikāya* early in the nineteenth century, and the *karāva* economic position has risen steadily ever since. Simultaneously, the Buddhist revival (which may be taken to have started with Vālvīṭṭa Saranankara in the Kandyan kingdom of the eighteenth century) urged forward the emerging *karāva* entrepreneurs to perform deeds of merit by economic activity. Dr. Evers also shows that the *karāvas* had the least 'socio-cultural distance' from a modern economy, since the whole system of fishery in Ceylon requires a capitalist (*mudalāi*) and a system of auction.

The concluding section is an estimate of the value-systems and outlook of the new entre-

preneurs. Most of them, the author says, while vehemently criticizing state officials as entirely ignorant of economics, nevertheless strongly support state planning, and object merely to its present inefficiency. Here the 'feudal' entrepreneur may in fact hold ideas which would in Europe be deprecated as 'fascist'. The intellectual entrepreneur is strongly in favour of state finance for industry (largely because he himself is often a man without capital resources). The majority opinion is thus ranged behind the traditional Buddhist 'welfare state', and the economy is identified with the state. Politicians are therefore accorded the position of the kings of old (and, by some intellectuals, Marxism is identified with Buddhism). The whole idea of a 'private sector' is coming to appear as a colonial survival and an intrusion upon the Buddhist way of life.

This study covers events almost up to the present day; it mentions the 'coup' of January 1962, although the writing was only completed in May 1962. The industrial personnel who are the prime scope of inquiry have mostly emerged in the last 15 years. This book is therefore concerned with a field that has hardly been touched before, but is clearly of the greatest importance. The author makes more than one interesting excursus into connected problems, such as the educational systems in the island, and calls for further investigation into other aspects of the field which he himself had no time to pursue. Among these, a further and more detailed investigation into family histories and connexions seems to deserve a high priority.

C. H. B. REYNOLDS

M. D. WAINWRIGHT and NOEL MATTHEWS (comp.): *A guide to Western manuscripts and documents in the British Isles relating to South and South East Asia*. xix, 532 pp. London, etc.: Oxford University Press, 1965. £5.

This guide represents a survey of the resources of more than 300 institutions in England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland. These include libraries, universities and colleges, record offices, as well as the headquarters of bodies long associated with Asia, such as religious organizations, military and naval establishments, and business firms. The 'Prince' who is absent from this mighty company is the India Office records: a volume devoted to this collection alone awaits separate publication. The earliest materials date back to the beginning of the fifteenth century; the last refer to 1960. The factors which have

determined the inclusion of an entry must vary widely: some material of marginal utility has crept in: this reviewer was flattered but surprised to discover that he features as source material on pp. 232 and 233. The extraordinary variety of this miscellany may perhaps excuse the reviewer from discharging the traditional task of vetting the work for errors: a random check disclosed only one mistake: on p. 276, Sir Herbert Edwardes is listed as Edwards. The weight of the material lies heavily in the more traditional fields of research. The scholar whose interest lies in military history, institutions of government, or diplomacy, will find richness in these pages. Social history, hitherto neglected in the South and South East Asian area, can be greatly advanced, on the evidence of these resources. However, the economist or economic historian will find little to excite his appetite. In Liverpool, two firms offer a small amount of new material, and so do the Chamber of Commerce and the city's Public Library. The great city of Glasgow offers virtually nothing. The City of London preserves its traditional discretion. The Bank of England discloses a selection of East India Stock records. The Chartered Bank explains that it has 'an extensive collection of records' which 'are not available', though 'specific questions might be answered on application'. Throughout the commercial capital of the Empire, the rest is silence.

We must return, thankfully, to materials brought to our notice in other fields. The catalogues of items vary a good deal in the degree of information they afford. The entries under the Public Record Office are terse, though explicit; those provided for the Bodleian Library are much more full. The great body of material relates to the activities of the British in Asia, rather than to Asia itself: in some degree, this follows the decision to restrict the field to documents in Western languages only.

How is a reviewer to proceed from the general to the particular in order to give some impression of the wealth of sources uncovered by this excellent guide? The index alone comprises 60 pages of small type. The first entry refers to 'Abba Thule', and covers 'A Treaty of Peace between Abba Thule, Chief of Korror, and Arraaklye, Chief of Malagok' (these potentates dwelt in the Palau Islands of the Pacific). The final entry reads 'Zwann, Johann Pieter Kleiweg de' who, it seems, wrote a treatise on the treatment of smallpox on the island of Nias off Sumatra, *Die Heilkunde der Niaser*. Whatever our specific interest, it emerges that we shall all need this volume as an indispensable tool of the trade.

HUGH TINKER

B. RINTCHEN (ed.): *Folklore mongol. Livre troisième.—Livre quatrième.* (Asiatische Forschungen, Bd. 12, 15.) [v], 272 pp.; xxvii, 325 pp. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1964-5. DM 32, 60.

These two invaluable volumes continue the publication of texts of Mongol folk literature collected by Academician Rintchen, mainly in the late 1920's, but also as recently as 1957. Their contents are very different. Vol. III contains three epic poems, of which the second is of Buriat origin and the third, by far the longest, occupies nearly 200 pages of 48 lines each. Vol. IV is made up of a large number of shortish texts. These are divided and subdivided into the following categories:

- (A) short forms of Mongol folk-lore in the Khalkha dialect
 - (i) stories, legends, anecdotes
 - (ii) proverbs and sayings
 - (iii) riddles
 - (iv) benediction formulas (Mo. *irtügel*)
- (B) texts lacking an ending
- (C) folk-lore texts in mixed speech
- (D) texts in Mongol writing (but here transcribed into the standard orthography of the series)

The incomplete texts are selected from among those of the compiler's collection which were ravaged during the troubled year 1937. The texts in mixed speech were noted down in Ulan Bator from speakers of other dialects, especially Buriats, Chipohins, and Dagurs, who were trying to talk Khalkha.

Vol. III had unfortunately to be published without its preface, which was lost in the post between Mongolia and Germany, as were the corrected proofs. A second copy of the preface was, however, prepared in time to be printed retrospectively in vol. IV, so that the reader is not deprived of the compiler's essential commentary and analyses. Both this, and the preface to vol. IV itself, some 12 pp. in all, are in French. Of especial value is the detailed analysis of the second epic, 'The wise boy Sagadai and the prudent girl Nogodai' which, being of Khori-Buriat origin, is even more difficult to make out—certainly for this reviewer—than the texts in Khalkha. The commentary brings out clearly the primitive tribal nature of the society where this epic had its origin, and the shamanistic view of the world which prevailed there. It would have been helpful to have some analysis of the third epic, 'The wise 160-year old king Old Dragon' which Academician Rintchen characterizes as presenting the manners and customs of his people, the military and administrative organization of nomad society, the description

of campaigns, great assemblies and national feasts, and so on. The proper exploitation of an epic of this length is an appreciable task. More immediately accessible are the pieces contained in vol. iv, which are short enough not to demand such prolonged and concentrated attention. Still, it should not be supposed that they are easy reading either. They are reproduced in plain text, without explanations except for a few rare glosses. The riddles are at least supplied with their keys, but even so the riddles in mixed speech are often very hard to penetrate. The folk-tales are a good and typical sample of this genre of Mongol popular literature. Disregarding legend (represented here by item A 5, 'The Ölet war', of which a variant has recently appeared under the title 'Shar Baatar of the Ölets' in *Yanjavyn heideg ülgerees* 'Tales told by Yangjav' (Studia Folclorica, III, 4), Ulan Bator, 1964) and anecdote (especially items A 25 and A 26, 'The Darhad shamans' and 'The lama's horse' which will be referred to later), they exemplify each of the three main types of folk-tale distinguished by Walthar Heissig (*Mongolische Märchen*, Eugen Diederichs Verlag, 1963, 237)—the animal tale, the tale of magic, and the 'situation' or 'social' tale. Classification is too complicated a matter to broach here, but Professor Heissig's scheme seems to the reviewer hardly comprehensive enough, nor are the categories sufficiently clear-out. P. Horloo (*Mongol arдын яаргаһ үлгер* 'The Mongol folk-tale' (Studia Folclorica, I, 8), Ulan Bator, 1960) suggests a fourth category of 'humorous' tales, in which he puts mainly mendicant and liar stories. Even so it is hard to know how to classify such a tale as item A 10, 'The story of the bull' (for a variant of which see Heissig, op. cit., 70), whose essence is nothing but whimsical hyperbole taken to absurd lengths. Where should one group the story 'Three benefactors of creation' which is short enough to quote in full? 'Why the crane steps along pit-pat is this—he steps gently lest, if he stepped heavily, the earth might cave in and everyone fall into the craters. Why the grasshopper gets up on top of a pebble is to keep watch from a height lest the Last Flood should come and destroy humanity in its waters. And why the bat hangs head down from something and keeps watch towards heaven is lest the heavens collapse and destroy humanity.' Items 19–24 are origin-tales of the 'Just-so story' type, and while they might be classified as animal stories, are of a sub-group sufficiently distinct to stand by itself. Tales of this sort are unfamiliar to the reviewer in their original form, though one, item A 20, has been retold by Owen Lattimore in his book *Mongol journeys*.

Professor Heissig gives an excellent characterization of the Mongol tale, bringing out the use of alliteration, of alternating prose and verse passages, of hyperbole and repetition, and so on. One device he does not mention, though it is common enough, is the use of puns and words with double meanings, associated with secret messages or deliberate misunderstandings. Many stories rely on this device for their whole point. The deliberate misunderstanding is illustrated by the story 'The official put to shame' in the collection *Öchin tsagaan boigo* 'The orphan white camel-kid', Ulan Bator, 1958, 5. P. Horloo, op. cit., 84, discusses the 'secret message' device. Our item C 12 (variant in *Folklore mongol*, I, 1960, item xv) is an example of the plot dependent on the malicious distortion of conversation accidentally overheard, and susceptible of more than one application, to embarrass or shame the original speaker. Such tales may well be looked upon as a sub-group of the tales of trickery and deceit which themselves form a substantial group within the category of the 'situation' story. Modern, politically conscious Mongol literary critics necessarily see in such tales evidence of social criticism and of the class struggle in action. One Mongol scholar comments on the *badarchin* or mendicant stories, which correspond in some distant way to the Jewish type of *Schnorrer* or scrounger stories: 'In these stories the mendicant is the superior of the khan and the lama in wisdom and ability, and directs his powers to the assistance of the poor masses. The figure of the mendicant in these stories is that of the direct protector of the masses' (P. Horloo, op. cit., pp. 80–1). This analysis assigns to the mendicant a fixed class-role in a politically conscious society which, in the reviewer's opinion, is a dogmatic assertion quite unsupported by the facts. The outsider is always a stock figure of fun, and of admiration, too, in popular tales, whether liar, mischief-maker, racial outsider, or, as in the Mongol tales, wanderer. To discuss seriously the conflicting class interests of mendicant and temple-lama is to take the whole matter far too seriously, since for every time the mendicant comes off best, he comes to grief at least once as well. He may put a prince or a miserly householder to silence with his quick wits, but just as easily falls victim to his own failings of greed and lechery, as in the Rabelaisian encounter between a mendicant and a cow-girl of which Academician Rintchen offers us two hilarious versions (item A 3, and item xiv of *Folklore mongol*, I). In any case, these two versions reinforce the argument about the group-outsider, for this mendicant is doubly a stranger: he is a Tibetan or Tangut lama, a figure good for a laugh in his own right in

Mongol tales. More likely to be correct is Professor Heissig's moderately expressed view that the Mongol folk-tale, in contrast to the epic whose hero is most often a swaggering, powerful warrior king, may spring from a lower stratum of Mongol society. It seems chancy to go much further than this. What comes out in such stories is not social criticism of a class nature, but moral criticism aimed at taking down the hypocrite, the pompous, and the greedy, and compensating in the process with a good deal of *Schadenfreude* too, and a fair leaven of obscenity.

'Humorous' tales of deceit and revenge are of course not limited to the human sphere, and the present collection has two very full versions of the tale of how a tiger was put to confusion. Item A 2, 'The tricky old man', corresponds roughly to Professor Heissig's two tales 17 i and 17 ii, in which an old man plays a part. Item A 4, 'The bull, the billy-goat, and the ram' is a fuller and racier version of the purely animal tale told in Sodnom, *Mal aj ahain holbogdoltai ardyn aman zohiol* 'Popular literature relating to animal herding', Ulan Bator, 1956, 109-11, and, in a much briefer recension, in the same collection, p. 126, and in *Mongolyn hoshin ulger, yaria* 'Humorous tales and anecdotes of Mongolia' (Studia Folclorica, III, 2), Ulan Bator, 1961, 47. (Sodnom's version has been copied into Bosson's book *Modern Mongolian*, reviewed *BSOAS*, xxviii, 2, 1965, 417-18, with one small but important alteration.) No moral is pointed in any version, nor does any seem to be intended. The shorter versions of the story bring the narrative to a close when the tiger, bluffed into confusion and retreat by the three friends, gets his own back on the fox (or wolf or bear, according to version) which has led him into danger. The longer versions end with a lightly ironical coda: 'So these three beasts did not fall prey to a wild animal. But one of them ruptured his crotch, and another smashed his horns, and when the grass grew again they all went home'.

There is, however, a vigorous moralizing spirit perceptible in Mongol literature from the earliest times, from the didactic texts connected with the name of Činggis Qan onwards. But the conscious manipulation of this to turn the folk-tale into an instrument of social criticism with a definite political objective is a modern innovation, exemplified by some apparently altered tales emanating from Chinese Inner Mongolia. No such political colouring is discernible in any of Academician Rintchen's stories, nor, indeed, in any others of those published recently in Ulan Bator, so that one is entitled to deduce that in Inner Mongolia familiar themes have either been adapted by the editors before publication, or

have been subtly altered by the narrators themselves under the stress of social change. Both explanations seem likely. The second would account for a similar, earlier process, by which epics acquired a light Buddhistic veneer. The effect of the impact of a new and energetic culture upon a conservative, less vital, though deeply rooted one, leading to a breakdown in the individual's confidence in the old view of life, may usually only be guessed at, or discerned in general terms. So it is particularly valuable to find, in the two anecdotes items A 25 and A 26, a direct commentary on them by the narrator, a woman of Ulan Bator aged 42 when she recited them in 1947. She would have been born about 20 years before Marxism began to take effect in Mongolia in the mid-1920's. Her anecdotes are tales from real life about the magical powers of shamans and lamas, but she evidently had her doubts about their veracity, doubts not really resolved by the new theories she was having to grow used to. She says: 'The Darhads had terrible shamans. When their wrestler was nearly beaten, their shaman sent a thong into our wrestler's thigh. But I don't know if this is true or false. The old stories are deceptions and lies, and useless old stuff—they call them survivals of feudalism, and uncultured. Looking at it today, it must be lies, what I've told. But when I was young people all talked like that, and they said it was true. But maybe it is lies'. And again: 'People whispered that the lama had killed the other man's horse, so that his should win, but the owner of the horse was afraid of the lama, and let the matter go without saying anything. Who knows whether the horse collapsed and died, or whether it was the lama's doing? I heard that the lama fled abroad. . . . By now he must be 40 years old. But maybe the tale isn't true. In the old, primitive days people used to say all sorts of things'.

It is no surprise to find internationally known themes, for example that of Puss in Boots (C 1), Tom Thumb (C 2) and others, in this collection. Puss, in Mongol versions (for instance *Mongolyn hoshin ulger, yaria*, 47) is always a fox, while Tom Thumb is known as 'Tail-boy' and is an animal's tail come to life.

Among the texts in written Mongol we note 23 songs, followed by three epic poems, which include a version of *Qan Qarangyui* (for which see also *Tyurko-mongol'skoe yazykoznanie i fol'kloristika*, Moscow, 1960), and a *Janggar* epic.

The compiler expresses his hopes that his collections will be translated. For more than one reason it will not be an easy job to make a complete translation. As a small gift for

Academician Rintchen's recent sixtieth birthday, the reviewer would like to offer a version of item A 15, one of the few short enough to fit the limits of a review. It was told by Mergen Gombojav, presumably the same Gombojav who studied with Paul Pelliot in Paris.

'Fat Boy, Butter Boy, and Broom-grass Boy there were, the three. One day the wind got up, and they covered over the smoke flap. Broom-grass Boy went outside to pull over the flap, and was blown away by the wind. Butter Boy went out after him, and was grabbed by a dog. Fat Boy was afraid to go outside, and stayed inside the stuffy tent and melted away. See what a happy life they lived!'

C. R. BAWDEN

LAWRENCE KRADER: *Social organization of the Mongol-Turkic pastoral nomads*. (Indiana University Publications. Uralic and Altaic Series, Vol. 20.) x, 412 pp. The Hague: Mouton and Co., 1963. Guilders 48, \$13.25.

The object of this monograph is to study the social organization of a number of related nomadic groups, not simply as an end in itself, but as a contribution to cultural history. The case for such an endeavour is that, as Ruth Benedict pointed out, social organization has 'the advantage of greater precision in definition of terms than other aspects of culture, with the possible exception of linguistics'. The Mongol-Turkic peoples are an ideal subject for such a study for it is rare, in the author's words, 'to find a cultural entity such as the nomadic pastoralists of the Asian steppes, who have a record of fifteen centuries or more of recorded history of social organization, that is with enough recorded detail to compose such a history'. (It might have been as well to add that for the earliest periods the data are scarcely specific, the problems of linguistic reconstruction considerable, and the problems of application to actual groups—whether in space or in time—formidable.) Although Professor Krader's primary concern is with the ethnographic present, he insists upon the historical continuity of these pastoral nomadic groups. As a result, he discusses the organization of the Orkhon-Yenisei Turks (sixth-eighth centuries A.D.) in the light of the material available (seventeenth-twentieth centuries) on the Kazakhs; he is also able to throw considerable light on the organization of the Mongols at the time of Činggis Qan, through a study of more recent material from the Ordos. Again, his summations of kinship

terms (and omissions, as in the absence of a term for father's sister's child among the Ordos Mongols) provide much food for thought.

The book is arranged in a number of chapters each of which deals with a separate people: Ordos Mongols, Buryats, Volga Kalmuks, Kazakhs, and Monguors (of the Kansu-Tibet frontier). There are an introductory chapter, a long concluding section in which the author draws together certain salient features of his work, and lists of kinship terms, tables of kinship systems, and maps—not very good—with an extensive bibliography and an index. Professor Krader commands a formidable range of literature (though not Chinese) and was able to travel in parts of the Asian steppe as far as Tashkent and Samarkand in 1956 so that, although the book is not the result of field-work in the conventional sense, it is based upon considerably more than an exclusively library knowledge. Apart from the value of the bringing together of a considerable body of data relating to a major cultural grouping there are a number of other matters of worth to be found in Professor Krader's book, some largely theoretical, others of perhaps more general interest. As a result of his study he was able to show that the Uzbeks (studied by L. P. Potapov) had a kinship system similar to that of the Kazakhs, a Turkic, and the Kalmuks, a non-Turkic people. At the same time he was able to show that, contrary to the classic view set out by Radloff, the Kirgiz and Kazakh did not have a single kinship system. In his investigation of the Ordos material he has been able to show that not all kinship relations have a mutual terminological relationship. This seems to be because the father's sister having married away from her 'natal family', the son of her brother may have a relationship with her, but, since he has no relation with his father's sister's son, the Mongols refuse to invent a term for a non-existent relationship. He is able to comment interestingly upon the process of clan formation and to show not only how the Monguor material enables this to be studied in a most illuminating manner, but also how the data relating to the Kalmuks in the present century shows them in transition from genealogical clan to named sib. (The latter term is Professor Krader's proposal for the equalitarian clan of Kirchoff.) As an anthropologist in the American tradition Professor Krader is interested in the extent to which the kinship patterns of the Mongol-Turkic nomads are to be compared with the Omaha system. This problem is thoroughly discussed in his section on terminology (pp. 356-72), a discussion which may help in resolving some of the problems of the origins of such a system, since classical Mongol,

Ordos, and Chahar on the one hand and Buryat (seemingly similar to Iroquois) are clearly to be distinguished from Kalmak, Kazakh, Kirgiz, and Uzbek which are Omaha. (The author's analysis of the Buryat system is a contribution to the subject, for it does not appear to have been previously described.)

In a detailed, and not always easily readable, study Professor Krader has not only brought together a corpus of material of importance and interest to a number of disciplines but has also shown how the principles of patrilineal descent and agnatic relationship have constituted the social nexus of the peoples of the steppe to a degree which is almost unique in its extent and consistency. He can rightly claim to have demonstrated that 'the clan and lineage as Altaic steppe kinship structures are precisely the embodiments of the principles of patrilinearity and agnation. The steppe societies well serve as the classical cases exemplifying these principles and structures of kinship and social organization'. Thanks to his efforts it will now be possible to include them in the corpus of teaching material for those concerned with problems of social organization and political structure as well as with kinship *pur sang*.

ANTHONY OHRISTLE

MORIYA MITSUO 守屋美都雄: *Chūgo-ku ko-saijiki no kenkyū-shiryō no fukugen wo chūshin toshite* 中國古歲時記の研究—資料復元を中心として. 6, 493, 5 pp. Tokyo: Taikoku shoin, 1964. ¥3,000.

DERK BODDE (tr.): *Annual customs and festivals in Peking as recorded in the Yen-ching sui-shih-chi* by Tun Li-ch'en. *Second edition (revised)*. xxviii, 147 pp., 7 plates. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1965. HK\$ 35. (Distributed by Oxford University Press. 52s. 6d.)

UCHIDA MICHIO 内田道夫: *Pekin fūzoku-zu fu* 北京風俗図譜. ('Tōyō Bunko' series, 23, 30.) 2 vols.: 21, 149 pp., 64 plates; 3, 170 pp., 54 plates. Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1964. ¥ 900.

One fascinating genre of Chinese literature which has suddenly begun to attract the attention of scholars is the group of works known as *Sui-shih-chi* 歲時記 'Records of the seasons of the year', or 'Records of annual functions'. These provide a sort of annual

calendar of customs, ritual observances, etc., often with respect to a single city or a specific locality. The earlier examples often, in addition, provide a work calendar for the seasonal tasks of agriculture, and have provided unique information for the agrarian historian.

I recently reviewed (*BSOAS*, xxvii, 3, 1964, 646-7) the new edition, by Professor Moriya of a newly discovered late T'ang example of this genre, the *Sui-shih suan-yao* of Han O. Professor Moriya has been engaged for some 20 years in the study of similar works, and has now brought together the results of this research in the volume under review. In this book he attempts, in the first section, to review all of the surviving literature of this type from the late Han down to the Sung period. He gives a very full critical discussion for each of the major works, beginning with the late Han *Sui-min yueh-ling* 四民月令 of Ts'ui Shih 崔寔, and ending with the early Sung attempt, in the grand encyclopedist spirit of the late tenth century, to produce a comprehensive collection incorporating the whole of the genre in Hsü Hsieh's 徐誥 *Sui-shih kuang-chi* 歲時廣記. The most substantial sections in this introduction deal with the *Feng-t'u chi* 風土記 of Chou Ch'u 周處, a late third century work from Kiangsu; the *Ching-ch'u sui-shih chi* 荆楚歲時記 an early seventh century commentary to and expansion by Tu Kung-chen 杜公瞻 of the *Ching-ch'u-chi* 荆楚記 of the early sixth century writer Tsung Lin 宗慄, of which Professor Moriya has already published a complete translation with copious notes (*Kōchō Keiso saishiki* 校註荆楚歲時記, Tokyo, 1951); and the *Sui-shih suan-yao*. The discussion of the *Ching-ch'u sui-shih chi* is an extremely elaborate exercise in textual criticism of the various recensions and quotations of the work which survive. Professor Moriya rejects the generally accepted view of Chinese bibliographers that the book in its original form is lost, and holds that the edition of the *Pao-yen-t'ang pi-chi* collection, although in places corrupt, and with some defective passages, represents substantially the full text of the original work.

The second half of the book, as the title implies, is devoted to the reconstruction of the texts of the works discussed in the introduction, in so far as this is possible on the basis of preserved quotations. Several of these works have been 'reconstructed' by nineteenth and twentieth century Chinese scholars, but in every case Professor Moriya has been able to improve upon their texts, or to recover

additional fragments. The works with which he deals are as follows.

(1) Ts'ui Shih's *Ssu-min yüeh-ling*. Another annotated reconstruction of this highly important and interesting book was published very recently by the Chinese agrarian historian Shih Han-sheng 石漢聲 (*Ssu-min yüeh-ling chiao-chu* 四民月令校注, Peking, 1965, 114 pp.) and the two works are to some extent complementary, Professor Shih being primarily concerned with the book as evidence for the history of agriculture.

(2) Chou Ch'u's *Feng-t'u chi*. Here Professor Moriya has assembled only the quotations which come from the 'record of annual functions', and not the purely geographical sections.

(3) Tu Kung-chan's *Ching-ch'u sui-shih chi*.

(4) The early T'ang *Ch'ien-chin yüeh-ling* 千金月令 of Sun Ssu-miao 孫思邈 which was very widely read in T'ang times. This work is of primarily medical interest—it has been the subject of several studies by modern Chinese medical historians. Many of the new fragments collected by Professor Moriya came from a Southern Sung work of the same type, *Yang-sheng yüeh-ling* 養生月覽 of Chou Shou-chung 周守忠. An Edo-period Japanese MS of this work, from the Naikaku Bunko collection, which was formerly in the Akabayama Bunko is reprinted photographically in an appendix, together with a detailed collation of other editions. A second important source for the *Ch'ien-chin yüeh-ling* is the very large Korean medical work *Uibang Yuch'wi* 醫方類聚 completed in 266 volumes in 1456-68 and printed in the 1470's. This work was taken to Japan by Hideyoshi's Korean expedition, and eventually printed by Kitamura Shiritsu 喜多村士栗 in 1861. In the late nineteenth century, a number of Japanese scholars attempted to reconstruct the *Ch'ien-chin yüeh-ling* from the quotations in this work. Professor Moriya reprints photographs—none too legible—of a manuscript of one of these reconstructions written by Yamada Gyōsei 山田業精 in 1890.

The other works reconstructed are all late T'ang in date: (5) *Ch'i-jen yüeh-ling* 齊人月令, an abridgement of the last work; (6) *Pao-sheng yüeh-ling* 保生月錄 of Wei Hsing-kuei 韋行規, an early ninth century book, very popular in early Sung times, containing much practical matter, in the manner of the *Ssu-shih suan-yao*; (7) *Chin-tu yüan-chi* 金谷園記 of Li Yung 李邕 (this and the following items describe customs

and ceremonial current in the great cities of the ninth century); (8) *Chin-men sui-chieh chi* 金門歲節記, describing the customs of Lo-yang; (9) *Ch'in-chung sui-shih chi* 秦中歲時記, and (10) *Lien-hsia sui-shih chi* 輦下歲時記, both written by Li Cho 李綽 after the sack of Ch'ang-an during the Huang Ch'ao rebellion, and describing the capital's former glories.

In later times, the *sui-shih chi* came more and more to be dominated by works of this latter type, written by local antiquarians, usually in a period of decadence or decline, to try and recapture and re-create with loving attention to detail the life and customs of their times, while the practical aspect became separated, and was replaced by the flourishing popular encyclopedias for everyday use.

One of the most appealing of these later examples is the delightful *Yen-ching sui-shih chi* 燕京歲時記 written by a Manchu scholar, T'un Li-ch'en 敦禮臣, at the very end of the nineteenth century, which describes with loving attention to detail, and a considerable display of learning, the annual round of the year's functions as observed in Peking. This was translated and published in an attractively illustrated form in 1937 by Derk Bodde, on the very eve of the extinction of the old Peking life. Long unobtainable, it is now reprinted, with some corrections in the text, and a list of corrigenda, some based on Chou Tao-jen's 周作人 review of the original edition published in 1942, some on the Japanese translation by Ono Katsutoshi 小野勝年 which appeared in 1941. Readers may be interested to know that this too (*Pekin nenjū gyōji-ki* 北京年中行事記, Tokyo, Iwanami Shoten, 1941) is to be reprinted soon in the Tōyō Bunko series of Heibonsha. Anyone who is interested in custom, religious observance, popular entertainment, or in the varied life of the well-to-do dilettanti of the last years of the Chinese Empire will learn much—and derive a great deal of pleasure—from this book. But he should be warned that it is not to be taken at its face value as a straight description of customs and observances at the end of the nineteenth century. Like all such books it is backward-looking and antiquarian in tone, and a good deal of it is simply quotation from earlier works of the same genre.

Any scholar who wishes to add some further historical depth to the account of Peking customs presented in Professor Bodde's book will have ample material readily available. A very convenient punctuated text of the *Yen-ching sui-shih chi* was issued in 1961,

reprinted together with a similar book from the mid-eighteenth century, the *Ti-ching sui-shih chi-sheng* 帝京歲時紀勝 of P'an Yung-chieh 潘榮階 first printed in 1758. (*Yen-ching sui-shih chi: Ti-ching sui-shih chi-sheng*, 2, 94, Peking, Pei-ching ch'u-pan she, 1961). For early Ch'ing times there is much material in local histories of the area, and above all in the famous account of Peking and its history by the great seventeenth century scholar Chu I-tsun 朱彝尊, the *Jih-hsia chiu-wen* 日下舊聞. For the Ming there is a calendar of annual observances, somewhat shorter than that translated by Professor Bodde, included in the *Ti-ching ching-wu lueh* 帝京景物略 of Liu T'ung 劉侗, and Yü I-cheng 于奕正, the preface of which is dated 1635. (See the edition published by the Ku-tien wen-hsüeh ch'u-pan she, Peking, 1957, 23 ff.). For the late sixteenth century there is further material in the Wan-li edition of the *Shun-t'ien fu chih* 順天府志 and some interesting notes in the *Yuan-shu isa-chi* 宛署雜記 of Shen Pang 沈榜 first published in 1583 (see edition published by the Pei-ching ch'u-pan she, Peking, 1961, 166 ff.).

The reader who wishes to gain a clearer picture of life in Peking in the last years of the Ch'ing dynasty or the early years of the Republic can do no better than to consult the delightful pair of volumes published by Professor Uchida Michio. These include very clear, though much reduced, black and white reproductions of a large series of coloured paintings illustrating customs, everyday life, costume, etc., collected in Peking in 1925 by Professor Aoki Masao 青木正兒 the great authority on Chinese drama and popular culture, and now in the library of Tôhoku University, Sendai. As he says in his own preface to this volume, he collected and commissioned these pictures to record a way of life which was already beginning to break up. A few of the pictures indeed contain visual evidence of this—the client inspecting the girls in a middle-class brothel wears traditional dress topped by a snappy trilby hat. As works of art, these pictures are of little value, but there is surprisingly little visual evidence on everyday life and customs from the Manchu period, and as historical materials these pictures, which are finicky in their detail, are of great interest. Their value is greatly enhanced by Professor Uchida's lengthy explanations to each picture. The subject-matter is very varied, and falls roughly into the following categories: annual customs, customary ritual observances,

domestic interiors, clothing and hair-styles (vol. I), furniture, domestic utensils, toys, shop interiors, shop signs of various trades, itinerant hawkers and vendors of a wide variety of commodities, and amusements and popular entertainments (vol. II). The volumes form part of a series designed for the general reader, but none the less the serious scholar will find useful leads for further reading in the text.

D. C. TWIFORHETT

GEORGE A. KENNEDY: *Selected works*. Edited by T'ien-yi Li. (Sinological Series, 11.) ix, 544 pp., front. New Haven, Conn.: Far Eastern Publications, Yale University, 1964. \$10.

This posthumous collection contains 21 articles, some book reviews, a bibliography of Kennedy's writings, and a short chronology of his life. Many of the articles were originally published in the usual scholarly periodicals; their excellent style and the pawky humour so evident in Kennedy's works make them a pleasure to re-read. Most welcome are eight articles that first appeared in the privately distributed 'Wennti', the series of occasional papers pioneered by him, which are not widely known and are mostly difficult to obtain. Although he may not have intended that such informal pieces be published in such permanent form, we must be grateful that they have been, and that these witty and consistently readable pieces are now readily to hand.

The selection reveals the wide range of Kennedy's interests in Chinese linguistics. Some of his views, in particular some of those set forth in 'A study of the particle *yen* (焉)', and 'Negatives in Archaic Chinese', are now widely accepted doctrine; the original argumentation is, however, well worth reading. Others, such as his theories on 'The Classical pronoun forms *ngo* (我) and *nga* (吾)', are not so convincing, but nevertheless help to fill out our picture of the structure of Classical Chinese. An interesting failure, the long article entitled 'Word-classes in Classical Chinese', which was an attempt at a grammar of *Mencius* that eventually proved abortive (the word is his), is in fact packed with so much material that it really deserves a separate review. Although the purely formal approach which he used in this paper did not succeed in establishing the word-classes which were its aim, he was surely on the right track in using it, and we are given many insights into the structure of the language as a result. The failure of this approach, however, induced him to take the retrograde step of bringing in the *deus ex machina* of stress-and-juncture (p. 340),

and he came to the conclusion that the key to the description of *Mencius'* language lay in this (pp. 385-6); in fact, our knowledge of these features in *Mencius* is precisely nil, and their introduction merely adds circularity to arguments about syntactic relations.

Another interest of Kennedy's was in the dialect of Tangsi, Chekiang province; he published material on this dialect in 'Two tone-patterns in Tangsi', 'Voiced gutturals in Tangsi', and 'Ancient *-an -on* and the J-bomb', and gave the Tangsi readings of over 400 characters in 'Dialect development', all of which are included in this selection. The first is a deservedly well-known article that remains the only published treatment of the syntactic function of tone-patterning in a Wu dialect. The other two articles are attempts to reconstruct certain features of Ancient or Archaic Chinese on the basis of phonological patterns in Tangsi. To date, few attempts have been made to apply a structural approach to modern Chinese dialects, particularly non-Mandarin dialects, and fewer still to make inferences about earlier stages of the language from this basis; Kennedy's work must be considered a pioneer effort in this important but curiously neglected field. It seems dubious, however, to project features of a local nature, found only in a more or less continuous geographical area, into a uniform Archaic Chinese; a multiplicity of reconstructed languages might point the way to a more realistic picture of the development of dialect features. The Tangsi dialect appears to have many features of historical importance; although not all his conclusions can be accepted, Kennedy's work in this field was of the greatest interest.

Other aspects of sinology were not neglected by Kennedy, and in this selection things will be found to suit many tastes. Occasionally his conclusions are over-hasty (e.g. his contention (pp. 312 ff.) that 子 was not a rank of nobility in Chou times is contradicted by *Mencius*, vb.2.3), but oversights of this kind merely add spice to the good solid fare presented in most of the work. The book is pleasingly printed, and misleading misprints are few—on p. 335, para. 6, 'word-clauses' should, of course, be 'word-classes'. The editor and the many former colleagues of Kennedy at Yale who assisted in the preparation of this book are to be congratulated on producing a fitting tribute to an eminent scholar.

G. B. DOWNER

KENNETH K. S. CH'EN: *Buddhism in China: a historical survey*. (Princeton Studies in the History of Religions,

1.) xii, 560 pp. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1964. (Distributed in G.B. by Oxford University Press. £5.)

This book will no doubt go a long way to fill the need for a generally reliable and up-to-date introduction to the history of Chinese Buddhism. In attempting to present within the limits of some 500 pp. a survey of virtually all the major social, doctrinal, and cultural aspects of Chinese Buddhism, Professor Ch'en set himself a task of great difficulty, and it is much to his credit that he has been able to carry it through to so successful a conclusion. He has evidently spent much time working his way through the vast scholarly literature in Chinese and Japanese in order to collect material for this book, which has the distinction of being the first comprehensive history of Chinese Buddhism to appear in a Western language. His achievement is particularly significant because those works in Chinese and Japanese that treat the whole span of the history of Buddhism in China do so only in skeletal fashion.

The author is to be commended for providing a critical bibliography, 44 pp. in length, which lists by subject the relevant books and articles in both Western and Asian languages. Specialists, however, will regret his decision to keep footnotes to a bare minimum, since this makes it impossible to verify or evaluate many of his statements. Although Professor Ch'en suggests in his preface (p. ix) that the bibliography can be used 'to check on the authority of any statement or quotation in the text', the reader obviously cannot do so unless reference is made to a specific work in the bibliography. An example of the sort of statement that one would very much like to know the source of occurs on p. 219, where Professor Ch'en remarks that the three temples founded in Yen-chou 兗州 by the T'ang emperor Kao-tsung were designated Kuo-fen[-ssu] 國分[寺] and that Kuo-fen was also probably the name given to the other prefectural temples established at the same time. It is generally assumed, however, that the name 國分寺 (J Kokubunji) originated in Japan, although it seems likely that the Emperor Shōmu was inspired by Chinese precedents when he decreed the construction of a Kokubunji in each province. Since the *T'ang-shu* (K'ai-ming ed., vol. iv, p. 3073a) does not give Kuo-fen as the name of any of the three temples that Kao-tsung established in Yen-chou, one is inclined to wonder whether Professor Ch'en did not unwittingly apply a Japanese name to a Chinese institution.

The haphazard use of discritical marks

throughout the entire book is another minor irritation. We find on the same page Hsun-tzu (Hsün-tzu) and Chih-hsi (p. 439), Hsieh Ling-yun (Hsieh Ling-yün) and Wang Hsün (p. 122), Bhavaviveka (Bhāvaviveka) and Nāgārjuna (p. 84). Similarly, the Pāli form of a word is used on one page (*pāṭimokkha*, p. 45), but the Sanskrit form on another (*prāṭimoksha*, p. 101), when the latter would have sufficed in both instances. Although the author has taken great pains to provide us with accurate data, a few factual errors have nevertheless crept into the text. The *Ta-pan-nieh-p'an-ching chi-chieh* 大般涅槃經集解 is not a collection of 71 commentaries (p. 128), but a commentary in 71 fascioles, in which are presented the views of a number of scholars (approximately 11). It is not correct to say that 'the only extant translation of the short version of the *Sukkhāvati-vyūha* was made by Kumārajīva' (p. 342); there is another extant translation entitled *Ch'eng-tsan ching-i'u fo-she-shou-ching* 稱讚淨土佛攝受經 (*Taishō Daizōkyō*, no. 387) by Hsian-tsang. Professor Ch'en writes that 'two editions of the canon were printed under the Ming dynasty, one in Nanking known as the Southern Ming edition and the other in Peking known as the Northern Ming edition' (p. 376). Besides these two officially sponsored editions, however, there was a third, privately printed edition of the canon, which is variously designated as the *Leng-yen-ssu* 楞嚴寺 edition (after the name of the temple in Che-chiang where it was printed), the *Mi-tsang* 密藏 edition (after the name of the monk who originated the project), or the *Wan-li* 萬曆 edition (after the name of the year period in which the work was carried out). This third edition was apparently widely circulated, for it served as the basis for the Japanese Ōbaku edition completed in 1681. It is misleading to suggest that the *Ta-ch'eng i-chang* 大乘義章 and the Chinese version of the *Mahāparinirvāna-sūtra* were the only Chinese works to be translated into foreign languages (p. 374); there is also a Tibetan translation of Yüan-ts'e's 圓測 important commentary entitled *Chieh-shen-mi-ching-shu* 解深密經疏 (Tōhoku catalogue, no. 4016). (Although Yüan-ts'e was born in Korea, he lived most of his life in China and hence belongs to the Chinese tradition, not the Korean.) There seems to be no solid evidence to support Professor Ch'en's contention that Dharmapāla had been a disciple of Dignāga (p. 321). Professor Ch'en states that 'only a few scattered translations' of Buddhist scripture were made during the Sung

dynasty (p. 365); but the *Taishō Daizōkyō* contains no less than 290 Sung translations. Some readers will question whether it is proper to romanize the name of the Korean king Munjong 文宗 according to its Chinese reading Wen-tsung (p. 376) rather than its Korean reading. (Incidentally, the reign of Munjong commenced in 1047, not 1074 as Professor Ch'en gives it.) Other readers may not be too happy about the imprecise usage of the word 'sūtra', under which heading are discussed such philosophical treatises as the *Chu-she-lun* 俱舍論, *Ch'eng-wei-shih-lun* 成唯識論, and *Ch'i-hsin-lun* 起信論.

The two chapters dealing with the major schools of the Sui and T'ang period are lucidly written, although for my taste—others who have an aversion to Buddhist metaphysics will surely disagree—they are far too brief in their treatment of doctrine. The Disciplinary School, for instance, is disposed of in less than a page; the Kośa School, in less than two. Biographies are provided for the patriarchs of the different schools, but in a number of cases they appear to be too casual in their discussion of the man's contribution to Buddhist thought. For example, no attempt is made to present any of the ideas of Hui-ssu 慧思, which constitute an important element in the T'ien-t'ai system, nor is it pointed out that he was probably the first Chinese patriarch to declare that Buddhism had already entered the Period of Decline (*mo-fa* 末法), a doctrine of great significance that soon came to change the face of Buddhism throughout eastern Asia (see his *Li-shih-yüan-uen* 立誓願文, *Taishō Daizōkyō*, XLVI, 787a). Similarly one would have expected to find some mention in the biography of T'an-luan 曇鸞 that he was the first Chinese Pure Land Buddhist to use the terms *tsu-li* 自力 'salvation through one's own efforts' and *t'a-li* 他力 'salvation through the power of Amitābha Buddha'. Professor Ch'en does in fact refer to these concepts elsewhere (p. 339), but by their Japanese readings (*jiriki* and *tariki*), which might lead the reader to imagine that these terms are peculiar to Japanese Buddhism. The discussion of the major tenets of the Sui and T'ang schools is on the whole reliable, although there are a few errors in the interpretation of Fa-hsiang doctrine, which is a little too technical to be dealt with in a review such as this.

In one or two instances I find myself in disagreement with the author's generalizations. When he writes, for example, that 'of all the schools that arose during the T'ang,

only the Ch'an and Pure Land remained active (in the Sung dynasty)' (p. 389), I am immediately tempted to inquire about the intense intellectual activity within the T'ien-t'ai School centring around such men as Ku-san Chih-yüan 孤山智圓 and Seu-ming Chih-li 四明智禮. Also, can the existence of the Disciplinary School in the Sung dynasty be ignored entirely when it was capable of producing such distinguished scholars as Yün-k'an 允堪 and Yüan-chao 元照, the author of the standard commentary on the *Seu-fen-lu hsing-shih-ch'ao* 四分律行事鈔? I find it equally difficult to accept Professor Ch'en's view that the concept of 'harmonization of meditation and the study of the sūtras' (*ch'an-chiao-i-chih* 禪教一致) (i.e. the belief that there is no basic contradiction between the Ch'an School and the philosophical schools) originated during the Sung dynasty, since this idea is already forcefully asserted by the T'ang monk Tsung-mi 宗密 in his *Ch'an-yüan chü-ch'üan-chi tu-hsu* 禪源諸詮集都序. (*Taishō Daizōkyō*, no. 2015.)

An 8 pp. glossary is appended, which provides brief explanations of the Sanskrit and Chinese terms occurring in the text. This is followed by an index supplying the Chinese characters for the personal names, titles, and terms appearing in the body of the work. Several names of particular interest to students of Chinese Buddhism, however, are missing from the character index: Lin-erh 臨兒 (p. 32), Seng-ch'un 僧純 (p. 82), Feng Hsiao-pao 馮小寶 (p. 220), Hsüeh Huai-i 薛懷義 (p. 220), and Huai-hai 懷海 (p. 363).

The few shortcomings that have been noted above do not, of course, detract seriously from the general value or usefulness of this book. Students working either in East Asian Buddhism or Chinese history owe a debt of gratitude to Professor Ch'en for having made available in a single volume so much information that has long been tucked away in obscure Chinese and Japanese journals.

STANLEY WEINSTEIN

WOLFRAM EBBERHARD (ed.): *Folktales of China. Revised edition.* (Folktales of the World.) xlii, 267 pp. Chicago: University of Chicago Press; London: Routledge and Kegan Paul; etc., 1965. 40s.

All students of folk-lore have been aware of Eberhard's *Typen chinesischer Volksmärchen*

(Helsinki, 1937): many lovers of folk-tales must have enjoyed his *Chinese fairy tales and folk tales* which appeared in an English translation in the same year. Now he has prepared another edition of this book to which he has added a most useful set of notes; he has also included a number of newly translated Communist tales which illustrate the way in which the genre has been used by the government and the Communist Party to expound values by which they set store. (A prince is advised: 'The best flowers blossom in deep mountain canyons; the best girls grow up among the common people. If you look around among the people, you will be certain to find a suitable partner'.) This is a most desirable addition—one could indeed wish that there were more examples given—for the history of Chinese nationalism in the post-1918 period is also the history of the growth of Chinese interest in their own folk literature (much of it under the inspiration of Hu Shih, one of the founders of the Folk-song Collection Bureau at Peking in 1918). But, as R. M. Dorson points out in his foreword, the collection (and utilization) of folk-songs and folk-tales has always been in the Chinese tradition since Confucius collected material for the *Shih ching* 'Book of odes'. Professor Eberhard rightly draws attention in his introduction (p. xxxvi) to the suspect nature of some of the material presented by recent collections where there is very good reason for thinking that texts have been edited to serve specific ends. He instances No. 70 in the present collection which, as he states, has not previously been found in China: he thinks that 'the tale has been thoroughly changed, if it is a folktale of Yun-nan at all' (p. 238). On the other hand, the motif is well known elsewhere, and if it has been introduced by upholders of the present government, they seem to be doing no more than was done by those who adopted Indian tales in the interests of the spreading of Buddhism. It is to be hoped that it will be possible for field-workers to undertake the study of present-day uses of folk-tales and compare published texts with regional originals.

The present volume contains 79 tales arranged in eight sections. These deal with origins, luck, love, supernatural marriages, magical powers, divine help, the rewarding of virtue and punishment of evil, and cleverness and stupidity. Each section has notes on each story, giving the Stith Thompson motif number, the reference to *Typen*, and a source. There are also indexes of motifs and of tale types and a general index, so that the collection is well equipped to serve students as well as those who wish to know something of Chinese folk literature as a literary genre. Many old favourites are here, including a Chinese version

of Cinderella (No. 66): other stories will almost certainly be new to most Western readers. Taken as a whole they provide a useful and often entertaining introduction to an aspect of Chinese culture which is too little known. They indicate clearly how rich a store of material is available for study (and in what great historical depth). It is to be hoped that the reappearance of this work, in its revised and extended form, will inspire others to follow where Professor Eberhard has led. Folk-lore was once a field of repute among British scholars: perhaps a by-product of the increasing interest in China and Chinese will be a revival of such studies in an area which Professor Eberhard has shown to be unusually rich and challenging. In the meantime we must be grateful for the present work and for the detailed studies which made it possible.

ANTHONY CHRISTIE

WILLIAM WILLETTTS: *Foundations of Chinese art: from neolithic pottery to modern architecture*. 456 pp., including 322 photos. London: Thames and Hudson, 1965. £8 8s.

The first edition of this work appeared as a two-volume 'Pelican', entitled *Chinese art*, in 1958. At that time this reviewer noted (*BSOAS*, xxxii, 1, 1959, 173-5) that it was scholarly and well written, and that the author's method—giving one selected epoch to each art form—was bold and original, but that it left large areas untouched while dealing with others in minute detail. This new edition now appears in a large handsome format with a wealth of excellent illustrations in colour and half-tone. While these, with their long captions, carry the discussion of various art forms some way beyond the limits of the chosen period, they are not sufficient to remove the original objection to the method, and the publishers' claim that this new edition is the 'standard work' and 'the ideal introduction for the general reader', is hardly justified, in spite of the book's many merits.

The heaviest revisions have been made in the early chapters, and some account has been taken of major archaeological discoveries since the first edition was written. Although the author quotes from Watson's *Early Chinese bronzes* he still retains Yetts's three phases, of which the boundaries are becoming increasingly blurred; he still devotes much space to Karlgren's A and B groups, though these cannot throw much light on Shang bronzes unless their significance is understood and they help to refine the chronology, which is not the case at the moment. In passing, it should be

mentioned that the statement quoted from the reviewer's own *Introduction to Chinese art* that Chengchow has been positively identified as the early Shang capital of Ao, is not correct. The location of Ao is still uncertain.

It is a pity that the chapter on sculpture has not been more extensively revised. Mr. Willetts is excellent on early Indian influences, but still divides his 'first phase' (400-550) into a 'Grand Style', derived from Mathurā, and a linear 'lesser style', with no suggestion that the latter in fact represents a developed phase on its own, and owed its origin to the influence of the great Nanking painters of the fifth century. Nor does he attempt to explain the important stylistic changes that led to the 'second phase' (550-618). It has now been shown that in the mid-sixth century the court at Nanking was receiving Buddhist images from the Indianized kingdoms of South East Asia when the road across Central Asia was blocked. This new influence is clearly demonstrated by the hoard of stone images unearthed at Chengtu and published in 1958, which Mr. Willetts does not mention.

The chapter on T'ang ceramics, while like that on lacquer and silk, rather too detailed on technology, is still the best study of foreign influences on Chinese art in the T'ang period; but it, too, takes little account of recent discoveries. T'ang kilns making polychrome wares have now been found, in Kung-hsien, 30 miles east of Loyang (*Wen-wu* 1959, 3), while the so-called Yo-chou wares of Hunan were in fact produced at Wang-ch'eng, a suburb of Changsha (*Wen-wu* 1959, 6). Some reference might have been made also to the beginning of the ceramics industry at Ching-te-chen, where a white ware was already being made in the T'ang dynasty.

The chapter on painting remains the most disappointing part of the book, in spite of the author's evident ability to deal with abstract concepts, and his felicitous style. The treatment remains old-fashioned and the bibliography shows that he has not attempted to bring it up to date: none of the writings of van Gulik, Wen Fong, Sherman Lee, or James Cahill are mentioned. There is little attempt to understand the tradition of the *wen-jen hua*, although it was well established in the Northern Sung. While cleverly put, it is quite wrong to write (p. 292) that the great Yüan literati 'delved with positively Pre-Raphaelite zeal into the pattern-book of Sung painting'. Much has been written since the first edition of this book was published to show that their achievement was something much more positive and original than Mr. Willetts suggests. Again, some modern scholars have perhaps gone too far in doubting certain early paintings,

but Mr. Willetts seems to be unaware that the problems have been raised at all. The attributions of many of the pictures he produces (colour plate 50, for example, and plates 190, 197, 209, 210, 211, 213) have been disputed or exploded. He seems to have got thoroughly muddled about Chiang Ts'an (pl. 214) who could not possibly have been at the courts of Hui-tsung and Kao-tsung and active at the beginning of the thirteenth century.

The architecture chapter is one of the best. Mr. Willetts is very cautious on the probable southern origin of the curved roof, and reliable on the evolution of the pagoda. His description of Peking is, for someone who has never been there, something of a *tour de force*. His analysis of recent trends, however, might have been carried a good deal further. The critical problem in the reconciliation of traditional Chinese architecture and the modern international style is surely in the recognition that the essence of the Chinese style is not the roof but the frame, and when this is fully grasped—as the Japanese have grasped it—the main difficulty vanishes. There are signs, notably in some students' work published in the architecture magazine *Chien-chu Hsueh-pao* (*Jianzhu Xuebao*), that a break-through is coming, although ideological factors still seem to demand a characterless monumental style for public buildings.

MICHAEL SULLIVAN

CHU-TSING LI: *The autumn colors on the Ch'iao and Hua mountains: a landscape by Chao Meng-fu*. (*Artibus Asiae*, Supplementum XXI.) 109 pp., front., 16 plates. Ascona: Artibus Asiae Publishers, 1965. Sw. fr. 45.

A well-documented painting by Chao Meng-fu is the ideal subject for a scholarly monograph, for not only was Chao himself a great figure in Chinese history but his painting occupied a pivotal position in the history of Chinese art. In this excellent study, written around Chao's best-known landscape scroll, Mr. Li demonstrates how Chao Meng-fu gathered together the strands of earlier scholarly painting from Wang Wei onwards and wove them into a style which both paid respect to tradition and opened the way to the future development of the *wen-jen hua*. Mr. Li examines these strands with great care, and in the course of doing so has much of value to say on the equally crucial changes that took place in Chinese art theory and critical attitudes in the Yüan dynasty. When we have a shelf-full of such monographs—though sadly few early paintings yield themselves so successfully to this treatment—we will have gone a long way

towards creating a solid basis for writing the history of Chinese painting.

Mr. Li describes the painting minutely and traces its subsequent history through the inscriptions and seals, nearly all of which are identified. Hardly less important is the stress he lays upon the equally well documented, but little known, 'Water village', a handscroll of 1302 first published in *Chung-kuo Hua* in 1959. This painting, executed seven years later than 'Autumn colours', shows a development away from studied archaism towards a freer and more spontaneous expression in monochrome ink, which is precisely what we would hope to find in the oeuvre of Chao Meng-fu. Rarely in the study of Far Eastern art can so crucial a moment in its evolution be traced in works of such quality and richly-documented authenticity.

While Mr. Li's broad judgements and specific analyses are in general convincing, there are some points of detail on which this reviewer finds himself in disagreement. In tracing the stylistic ancestry of 'Autumn colours' Mr. Li naturally goes back to Wang Wei, and leans heavily on the 1617 engravings of the Wang-ch'uan scroll, which he maintains 'gives us a relatively authentic indication of the T'ang style'. This seems doubtful. Apart from a general impression of archaism in the composition and in the false scale relationship between such things as buildings and trees, the style of these engravings seems to be much closer to Ming wood-block illustrations (from which they are probably derived) than to T'ang painting. Again, the author's choice of the rather feebly archaistic 'Clearing after snow' in the Ogawa collection is perhaps a little injudicious. Although probably based on an early composition, it is clearly a late work, and by no means a 'logical step' towards the stylistically very sophisticated 'Travelling on the Hsiao and Hsiang rivers in a dream' (Tokyo National Museum) which would seem to be a key document in twelfth-century ink painting. One wonders also whether the inclusion of the landscape painting from the back wall of a tomb of 1265 near Ta-t'ung was prompted by its recent discovery; it would seem to provide a very tenuous link in the chain leading to Chao Meng-fu, and the similarity the author finds between the treatment of one mountain in that painting and the central massif of the great Fan K'uan in the Palace Museum collection is not very apparent. In passing, it might be mentioned that this tomb landscape, which Mr. Li considers to be 'an enlargement of a scroll to fit into the size of the wall' may, from its size and from the fact that smaller contiguous panels are painted on the adjacent side walls, have been intended to represent, or reproduce, a couch screen

(*wo-p'ing*) round the coffin, such as the owner would have had surrounding his bed on three sides while he was living.

In this connexion it is curious that Mr. Li should bring the two Kōtō-in landscapes, on one of which Professor Shimada found a signature of Li T'ang, into his argument. For while he accepts this signature and hence a late Northern Sung date for the paintings, he draws attention to the similarity in technique between them and the tomb painting of 1265. He gets over this difficulty by calling the latter 'retardataire' (the current fashionable word in writing on Chinese painting), whereas it could equally well be argued that the comparison supports the view that the Kōtō-in landscapes are of the thirteenth century, a verdict which was widely accepted before the discovery of the erased signature. It might be added that the only convincing reason for the removal of the signature of so august a figure from a Sung painting is that, at some time in the painting's history, it was considered to be a forgery.

While Mr. Li has cast his net wide and pulled in some interesting and important fish, others equally significant for the study of early Yüan scholarly painting seem to have escaped. He emphasizes (p. 57) Chao Meng-fu's rejection of the 'Southern Sung artistic tradition'; on the same page he goes even further and says 'the *Water Village* is a total negation of the previous dynasty'. This is too sweeping. While Chao Meng-fu clearly rejected the Southern Sung *academic* tradition of landscape painting, as a southerner he must have known the work of Mi Yu-jen, Chao Ta-nien and Chiang Ts'an—none of whom Mr. Li mentions in this connexion—and the free ink style displayed, for example, on the two screens shown in the background of Mou I's 'Clothes for the warriors' in the Palace Museum collection. The Tung Yüan tradition was not dead during the Southern Sung; it was merely not fashionable. This, however, does not in any way diminish the importance of Chao's rediscovery of the antique, and the passage in Mr. Li's text on p. 20 in which he discusses the paintings by ancient masters brought back to the south by Chao Meng-fu in 1295, and the contrast between these and the paintings by Southern Sung masters in Chao's father's collection, is one of crucial significance for the understanding of Chao Meng-fu's achievement.

Students will regret the absence of chapter headings and of an index, which makes it a little difficult to find one's way about the text and to refer back from the illustrations. On the other hand, all seals and colophons are given in the original Chinese, and there is a useful list of Chinese and Japanese names and

terms. The text is extensively annotated, and the illustrations are generous in size and well reproduced. In sum, this is a valuable contribution to the Western literature on Chinese painting.

MICHAEL SULLIVAN

MICHAEL COOPER, S.J. (comp.): *They came to Japan: an anthology of European reports on Japan, 1543-1640*. xviii, 439 pp., map [on endpapers]. London: Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1965. 70s.

This anthology is composed of selections from the writings of more than 30 Europeans who visited Japan during the so-called 'Christian century'. They include some like the Jesuit missionaries Luis Frois, João Rodrigues, and Jeronimo de Angelis, the Englishmen Will Adams and Richard Cocks, and the Netherlander, François Caron, who lived there for many years, besides more transient but equally intelligent visitors such as the globe-trotting Florentine, Francesco Carletti. The Jesuit missionaries naturally hold the centre of the stage before the arrival of Will Adams in the *Liefde* in 1600, and the most valuable contributions are those taken from the writings of Padre João Rodrigues, S.J. (1561-1634). He lived in Japan between c. 1576 and 1612, attaining a mastery of the written and spoken language, and an understanding of Japanese culture which make him a worthy forerunner of E. M. Satow and B. H. Chamberlain. In combing the old missionary records, Fr. Cooper has taken care to go to the original Portuguese and Spanish texts wherever possible. He has thus avoided the secondary (and sometimes bowdlerized) Italian and French versions on which Hildreth, Murdoch, and later writers have chiefly relied.

The extracts are ranged under 23 headings, including 'The country', 'The history', 'The people', 'Social relations', 'The Emperor and nobility', 'Law and order', 'The language', 'Food and drink', 'Dress', 'Daily life and customs', 'Art and culture', 'Shinto', 'Buddhism', etc., so that virtually every aspect of Japanese life is adequately covered (except sex?). The method adopted has inevitably resulted in the work resembling a scrap-book at times, since some extracts amount to only two or three lines each. Perhaps these snippets might have been better omitted, or else embodied in the notes; but the book as a whole makes fascinating reading, whether one dips into it or else goes straight through it. The reviewer has tried both methods, and the second certainly leaves him

with the impression that this anthology gives us a detailed and reasonably accurate picture of late sixteenth-century and early seventeenth-century Japan. The reading and evaluation of the texts is facilitated by Fr. Cooper's unobtrusive but adequate notes at the end of each section. Another useful feature is formed by the potted biographies of all the writers who have been laid under contribution. As Fr. Cooper remarks in his introduction, some of these accounts tell us as much or more about the outlook and prejudices of the European writers as they do about the Japanese they are attempting to describe; but others are remarkably prescient and objective. The editor's own knowledge of Japan enables him to point out that not a few aspects of sixteenth-century Japanese life have survived down to our own day, 'and this should give pause to those who after a brief visit to the country come away with the idea that Japan is completely westernised'. Readers who, like the reviewer, have found B. H. Chamberlain's *Things Japanese* a never-failing source of delight as well as of instruction, will be glad to place *They came to Japan* alongside that masterpiece on their shelves.

C. R. BOXER

MARIUS B. JANSEN (ed.): *Changing Japanese attitudes toward modernization*. x, 546 pp. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1965. (Distributed in G.B. by Oxford University Press. 72s.)

This is the first of what is planned as a series of five volumes on Japanese modernization. Basically it consists of a group of papers prepared for discussion at a seminar held in January 1962, these being prefaced by, first, an essay by J. W. Hall on the concept of modernization, which is also in part a report on an earlier conference in Japan, and second, a survey by M. B. Jansen of the whole subject of Japanese attitudes toward modernization, forming a kind of introduction to, and commentary on, what is said in the rest of the book.

The more detailed contributions begin with an examination of the Tokugawa heritage, in respect of education and science. Then come discussions of the role of the imperial institution, of the carry-over of Confucian ideas into Meiji government and education, and of the purposive nature of Meiji leadership as exemplified by Yamagata Aritomo. These are followed by two papers, one on Chinese Confucianism and one on the life of Rammohan

Roy (as an example of Indian reactions to the West), which are introduced to provide a basis for comparison with the experience of other societies (though they are really too limited in scope to serve any such purpose for the reader, however valuable they may have been to the members of the seminar). The rest of the papers deal largely with the reactions of twentieth-century Japanese to some of the problems raised by modernization for the individual. There are studies of some Japanese Christians, of a historian, of a number of writers. There is a very able analysis of the intellectuals. Finally there is an article by Maruyama Masao (not written specifically for the seminar), dealing with patterns of individuation, an attempt to work out 'a conceptual scheme for the relation between the modernization process and predominant types of political and social response'.

Inevitably there is a certain unevenness about the different contributions in such a book, though in this one they maintain a high standard of usefulness, if not always of direct relevance to the main theme. What is striking, however, is the disparity between the first and second halves. Most of the papers on Tokugawa and Meiji Japan are concerned with the ideas and institutions which made modernization possible, that is, broadly speaking, with causes. By contrast, those on the twentieth century deal with results: the problems which the fact of modernization posed. Only very indirectly do they touch on the attitudes which made it possible for society to move on to further stages of development, or which helped to determine the nature of modernization in later years. This, it may well be, is something which might emerge from later volumes in the series. Meanwhile we can express satisfaction at having a book which contains a great deal of value to the student, not only of modernization, but also of modern Japan.

W. G. BRASLEY

Hiranyagarbha: a series of articles on the archaeological work and studies of Prof. Dr. F. D. K. Bosch. 106 pp., 4 plates. The Hague, etc.: Mouton and Co., 1964. Guilders 28.

The title-page, which faces an admirable portrait drawing of Professor Bosch by Toon Kelder, goes on to say that the series of articles was composed by his friends, his pupils, and his colleagues, to which is added the address delivered by him at his retirement from the University of Leiden, continuing that it was published on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of his doctorate on 14th July 1964. The first article, after an

introductory note setting out the circumstances in which the volume grew, is by Professor Bosch himself. It is the text (translated into English) of the terminal lecture which he gave on relinquishing his chair at Leiden: characteristically it is entitled 'The future of Indonesian archaeological research'. Characteristically, for, as the subsequent essays in which authoritative writers examine aspects of Professor Bosch's work over the years make abundantly clear, he has always been concerned to develop his subject, to extend its frontiers, to build for the future. Such a scholar, even at the moment of his retirement, could have no concern with Indonesian archaeology in retrospect. And as the bibliographical list with its 213 entries up to 1963 amply demonstrates, retirement has been in no sense a synonym for cessation: Indonesian archaeology has continued to benefit from his contributions.

Much of his work has been directly concerned with Indonesian themes: he was Director of the Netherlands Indies Archaeological Service from 1916 to 1936 and the two chairs which he held after his return to the Netherlands were both closely connected with the ancient history of the Indies. But he never lost his fundamental interest in the study of Indian culture, a deep knowledge and understanding of which was essential, in his view, for the proper study of South East Asia. His doctoral thesis, some of the implications of which are examined in the present collection by the late Professor Vogel, was on the legend of Jimūtavāhana. His *magnum opus*, in the opinion of P. H. Pott who offers a study on his contribution to the understanding of Indian symbolism, is *De gouden kiem* (1948; revised English version: *The golden germ*, 1961). This work subsumes the main theme of his research: 'his love for the artistic aspects of ancient South-East Asian culture, but, above all, his desire to penetrate into the meaning of South-East Asian art and his inner conviction of the fundamental unity of the Indian world on the plane of thought'. The words are those of Professor van Lohuizen-de Leeuw and they characterize not only the man but the tone of these essays by various hands. For this is a set of essays by a group profoundly impressed by the work of such Indologists as Foucher and Sylvain Lévi, working in close consort (as the contribution by George Coedès makes admirably clear) with French scholars of EFEO and manifestly accepting the view that what they were studying was a realm of Indian culture. The measure of their achievement is great indeed: the contribution to this achievement made by Frederik Bosch is generously, elegantly, and most properly celebrated in the volume composed by his friends, colleagues, and pupils. If

the time has now come to consider Indonesian culture as a thing in itself, rather than as part of an Indian world, this is to do no more than to follow a path which Professor Bosch has already indicated, and to rely with gratitude upon his studies which have done so much to point the way and, in many instances, the method.

ANTHONY OHRISTE

EUGÉNIE J. A. HENDERSON: *Tiddim Chin: a descriptive analysis of two texts*. (School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. London Oriental Series, Vol. 15.) ix, 172 pp. London, etc.: Oxford University Press, 1965. 70s.

This book, the product of six weeks of intensive field-work in the northern Chin Hills of Burma in 1964, does not claim to be a complete description and analysis of the Tiddim Chin language, otherwise known as Kamhau or Sokte. It is nevertheless an important contribution to Sino-Tibetan linguistics. The exhaustiveness with which the two short texts taken as a corpus are analysed not only provides a solid basis on which a larger treatment of the language could be based but makes the book in itself full of suggestiveness about problems found in other areas of Sino-Tibetan studies. In present circumstances it is no doubt unlikely that an opportunity will soon be found of extending the study of Tiddim Chin on these lines but we must at least be thankful that the 1964 expedition has added this, as well as Dr. Theodore Stern's study of the closely related Sizang Chin language (*Asia Major*, x, 2, 1963, 222-78), to the meagre body of sound linguistic scholarship on the languages of Burma.

Professor Henderson's study, using a type of linguistic analysis deriving from the school of the late J. R. Firth, makes an interesting contrast in method to that of Dr. Stern, which follows an orthodox Bloomfieldian approach. For example, in the treatment of phonology Dr. Stern begins by defining his phonemes, with their various contextual allophones, then discusses quantity, tones, juncture, and sandhi as features superimposed on them. Professor Henderson on the other hand begins with a phonetic description, which she introduces by carefully explaining the pronunciation as it corresponds to the accepted missionary orthography, indicating it in terms of I.P.A. symbols and sometimes allowing for a certain amount of unsymbolized contextual variation. She adds further symbols where necessary to

account for features ignored in the orthography—vowel length, syllable tone, unstressed syllables, and intonation. She then proceeds directly in ch. iv, 'Syllable structure', to a phonological analysis (recognized as provisional because based on incomplete evidence) which by-passes what would be classed as 'phonemics' and enters deeply into the realms of 'morphophonemics'.

To some extent this analysis is based on the kind of distributional criteria that would be used in setting up 'phonemes'. For instance, she notes that initial *c* is found only before a close front vowel and suggests that it might be aligned with *t*, which is never found in this context. (Dr. Stern simply states, without discussion, that in his language /*t*/ has an allophone [ʃ][*stic*] before /*i*/.) In other respects she departs entirely from the concept of the 'phoneme', as in treating initial and final consonants separately and in setting up *ia* and *ua* as 'nuclear phonematic units' alongside *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *u*. Because of alternations in morphological systems she regards final stops (-*k*, -*t*, -*p*) as 'abrupt' forms of the same units as the corresponding nasals (-*ŋ*, -*n*, -*ŋ*), regarded as having 'gradual' closure. This enables one to correlate at the phonological level the stop-nasal alternation with the alternation between glottalized and unglottalized in other types of finals, e.g., *aʔ* and *aː*, *aiʔ* and *aiː*, *alʔ* and *alː*. (On the other hand, as she points out, it leaves unaccounted for the absence of 'abrupt' correlates of syllables with long diphthongs or long vowels before final -*l*—i.e. *aiː* and *aːl* have no corresponding **aiʔ*, **aːlʔ*.)

After dealing with phonology, Dr. Stern proceeds to discuss the grammar of his language by units of increasing size under the two headings 'Noun expressions' and 'Verb expressions'. Professor Henderson instead works down from larger units to smaller ones. She begins by distinguishing two styles, narrative style and colloquial style (represented by directly reported speech within her corpus). She analyses each style separately. Within each style the largest structure she distinguishes is the sentence, below which are found the 'phrase', the 'figure', 'words', and 'affixes'. Each of these structures is made up of one or more of the next lower structures ('placed elements') together with appropriate particles and 'unplaced elements' (such as intonation and concord) which belong to the structure as a whole. Sentences are not further classified but phrases exist in three kinds, subjective, predicative, and adjunctive. Figures are verbal or nominal. Words may be independent (nouns, verbs, quantifiers, adverbial conjunctions) or dependent (nominal auxiliaries, verbal auxiliaries, adverbs). Affixes may be either prefixes (pronominal, verbal),

suffixes (nominal, pronominal, nomino-verbal) or particles (sentence, phrase-final, figure-linking, post-nominal). This elaborate and exhaustive analytical framework is applied in detail to her corpus in ch. vii.

It would be presumptuous for me to try to evaluate the contrasting analytical approaches of Professor Henderson and Dr. Stern to two languages with which I am quite unacquainted. Comparison between the two languages would of course have been rendered more straightforward if the same approach had been used in both cases but need for a fuller corpus is really a greater handicap and one can expect compensating advantages from the different emphases in the two methods. Certainly the comprehensiveness and elegance of Professor Henderson's treatment and the clarity of her presentation command great admiration and she manages to highlight several matters which seem to be potentially of great interest to comparative Sino-Tibetan linguistics.

Both nouns and verbs in Tiddim Chin show morphological changes. In the noun we find a quite regular change of tone between what Professor Henderson calls the 'direct' form and the 'oblique' form: tone 1 becomes tone 3, tone 3 becomes tone 2, tone 2 becomes tone 1. What this can mean historically must clearly depend on a theory of the tones in Chin but the regularity suggests that there has been innovation and analogical extension at a comparatively recent date.

Verbal morphology is much more complicated and contains many irregularities even after one abstracts the main patterns. It therefore stands a better chance of reflecting features of common Tibeto-Burman. Much detailed comparative study will be necessary before one can ascertain just what these are but one or two points suggest themselves even at this stage. Professor Henderson notes the existence of a number of pairs of verbs with alternation between stop and spirant initial consonants and with corresponding semantic relationships, e.g. /*kaːŋ* (misprinted as /*kiːŋ*) on p. 22) 'to raise oneself': /*xaːŋ* 'to lift'; /*kia* 'to fall': /*xia* 'to drop', etc. Dr. Stern also found a few such pairs in his dialect (p. 251) and noted that this had previously been mentioned by Naylor and Wolfenden and compared with the use of aspiration to mark causative or transitive verbs in Burmese. One must, of course, further connect this with the *s*-prefix in Tibetan which has a similar function. The fact that the employment of aspiration for this purpose appears to be no longer a living process in either Chin or Burmese heightens its historical significance. It is obviously an important point from which to start in trying to establish the phonological isoglosses in Tibeto-Burman.

Changes in final consonant also occur in Chin verb morphology which suggest suffixation comparable to Tibetan final *-s* and *da-drag*, but here the position is more complicated and much detailed comparison will be required to sort it out. (No doubt there have been analogical extensions superimposed on older layers.) Kachin also shows vestiges of the same sort of thing. Burmese does not seem to show much trace of it, though tonal alternations between pairs of semantically related words could conceivably reflect such suffixes. But once again we need a theory of the tones before we can proceed further.

A feature noted by Professor Henderson that I find very suggestive for Old Chinese—whether historically or simply as a possible typological parallel—is what she calls ‘figure final glottalization’ (pp. 60 ff.). This is a glottal constriction—possibly phonetically distinct and certainly functionally different from syllable-final glottal stop (p. 18)—which occurs, especially but not exclusively with certain affixes, at the end of a figure. This reminds one of how in sets of related particles in classical Chinese we often find that those particles which can occur before a pause have the rising tone (probably derived from final glottal stop) in contrast to other particles in the level tone which do not occur in such positions. (Cf. *Asia Major*, VIII, 1, 1960, 36, and George Kennedy, *Selected works*, 434–42 (in Chinese).)

To sum up, this is an excellent study. No doubt specialists in Burman languages and theoretical linguists will have more to say about many aspects of it that I have been unable to deal with.

E. G. PULLEYBLANK

ANDRÉ-G. HAUDRICOURT: *La langue des Nénemas et des Nigoumak (dialectes de Poum et de Koumac, Nouvelle-Calédonie)*. (Te Reo Monographs.) [iv], 85 pp., 5 maps. Auckland: Linguistic Society of New Zealand, 1963.

The languages of New Caledonia present one of the numerous enigmas of the Melanesian linguistic area. They tend to have complex phonological systems and, at least superficially, even fewer Common Austronesian words than the languages of the Solomons, for instance, or of eastern New Guinea. Until recently practically the only source of information available was the general survey published in 1946 by a French scholar, the late Maurice Leenhardt: *Langues et dialectes de l'Austro-Mélanésie*.

His phonetic and linguistic equipment, however, was scarcely adequate to describe accu-

rately the complex sounds and articulations which are found in this area. It is therefore fortunate that in the last 15 years M. Haudricourt of Paris who is fully conversant with modern techniques of phonological analysis should have been able to visit New Caledonia and bring some of Leenhardt's work up to date.

The monograph under review is a linguistic sketch of a language presumed to have been spoken once in a relatively large area in the north-west of the mainland, and in the off-shore islands. To-day it is found only in a number of pockets.

The first 11 pp. give an outline of the phonetic, phonological, and grammatical structure. This author's style is always commendably succinct, and one of his lines of print often contains as much information as one normally expects to cull from a whole paragraph.

Phonetically there are five points of articulation ('dorsale vélaire, palatale, apicale cacuminale, bilabiale, labiovélaire') and no less than seven modes, defined by the author as: 'non-aspirées, aspirées, sonores, demi-nasales, nasales, nasales-aspirées, aspirées orales'.

Phonologically, however, the general picture is much simpler since many of these consonants do not occur intervocally and finally. Thus, one entire phonetic mode, described as 'sonores' does not appear in the phonological table of initials, because it actually represents the intervocalic form of two other modes of homorganic voiceless consonants (aspirated and non-aspirated).

Interesting problems of prosody are sketched, but the evidence is insufficient to provide a solution.

Grammatically, the evidence shows that as in other Melanesian languages, the two systems of marking possession in the nominals (by suffixation, and by particle and personal pronoun) cannot be predicted on notional grounds, and the author is surely right in treating these features as having to do with grammatical gender which *inter alia* help to keep homonyms apart (p. 10). A number of texts with both an interlinear and a free translation follows (pp. 13–35). The remainder of the work (pp. 36–82) consists of a glossary which has evidently benefited from the author's interest in the natural sciences.

This monograph is a useful addition to our linguistic knowledge of New Caledonia. It whets our appetite, however, rather than satisfies it. Moreover the problem of historical relation between aspirated and non-aspirated consonants in New Caledonia and elsewhere is not discussed. It is to be hoped that the author will satisfy our curiosity in a later publication.

G. B. MILNER

J. C. VERGOUWEN: *The social organisation and customary law of the Toba-Batak of northern Sumatra. Translated from the Dutch by Jeune Scott-Kemball.* (Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde. Translation Series, 7.) xv, 461 pp., map. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1964. Guilders 38.

Vergouwen died in 1933, a few weeks after this monograph had appeared under its original title *Het rechtsleven der Toba-bataks*, a work worthy in every way of the great school of Indonesian traditional law, *adat*, founded by his teacher Professor van Vollenhoven at the University of Leiden. This school had from the first been concerned with the application as well as the study of *adat*; its founder had been responsible for much of the change in attitude which can be seen in the approach by the administration of the Netherlands East Indies to the various legal systems which they found operating among the peoples of Indonesia. Vergouwen, who had developed an interest in tribal customs during his initial service in Borneo and had subsequently studied with van Vollenhoven at Leiden, was placed on special duty in 1927 as head of the Toba Batak Customary Court and ordered to report on that institution and make recommendations for its reform. His report, published in 1930, was the precursor to the present work, based upon his judicial experience and the studies which he made while carrying out his special duties. It served as a textbook in his university and as a handbook for other judicial officers in the Batak area (as Professor Keuning remarks in a prefatory note based upon his own later experiences) and because of its insistence upon the social structure and organization which underlie Batak *adat* has retained its value as an account of the Toba Batak however many may have been the changes which they have undergone during the past 30 years. Since a knowledge of Dutch is not always to be found, even among those whose primary concern is with the study of South East Asia (let alone among those whose interests are socio-legal rather than regional), the present translation is to be welcomed, providing as it does a reliable, if not particularly readable, version of Vergouwen's fundamental study.

The work is so arranged as to present an account of Toba Batak society, its kinship structure and religious concepts, followed by an account of the Toba corporate community. The fourth chapter sets out certain general legal concepts of the Toba, while the next five chapters deal with specific aspects of the law: matrimony, inheritance, land tenure, debt, offence. Ch. x deals with the settlement of

disputes, while some points of detail arising in various chapters are documented in five appendixes. There is a list of legal maxims, *umpama*, of great importance for as Vergouwen explains, they are widely and similarly employed and are therefore 'more or less fixed points in an otherwise very mobile whole' (p. 137). The only index is one of Batak words, but as this is arranged 'under their stems, as in van der Tuuk's and Warneck's dictionaries', its utility for those who cannot easily determine the stem of a Batak word is uncertain. (Fortunately there is a detailed list of contents.)

Vergouwen writes always of what he himself has seen, has known, but his obvious interest and his knowledge led others, Toba judges, litigants, elders, to discuss nice points with him which had arisen in his absence, or had occurred in earlier times. His work is therefore at once the product of his observations and an historical account of Batak law. Those who look for statistics will be disappointed: the book was written before the Table became a *sine qua non* of sociological publication. But this would not surprise the Batak. For they speak of their *adat* as being *patik na hot*, fixed unchangeable rule, yet say: *togu pe na nidok ni uhum, togudn na nidok ni padan* 'legal precepts are powerful: the contents of an agreement have more force'. And to a people whose ideal is the flexibility of law, Vergouwen's impressions are more likely to seem a reasonable account of their law, than any which lends itself to ready reduction to punched cards or computer tapes.

ANTHONY CHRISTIE

HANS SCHÄRER: *Ngaju religion: the conception of God among a south Borneo people. Translated by Rodney Needham.* (Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde. Translation Series, 6.) xv, 229 pp., front., 25 plates. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1963. Guilders 21.

Hans Schärer, who died in 1947 at the age of 48, was a member of the Basler Mission. He worked from 1932 to 1939 among the Ngaju Dayaks and then spent the period 1939-44 studying under J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong at Leiden where he submitted his thesis in 1946, *Die Gottesidee der Ngaju Dajak in Süd-Borneo*, now issued in a translation by Rodney Needham. This was to have been the first of a series of studies based upon a vast mass of field-notes (237 note-books and the completed MSS—amounting to more than 1,000 pp.—of two books) dealing in immense detail with Ngaju life and religion. It is to be noted that all this material was collected before Schärer's period as a student at Leiden, though the form

of its presentation in his thesis probably explains the remark in P. E. de Josselin de Jong's preface that the book's appearance in English contributes 'to an understanding, amongst anthropologists of other countries, of what the pre-war students of Indonesian culture who had received their anthropological training in Holland were after'. Certainly, Schärer was concerned with an analysis of the principles which served as the structure of Ngaju society, an approach which, as is rightly noted in the preface, is perhaps coming into its own in the English-speaking world with the current interest in the ideas of Monsieur Lévi-Strauss. It seems likely, however, that Schärer's approach owed more to Feuerbach than to Leiden, for in his conclusions he aptly cites a passage from *Das Wesen der Religion* which ends: 'der Gott des Menschen ist nichts anderes als das vergötterte Wesen des Menschen, folglich die Religions- oder, was eins ist, Gottesgeschichte nichts anderes als die Geschichte des Menschen'. This appears to have been the spirit which underlay the whole of his work and the one to which we owe a study of the greatest value for understanding a religious system which is important not only in Dayak studies but also in the wider sphere of Indonesian cultural history.

Schärer is much concerned with the problem presented by the fact that Ngaju thought seems always to have been aware of dualism not only as a series of sets of oppositions (e.g. male/female, up-stream/down-stream, upper-world/underworld) but also as the expression of the duality of a total, single system. These concepts can be seen most clearly in the Ngaju idea of God as this is exemplified in their sacred texts and in the drawings which are made by priests and ritually employed by them in the course of religious recitations. Of the material that he gathered, Schärer here uses no more than a fraction, but its nature is well illustrated by the creation myth which he quotes in full, with a translation, in Appendix I. This is necessary not only because of the extent to which he relies upon this particular text, but also because without such an extended example it would be difficult to understand the nature of Dayak thought as it finds expression in *basa sangiang*, the language of the first ancestors which is used for all sacred stories. (Secular story-telling is in everyday Ngaju.) It must not be thought, however, that Schärer's study is concerned only with texts and their interpretation, highly valuable though such work might be. For, as he is at pains to show, the whole of Ngaju Dayak society participates in a divine order whose proper preservation is the concern of all. *Hadat* is *dharma* and the proper observation of *hadat* is, or seems to be, the main end of society. Hence Schärer is

concerned also with such matters as the marriage rituals of the Ngaju and the administration of justice, as well as with the role of the *balian*, at once priestess, slave, and prostitute, and the transvestite *basir* who fulfils a somewhat similar male role. A considerable section of the work is taken up with the rituals for the dead, the *tiwah* mortuary feast, and with the role of the sacred dead who are part of the whole community and of the total godhead.

This is a work of fundamental scholarship which is a key book for all who are interested in the study of the Indonesian world. We must be grateful to the Koninklijk Instituut and to Dr. Needham for making it available to a wider audience than had access to the German original, though we may not be wholly happy with the rendering at every point. Dr. Needham, in a brief 'Translator's note', sets out some of the difficulties which confronted him and anyone who has translated work of this nature will sympathize with him. For the honour of the Basler Mission it should perhaps be remarked that the original does not always read so inelegantly as the translation would at times make it appear: the first sentence of the book illustrates this point sufficiently. None the less, what we have here does present Schärer's work and his difficult ideas in a form that should stimulate others to undertake further research in an area where, as the book makes abundantly clear, discoveries of the greatest importance for the study of society and the history of religion are to be made.

ANTHONY CHRISTIE

H. IAN HOGBIN: *Kinship and marriage in a New Guinea village*. (London School of Economics. Monographs on Social Anthropology, No. 26.) [viii], 177 pp., 8 plates. London: University of London, Athlone Press, 1963. 35s.

In another book, published in 1961 and entitled *Transformation scene*, Dr. Hogbin of the University of Sydney dealt with the wholesale changes which had taken place in Busama (a New Guinea community of the western shore of the Huon Gulf) during half a century of acculturation. That earlier work dealt with the economic, political, legal, and religious activities of the people, which had all undergone a profound change. By contrast, the present volume, which concentrates on kinship, presents an aspect of culture which appears to have altered very little.

After outlining the setting, defining kin and community, and the range of kinship dimensions, the author gives us a kind of bird's-eye

view of the life-cycle of a Busama village. Dr. Hogbin's close study of daily life is enriched by what seems to have been an unusually good relationship with his chief informants, who accepted him sufficiently not only to quarrel in his hearing (if not perhaps in his presence) but to discuss with him the origin and outcome of such quarrels. It need hardly be said that the situation of trust in which such sources of information can be profitably tapped are usually not attained without a great deal of patience, integrity, and professional dedication on the part of the investigator.

Rights to land alone are transmitted matrilineally from a man to his sister's son, but a man may bequeath the goods he has acquired through his own exertions to his sons. Residence is avunculovirilocal and the lineages (which are unsegmented) provide the basis for land tenure. The groups based on the membership of a men's club-house, however (which are based not on kinship but on neighbourhood since a man tends to belong to the club which meets in the house nearest his own home), provide the basis for other types of activity such as canoe or house building.

Dr. Hogbin has made a searching study of Melanesian social structure elsewhere, and specialists will also find pp. 31-7 of particular interest. He distinguishes there between two main types of unilineal structure. In the first, the community is built on a single clan, sub-clan, or lineage localized in a separate settlement (the groupings being either patrilineal, as with the Orokaiva of Eastern New Guinea, or matrilineal, as with the Trobriand Islanders). In the second, the community consists not of one, but of several localized clans (which may be, again, either patrilineal or matrilineal). Whereas in the first type there is of necessity a wide variety of cognatic and affinal ties with other communities, giving what the author calls a 'broad social horizon' in the second type no one needs to leave the village of his birth on marriage, and therefore ties with the outside world are reduced to a minimum.

Other Melanesian communities, such as the To'ombaita of Malaita in the British Solomon Islands (which Dr. Hogbin has described in *Experiments in civilization*, published in 1939), have non-unilineal systems, the main feature of which is the absence of clans or of lineages based on one line of descent alone. The interest of the Busama community is, therefore, that on the one hand it conforms to the second type of unilineal structure (with a relatively restricted social horizon), but on the other hand the importance of the clubs, which are not organized unilineally, and the fact that a person's immediate obligations are towards his immediate cognates (irrespective of whether or

not they belong to his matrilineage) complicate the structural analysis.

The chapter on marriage (pp. 103-23) will perhaps provide the most interesting material for those who are anxious to support or to reject the theories of exchange put forward by Lévi-Strauss. As Dr. Hogbin provides, perhaps unwittingly, heavy ammunition for the view that the form of exchange *par excellence* in simple societies is the exchange of women between one social group and another, it is curious that he does not mention Lévi-Strauss at all. The latter, however, could well have inserted the following passage from the work under review into one of his own books: (p. 104) 'Each alliance is worked out in conformity with the principle of reciprocity—just as a man who receives a service or a gift must make an equivalent return, so those who accept a bride on behalf of a young kinsman are in honour bound to bestow another girl on the donors. Like the services and the gifts, too, the marriages do not cancel out, and always the latest recipients are considered to be in debt. Thus each separate union is the completion of one exchange and the prelude to another, a link in a never-ending chain'.

Then on pp. 113-14 the following occurs: 'Yet marriage is so much a matter of accounting that frequently the best-intentioned fathers and uncles find that they have no alternative but to thrust a worthy young girl into the hands of a waster or burden a dutiful youth with a slattern'. The difficulty of arranging suitable matches is increased by the contemporary shortage of females, a problem which is also reported from many other parts of New Guinea.

In this work the author has provided a rounded account in which there is an obvious awareness of, and interest in, some of the present burning issues in social anthropology. These are discussed in the light of the author's Busama material, but theoretical matters are not allowed to oust the non-controversial data, and so they do not upset the balance of a book which leaves one with the final impression of a warm, sympathetic, and humane work of ethnography.

G. B. MILNER

K. J. RATNAM: *Communalism and the political process in Malaya*. xii, 248 pp. Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press for the University of Singapore, 1965. (Distributed by Oxford University Press. 48s.)

Any worth-while study of Malayan politics must attempt an answer to the question of why Malaya has so far succeeded in riding the difficulties of a plural society. Dr. Ratnam,

lecturer in political science at the University of Singapore, has made a valuable and suggestive contribution to the discussion.

The main purpose of the book is to examine the extent to which communalism has influenced the political process in Malaya in the period up to 1961. The author presents a clear and thorough analysis of those features of the constitutional settlement which form the basis of communal disagreement, citizenship, education, language, religion, and the special position of Malays; many will quarrel, however, with his description of Malaya as a secular state. Dr. Ratnam has here limited himself largely to explaining the establishment of these constitutional provisions; one would have liked to see some discussion of how far communal issues have come to dominate the proceedings of the legislatures.

The outstanding characteristic of Malayan politics has been the achievement of communal co-operation at the political level, reflected in the success of the Alliance; these developments are well illustrated in the book's analysis of the elections of 1955 and 1959. The emergence of an intercommunal (as opposed to a non-communal) pattern in Malaya has, it is argued, been the result of the peculiar balance of power in Malaya, the timing of the 1955 election, and the role of the political élite. It is also considered that this co-operation has been facilitated by the absence of separate electorates, and the author is tempted by the contrast offered by India and Ceylon prior to independence. As he admits, however, some basis of co-operation must exist for a common roll to be feasible, and the book strengthens at least this reviewer's conviction of the unique character of every communal situation. Although the press constitutes one of the main source materials for the book, there is no attempt to evaluate the role of the press as a moderating influence on communal feeling in Malaya.

The fundamental problems of Malayan politics emerge clearly from this study. It points to the immense obstacles to social assimilation in Malaya, the conflicting claims of legitimacy, and the problem presented by the privileged position accorded to the Malays as a result of the imbalance of social and economic power. Dr. Ratnam's attempt to accommodate the system of Malay safeguards within the framework of democratic ideals has led to his adoption of the term 'plural democracy'. The expression is, I think, somewhat suspect, not only because of its ambiguity; some may feel that it only conceals the discriminatory implications of these provisions.

The author concludes by expressing the hope that developments on the political plane, by creating an area of inter-communal co-opera-

tion, may modify the effect of communal tensions at other levels. Whether this hope will be fulfilled will depend, for one thing, on how far the present compromise constitutes a real as opposed to an artificial settlement. A cautionary preface to the book points to the difficulty of assessing developments in Malaya in the absence of any effective means of testing collective opinion, hence the importance of the political élite and the political parties. It is the latter who 'perform the task of articulating particularist demands', but an assessment of how effectively they fulfil this function calls for a fuller treatment of the character and membership of party organizations and the relations of parties and pressure groups. The importance in the present situation of the role of the political élite suggests inevitable comparison with pre-1956 Ceylon.

The political process does not, however, operate in a vacuum, and the final outcome will depend much on the nature and speed of social change in Malaya, and the price of rubber.

J. H. BEAGLEHOLE

GERALD CANNON HICKEY: *Village in Vietnam*. xxviii, 325 pp., 16 plates. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1964. \$10, 72s.

Village in Vietnam is the first, and so far the only, detailed anthropological study of a South Vietnamese village to have been published in the English language. For that reason alone, it is a book of great importance. French scholars, generally speaking, tended to ignore the subject of village life, customs, and organization in Vietnam, though Leopold Cadière was a notable exception. However, Cadière worked principally in Central Vietnam, where the village life differs considerably, for reasons of geography and history, from that in the Mekong Delta region.

Dr. Hickey has provided lucid expositions of many facets of life in Khanh-hau, the village selected for the study, and these are copiously illustrated by maps, drawings, and diagrams. The main chapters set out in considerable detail the village's history, geography, and settlement pattern before proceeding to its religious beliefs, social groupings, government, and economy. Six appendixes offer the reader information extraneous to the immediate subject of the book but necessary for its full understanding. These range from a history of the Cao-daist religion to a description of the workings of a model Hui and include lists of rice varieties, vegetables, and fruits.

Written in clear and readable English, and resorting to technical terminology only when

this is essential, *Village in Vietnam* may be read with equal pleasure by non-anthropologists. Indeed, this book contains so much information about the people, the life, and the culture of the area which is not available from any other source that it will constitute necessary background reading for all serious students of South Vietnam no matter what the nature of their particular interests. While maintaining a scrupulous accuracy throughout, Dr. Hickey has contrived to introduce lively descriptions of some of the happenings in the village which entertain the reader as well as inform him. One such is his account of a court scene in which he demonstrates how humour may sometimes be used more effectively than law in the settlement of disputes. Another is a description of a wedding at which the more niggardly guests are shamed into giving larger wedding presents than they had originally intended. Again, the perceptively drawn pen-portraits of individual representatives of the various social strata to be found in the village greatly enhance the reader's appreciation of the kind of people to be encountered almost anywhere in the Mekong Delta region.

What Dr. Hickey has not attempted is to interpret his material in any but summary fashion. Perhaps it would have been presumptuous for the author of the first systematic study of a village in this area to do so. He has collected his information, organized it carefully, and presented it in orderly fashion. A number of similar studies would be necessary before conclusions could be reached with any degree of certainty. Suffice it to say that this is a book which may be read with both enjoyment and profit.

P. J. HONEY

A. GRENFELL PRICE: *The Western invasions of the Pacific and its continents: a study of moving frontiers and changing landscapes, 1513-1958*. viii, 236 pp., 11 plates. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963. 35s.

Dr. Price, a distinguished scholar of the University of Adelaide, who describes himself in the preface of this book as an historical geographer, is already well known for two of his books: *White settlers in the tropics* and *White settlers and native peoples*. This third volume is a survey of the opening up of the Pacific by the men of the West, and of the results in terms of ecology, habitat, culture, and demography.

Books which take in the whole Pacific Ocean in their conspectus are, understandably, rare. Before an author ventures to deal with human activities in and around an area which

covers a third of the world's surface, he needs to have an encyclopedic knowledge and to have access to records and documents in many languages and cultures: North American, Latin American, Australasian, South East Asian, East Asian, and Russian, to mention only the main subdivisions. The breadth of the view which is opened, and the extent of the knowledge required, have until now discouraged all but a few scholars, and yet the Pacific Ocean has a unity which is not limited to hydrography and oceanography. As Dr. Price points out, its coasts have important characteristics in common (notably the narrowness of the watersheds draining into its waters, whether in Australia, North and South America, or the Far East, and until the cutting of the Panama Canal, the difficulties of access by sea from almost every direction).

It is particularly fitting that this task of viewing the Pacific as a whole should be undertaken by Australian scholars, for it is to the newer universities in countries with an antipodean outlook that we must look for a global approach to geography.

In the modest scope of a book of this size we cannot in fairness expect to find more than an outline of the panorama of Western activities in the Pacific since Magellan. In a sense this is a gain, because it enables the author to stress the features which he regards as being really significant. Having then given us a generous supply of references he is content to let us get on with our own reading and make our own journeys of exploration into four centuries of Pacific Ocean history and historical geography. Indeed much of the text retains the genial warmth of a scholar who is determined to kindle in his students that curiosity and enthusiasm from which good research work is fed, and new insights are gained. From the freshness of his style the writers of doctoral theses may well derive more stimulation than they would from a colder and more dispassionate prose.

After considering briefly the Pacific Ocean and its peoples before the Western invasions, and then the course taken by conquest and colonization (pp. 1-62), the author establishes a primary distinction between what he terms 'settler colonization' in the temperate zones of the Pacific, on the one hand, and 'sojourner colonization' in the tropical zones, on the other. For climatic, demographic, and cultural reasons Western man has not been successful in making permanent settlements in the tropical Pacific, whereas he has been signally successful in the temperate zones. Even where he is an unsuccessful settler, however, he has a profound influence on the political, religious, economic, and legal systems of the people with whom he comes into contact,

an influence which is out of all proportion to his small numbers and to the relatively short length of his stay, and one which is likely in most cases to leave permanent traces even long after his departure.

The rest of the book is concerned with 'moving frontiers', i.e. with the ever-changing distribution of the diseases, animals, and plants introduced by Western man, whether deliberately or inadvertently. The tale of the ravages occasioned by new diseases among populations which had no natural immunity, is as gruesome as the current population explosion (the natural result of the subsequent spread of Western medicine and hygiene) is alarming.

This work is not without its faults. There are a few printers' errors, or perhaps, slips. Thus Viti Levi for Viti Levu (p. 130), *haola* for *haole* (p. 128). The native inhabitants of Newfoundland are 'Boethuk' on p. 77 and 'Boethics' on p. 94, while the 'Tlinkets' on p. 82 are presumably better known as 'Tlingit'. 'Majaphit' on p. 16 should be 'Majapahit'. Another criticism is that the book does not gain much additional value from its final chapter (pp. 202-14) which looks forward rather than back, in that, having been completed early in 1962, its forecasts are already being disproved by subsequent events. Thus the dichotomy established by the author between Russia and China on the one hand, and democratic spheres of influence on the other, is no longer entirely justified even four years later.

Yet as an introduction to the Pacific region for the general reader, and as a first textbook of regional history and geography, this book could hardly be more satisfactory.

G. B. MILNER

BARBARA E. WARD (ed.): *Women in the new Asia: the changing social roles of men and women in South and South-East Asia*. 529 pp., 16 plates. Paris: Unesco, 1963. 50s.

In 1958 the Department of Social Sciences of Unesco convened a conference in Calcutta to discuss the contributions which the social sciences could make towards furthering the objectives of the project on the Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values. In general terms that contribution was seen as the 'task of placing cultural values in their socio-economic context, of acquainting the general public with the contemporary evolution of these values and of clarifying the new conditions of relations among peoples'.

The specific field of study selected for

emphasis was the status of women and, in particular, the effects on the day-to-day domestic living of families of the important political, legal, economic, educational, and other changes which have taken place in the status of women during recent decades. Though it is presented in a sociological framework the material in this book, drawn from eleven countries in South and South East Asia, is intended for ordinary people in the West. It is hoped not only to inform them but to suggest lines of thinking which may help them to deal with their own problems. Unfortunately the price of the book seems likely to restrict its distribution.

The volume consists of three parts. The first is an essay by the editor on understanding social roles. Part II consists of 19 separate contributions, some written by Asian and Western social scientists who have carried out research in one of the countries, some by Asian women. Part III contains a brief history of female emancipation in southern Asia and a discussion of the main demographic characteristics of populations in the region.

Lack of funds for original research necessitated using material that could be made available by others who were able and willing to co-operate. Much of the detail provided by the Asian contributors will be of interest to a wider audience than that for which the book is specifically intended. But by virtue of their educational, economic, and social position these authors are far from typical, a fact which many of them readily admit. Moreover, the special problem selected is not one which all social scientists would inevitably have studied systematically. After all, it is not so easy in Asia for an outsider to gain access to the domestic sphere and yet the need to be able to check people's stereotypes about the relationship between the sexes with what can be abstracted from watching their behaviour is well brought out by Swift for the Malays.

For reasons such as these the editor, in her introductory essay, had an unenviable task in providing a comprehensive framework into which readers could place much of the detail supplied in the contributions. In this she has succeeded admirably. After explaining the sociological concept of role she proceeds to examine the influence of the new institutions in Asia on women's roles. Here it is sufficient to list the topics covered—modern medical measures, communications, the surge to the towns, new employment, education, and political emancipation. At a number of points throughout the exposition attention is drawn to the fact that on many important issues concerning the status of women the countries of the region can be divided into two groups—those where the patrilocal extended family

system exists and those in which the simple family system predominates. In general, women were very much more restricted in the former type of family than in the latter. This leads up to a section on traditional institutions, devoted mainly to an analysis of the wider kinship systems of which these contrasted family types are a part. Attention is drawn to the factors strengthening radial (bilateral) ties at the expense of unilineal links under modern urban economic conditions, and the hypothesis is advanced that socio-economic development favours the greater equality of the sexes.

All of this will help Western readers to see some sort of order in the variations that exist in the status of women within the region. Those not accustomed to seeing such topics examined in their social setting should find much to interest them in the approach and presentation. My only doubt is whether it goes far enough. Too much of the discussion deals with the effects of the new institutions on middle-class women whose problems—and the solutions to them—are far from typical for the majority.

For example, while the falling death rate has had the advantages suggested it has also, in two Malay kampongs in which I lived, forced almost all women to work as rubber-tappers to help support their larger families. Not for them the solution of employing servants to do their domestic work for them, though some of them have to pay a nursemaid to look after their babies while they work. Returning tired, it is not surprising that these women may skimp their domestic chores, often to the detriment of their children's health. Or if there is a daughter old enough she may be kept away from school to look after her younger siblings—a practice also reported by Fox from the Philippines. And though a career woman may become emancipated because she can employ domestic servants, should we not also be interested in the desire of the domestics to emancipate themselves? (On the evidence provided by the Asian contributors it would appear that domestics in many of these countries are just as keen to forsake their jobs for alternative work, when it becomes available, as were their counterparts in the West.) In short, we cannot assume that only men lose rights when some women gain them—a dilemma which is familiar enough to many a Western woman trying to reconcile her several roles.

It is a great pity that, although this book bears the publication date 1963, review copies were not distributed until May 1965—thus delaying the critical appreciation of this work by two full years.

MARGARET MCARTHUR

PETER LADEFOGED: *A phonetic study of West African languages: an auditory-instrumental survey.* (West African Language Monograph Series, 1.) xix, 74 pp., 16 plates. Cambridge: University Press in association with the West African Languages Survey, 1964. 18s.

Peter Ladefoged is already known for his careful work in the field of acoustic and physiological phonetics. Much was therefore to be hoped for in the present work.

The author spent two sessions in West Africa, 1959–60 on secondment from Edinburgh at the University of Ibadan, Nigeria, and 1961–2 as a Field Fellow of the West African Languages Survey. He travelled extensively in West Africa, carrying out research into the phonetics of a large number of languages at the principal academic centres in the area, and supplemented what he found out from direct observation by detailed experiments with informants in the phonetics laboratory at the University of Ibadan.

The monograph falls into two parts; the first 42 pp. present the phonetic discussion of topics selected by the author for treatment, with frequent enlightening references to the tables and figures, and particularly to the 16 plates that follow. On the whole this part of the book is a model of how to integrate instrumental data into the verbal description of the speech events. The second part, pp. 43–86, consists of appendixes, giving the names of the languages studied and of the informants used, together with a list of most of the consonant phonemes providing linguistic oppositions in each of the languages.

The present work gives the author's findings for 61 languages, including the interpretation of data obtained from cine-radiology recording and analysing equipment, high-quality tape recorders and repeaters, a sound spectrograph, a pitch meter combined with an amplitude display unit, breath pressure and flow transducers, a high speed ink writer, palatography, and a system for photographing the lips. Brief accounts of the techniques involved are included in the introduction, and references are given for the reader who is interested to follow up. Professor Ladefoged puts the value of these techniques in correct perspective when he says (p. xviii), 'But even the most extensive array of instruments can never be a substitute for the linguist's accurate observation and imitation of an informant'. In a work such as this, the author's accuracy is reflected partly in his verbal description of phonetic events linked to the display of instrumental data, and partly in the consistency with which he employs his

chosen transcription. No one would deny that the reports of his experiments, his illustrations, and the conclusions he draws are a valuable contribution to phonetics, but his handling of examples in this monograph, if I may judge from languages with which I have some acquaintance, and the way in which he uses his transcription show inconsistency and inaccuracy.

It may just be a slip that caused him to place Mopti in Nigeria (p. 43), but it is more serious when he says (p. 5), 'and implosives, in which there is a downward movement of the closed glottis' while in table 1 the only implosives he classifies are (correctly) voiced. It may be a printer's error too that on p. 35 he gives the symbol for the voiced velar fricative for one of the centralized back unrounded vowels, but what is one to make of 'the homorganic nasal m̃' (p. 12) for a coarticulation involving simultaneous labial and alveolar strictures? It is occasionally necessary to rewrite his sentences in order to understand what is meant. For instance, in talking of table 1 (p. 1), he says, 'This display should enable the reader to get a rough idea of most of the consonant symbols', whereas what he appears to mean is that, together with fig. 2, table 1 will help to give a rough idea of the articulations and of the sounds, something very different from the symbols. It is indeed an impossible task that he has set himself here, and table 1 is best regarded, as he himself almost suggests at one point on p. 1, simply as a reservoir of symbols. That he regards the symbols as phonemic rather than phonetic at least part of the time is clear if one takes what he says (p. 5) about Hausa stops ('Hausa stops are sometimes said to be unaspirated; but this was not true in the case of my informants') and relates this to the heavy line between **k'** and **kh** in table 1, which implies that there is no language in which ejective **k** is in contrast with aspirated **k**. However, even if such considerations are left aside, table 1 is unsatisfactory in that it does not do what the author says it does (p. 1): 'I have tried to include in Table 1 all the contrasting consonants in at least those languages that have a simple CV structure'. In table 2, which is headed 'Examples of contrasts between some of the items in Table 1', there are eight symbols which in fact do not occur in table 1; they are: **tʃ** and **dʒ** without underlining of **t** and **d**; all three symbols with raised **w** in the fifth set of contrasts; **tʃ** just below, without a subscript circle; **ʃh** in the eleventh set and **r⁺** in the Bini contrasts on p. 4. There are other oppositions in Appendix B not symbolized in table 1.

With many of the languages dealt with in Appendix B I am not acquainted, and I can

comment on only a few. In the Fula list (p. 45), long vowels are indicated by doubling the vowel letter, but in the Hausa list (p. 64), by a length mark. This difference of treatment is surprising in view of what is said on p. 33, where Fula and Hausa are specially coupled as having long and short vowels, and opposed to languages, presumably such as Mende (p. 49), in which perceptibly long vowels are regarded as sequences of two vowels. The author has worked with speakers of different Fula dialects, and the origins of the items in what is clearly a composite list are not properly indicated in the footnotes, so that one does not get a clear view of the phonological contrasts in any one dialect. To illustrate **ʃ** the plural form **ʔbe ʃaawii** with gloss 'they wrapped' is needed rather than the singular which is **o saawii**. In the transcription of the first example, the voiced alveolar plosive should be shown as laryngealized, to **paaʔdaa**, while the gloss of **o vami** should be 'he wove', not 'he wore'.

In the Yoruba list, the example glossed 'I shall go' is misleading. It is a three syllable piece, syllabic velar nasal, mid tone; high tone **o** and mid tone **lo** with no nasalization mark—**ŋ ó lo**. The final example **árá** [sic] should have two mid tones, there are no nouns with initial vowel having two high tones. In my experience, the consonant in the word for dog, orthographically **ájá**, is a palato-alveolar affricate, phonetically, and not a palatal plosive.

Out of the 32 Hausa examples, only two are beyond criticism. They are **ḍẓá**: 'red' and **ǰá:ɾó**: 'boy'. In these words, Professor Ladefoged shows that he recognized long vowels in final position on high and low tones, but he fails to mark final long vowels elsewhere. In fact all except **bá:riki**, and **ʔúwársá**, should be given a final length mark. In **bá:riki** the author has shown the wrong **r** symbol. The third example should read **cáŋ^wá**, with falling and not low tone for the first syllable, the two tones being phonologically distinct. The next example should have a low tone mark on the second syllable. The gloss for **ʔúwársá** should be 'his mother' and not simply 'mother'. The tones of **g^wándá**: are high-low, not low-low as shown in the list. The gloss 'son' should be replaced by 'locust'. The word for flogging is **h̄á:ʔdá**: with tones low-high not high-low. The gloss 'butter' should be replaced by 'cattle'. For consistency, the letter **t** in **lókátʃi** should be underlined. The Hausa examples in table 2 require correction. They all should have a final length mark. The word for 'rust' should have tones high-low **sʔá:sʔá**: and all the vowels in the word for 'fool', **ʃá:ʃá:ʃá**:, are long.

There are also, to my knowledge, mistakes

in the Gã, Ewe, and Igbo lists, but enough has already been said to indicate that the information in Appendix B cannot be relied on as accurate.

Although, in the main, Professor Ladefoged has treated the data in the plates well, there remain certain points that are not clear. In plate 1A, what accounts for the energy from the base line upwards during the articulation of the ejectives? The transcription for this Hausa example should show the last two vowels as long. The vowel in the *je:* syllable can be seen to be long, and the second formant is well above the 2,000 cycle mark and correlates with the half close front quality appropriate to the long vowel. This contrasts with the example in plate 15A from the same speaker, where the second formant above the letter *e* is lower, and correlates with a short vowel of half open front quality. Here again the author has mistakes in the transcription, which should be *ba:ja: jena: ba:sa:*. The second *a* should be moved a little to the right of its present position beneath the spectrogram and given a length mark, the *j* moved half an inch to the right, under the rising second formant, and the *e* in turn moved a little more to the right. The final vowel is partly devoiced, as often happens in low tone syllables, but has energy visible at about 1500 cps.

The Hausa word for 'children' occurs three times in the monograph, each time with a different transcription, the correct version being on p. 16. The figures of 30, 200, 170, and 120 msec. on p. 16 cannot easily be reconciled with the scale under plate 1B, illustrating part of this word.

The top spectrogram in plate 8A has no base line, and the intervocalic consonant appears to be largely without voice. One wonders why nothing is said about this in the discussion on p. 20.

The Cambridge University Press is to be congratulated on the technical production of this monograph, and it is much to be regretted that their care has not been matched by that of the author in the preparation and correction of his text. The work contains so many inaccuracies in detail that it can be used only with the greatest caution.

J. CARNOUGHAN

I. SCHAPERLA (ed. and tr.): *Praise-poems of Tswana chiefs*. (Oxford Library of African Literature.) vi, 255 pp., map. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965. 45s.

Interest in vernacular texts from pre-literate societies has lately been growing apace, both for their literary and philosophical content and

their value as historical, linguistic, and anthropological material. Professor Schaperla, who is one of our greatest authorities on the peoples of the south-west African Protectorate of Bechuanaland, is well able to fulfil all these requirements. His latest book is a noteworthy addition to the Oxford Library of African Literature, a series which aims to promote the recording of oral compositions before they are lost to memory.

The work contains 39 previously unpublished vernacular texts of traditional eulogies, dating from 1750 onwards, from four of the Tswana-speaking tribes: the Kgatla, Kwena, Ngwaketse, and Ngwato. The poems were encountered in the field, between 1929 and 1940, while Professor Schaperla was conducting anthropological research. They were written down, at his request, by his literate Tswana-speaking assistants, and translated and annotated with their aid. In the book, each praise-poem is preceded by brief biographical notes about the chief to whom it refers. The vernacular text, presented in the latest official Tswana orthography, is followed immediately by its English translation, both texts being numbered every fifth line to facilitate comparison. The annotation provided supplies a great deal of necessary elucidation. As is the case with so much material of this kind, quite an amount of obscurity remains, nevertheless. It is pointed out, in the introduction, that these Tswana eulogies are 'not so much epitomes of tribal history as clues to that history'. Without a good deal of explanation, 'none is itself a sufficient source of information about the topics with which it deals'. Unfortunately, some allusions in the older poems have outlived all memory of their original factual reference. Although incomplete and unsatisfactory in this respect as actual repositories of tribal history, these praise-poems are, none the less, regarded by the tribesmen themselves as their most important historical mnemonics.

While these 39 items have all been composed in praise of tribal chiefs, the range of possible subjects for such eulogies is in fact much wider. As with other southern Bantu peoples of the Sotho-Tswana Group, and the neighbouring Nguni Group, notable warriors and heroes, commoners, women, wild or domestic animals—particularly cattle, natural phenomena, and even such objects as trains and bicycles may be deemed worthy of formal praises of this kind. In style and content, the 39 Tswana chiefs' eulogies immediately invite comparison with other Bantu material in this category, though the sporadic nature of available samples from this widespread field does not yet permit anything like a comprehensive survey. Superficially, one notes common features such

as the persistent use of animal metaphor, the recounting and appraisal of heroic action, and a certain degree of permissible criticism, direct or implied. The lack of a consistent unity of structure within the poems, which Professor Schapera points out, also seems widespread. Each eulogy being a loose series of self-contained passages, the order of these stanzas can be altered at will, without greatly affecting their balance or purport.

As might be expected, warfare does not provide so prominent a theme in the Tswana praises as it does in comparable Zulu *izibongo*, and there is but scant reference to cattle-raiding, if one considers the extent to which this forms the very core in the *ebyevugo* recitations of the Bahima of Uganda, dealt with in a companion volume in this series (H. F. Morris, *The heroic recitations of the Bahima of Ankole*). Another distinguishing feature of the latter is the persistent use of the first person, since *ebyevugo* are self-declared assertions of prowess: 'I who do not bow my head threw myself on the troops . . .' (op. cit., p. 76). Tswana and other Southern Bantu praises mostly employ the third person, and in many tribes it would be unthinkable to utter one's own praises. Professor Schapera is not explicit on this point among the Tswana, however, and tells us little about the style of oral delivery, but a great deal of other useful contextual information has been provided in his introduction. On the whole, the declared objects of the Oxford Library of African Literature series: 'to introduce the society in which the works have been created, and to describe their literary and linguistic characteristics' seem to have been well served in this volume.

D. K. RYCKROFT

G. S. P. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE: *The French at Kilwa island: an episode in eighteenth-century East African history*. xvi, 243 pp., front. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965. 42s.

The episode described in this volume covers nearly a decade towards the close of the eighteenth century, a little before the French Revolution, when a certain M. Morice obtained from the Sultan of Kilwah favourable conditions for establishing a fortified trading station there, mainly with a view to the export of slaves. Dr. Freeman-Grenville has published the relevant documents from a manuscript discovered by a strange chance in a London bookseller's shop, two volumes from Chicago University seemingly originally forming part of the French naval archives, and relevant papers from the Archives de France. More material

might have been found in Lorient, had the archives there not unfortunately been destroyed in the Allied bombing of the port in the second World War. Short as the period covered is, there is very much of interest with regard to the history and civilization of the East African coast and its link with other countries of the Indian Ocean. This study is well edited, indexed, annotated, and furnished with a full bibliography, though it would have been improved in some minor details by consultation with an Arabist. The improvements listed below are suggested, but although the list is somewhat lengthy this should not be taken as in any way detracting from the quality of this useful well-produced work.

p. 35: it should be added to the discussion of the name 'Alawī that it is usually that of a *saiyid*, so even if rare in Swahili it is likely to show that the person in question is a *saiyid*.

p. 40, l. 32: for 'drive out the Portuguese', read 'Omanis'.

p. 60: rice is mentioned as an export from Kilwah by the *Mulakhkhas al-ſitan* before A.D. 1411.

p. 64: it is not altogether true that 'no satisfactory history of Muscat has yet been written'. Al-Sālimī's *Tuḥfat al-a'yān* is not without merit.

p. 66: is the word *morfa* of *mkate morfa*, the Swahili for millet bread, the Arabic *masofā* used of a sort of bread-oven?

p. 70 et seq.: the rendering of the base Arabic of the Kilwah treaty leaves much to be desired, and it is a pity the author did not consult an Arabist. Note 5 should be deleted, for Kilwat al-Mulūk appears to be the name of Kilwah as in Shumovskiy's gazetteer to his text of Ahmad b. Mājid. Sultān 'Alī is the Shirāzi, the Kilawī/Kilwī, not the Kilwī Shirāzi. An entirely new translation of the document is required, but it is basically in corrupt South Arabian colloquial, the writer being uncertain about 'ain and hamzah, tā' and ḥā'. One point of interest is that on p. 72 Morice is to have land from Cape Balfādh to the lighthouse, but the Arabic does not read *ba'it manār* as the author has misread it, but *ba'it manāz*. He goes on to attempt the proof that *manār* does not mean a lighthouse since the ruins of the building there are more like a kiosk for enjoying the evening breeze. As the writer of the document in other cases has dropped final *hā'* it might be assumed that he meant to write *manāz(ih)* which could be a plural of *manzah* as in Dozy, *Supplément*, a word still employed in Mukallā for a place to sit in the cool of the evening. With some reflection the writer's intention could be restored but it requires familiarity with South Arabian documents of the present day.

p. 90: the note on Ajan should be deleted

for it does not stand for the ancient Azania but for the Arabic Barr al-'Ajam, for which see my *Portuguese* . . . It is the name for the Somali coast.

p. 94 : to the note on Sofala might be added the information that Ibn Mājid provides interesting data on this place.

p. 124 : there is no reason to question the statement that Socotra Arabs bring fish-oil to Zanzibar—which Morice would have recognized by its smell anyway. Socotra has some export of salt fish to Zanzibar and fish-oil could come this way from Ḥaḍramawt.

p. 141 : *msandarusi* of Swahili is the Arabic *ṣandarūs*, a well-known commodity traded in the Indian Ocean and mentioned in Arabic sources from at least medieval times.

p. 142 : *rassades* (small glass beads) does not seem to be known to Arabic sources, unless indeed one should read *bussad/bussadh*, properly 'coral', but perhaps applied to other beads. *Capouti* must be the Persian *kaḫūdi*, which Steingass gives as a turban with a blue sheepskin border, but presumably it might just be a trade-name for a kind of blue cloth. *Hardia* would seem to be *ardiyyah*, the plural of *ridā*, the piece of cloth the Bedouin wear over the shoulders. The *cobe* is presumably the *cobido*, etc. of Ferrand, *Poids, mesures et monnaies*, 258–300, from the Portuguese *covado*, *coudée*. *Miardia* might perhaps be read *mi-ardiyyah*, a hybrid word, half a *ridā*. This is supported by the text which makes the *miardia* 6 *cobes* as opposed to the *hardia*'s 12.

p. 143 : *calin* is the Arabic *qala'i* 'tin' for which see Dozy, *Supplément*, Bīrūnī, *Jamāhīr*, etc. *Chites* is the Arabic *ḡhīt*, nowadays cotton sheeting. *Quinsangué*, described as red and blue loin-cloths seems nearer the Swahili *kansu* than the Portuguese *canaqui*, though the *kansu* is a long white cotton garment. *Chouder*, is the Arabic *ḡhaidhar/ḡhaidar*, derived from Perso-Indian *chādar*. These words were current in medieval trade circles. If *mounara* were Arabic perhaps *munaīyar* 'striped', or, with a double warp or woof, might be suggested, but it does not seem that this was a trade-term in the Indian Ocean at so late a period. However, for this and other terms an examination of the glossary to the *Diwān-i albisah* of Maḥmūd Qārī of Yazd, though written some centuries earlier, might prove helpful.

p. 150 : the Sultan of Kilwah was accompanied by musical instruments exclusive to royalty. This is also true of the sultans of South Arabia where the drum has a special significance and plays a large part in tribal ceremony.

p. 151 : the *mufti* is incorrectly described as a 'superior judge'. He has no judicial functions but gives a legal opinion.

p. 163 : Morice states that there is no weaving on the East African coast in his day, but in Ibn Baṭṭūṭah's time Mogadishu cloth was exported, and it is listed in the *Mulakhkhaṣ al-fitan* in 1411. For the goat's hair cloth of Socotra see my *Portuguese*, 157.

p. 208 : the Swahili *maje* is the Arabic *sāj* 'teak'.

R. B. SERJEANT

A. B. THEOBALD: *'Alī Dīnār, last sultan of Darfur, 1898–1916*. ix, 243 pp. London: Longmans, 1965. 42s.

'Alī Dīnār b. Zakariyā was the last of a line of Fūr sultans who ruled from the sixteenth century until the Egyptian conquest of the sultanate in 1874. Claimants to the throne survived precariously during the Egyptian and Mahdist occupation. In 1898 'Alī Dīnār seized the throne during a power vacuum which followed the destruction of the Mahdist government, and he lost it in 1916 when he was overwhelmed by an Anglo-Egyptian force during the first World War.

This obscure, unimportant young Mahdist adherent of 1891 became by 1914 a vehemently anti-Mahdist supporter of the caliph Mehmed V. It seems that his enforced residence in Mahdist Omdurman was a stage in his education towards the conception of a wider Muslim solidarity for which he yearned. No sooner had he become sultan than he repudiated his Mahdism and had several refugee Mahdist amīrs, who sought asylum in his territory, put to death. As he wrote testily to a correspondent in Omdurman in 1914, 'Do you not know that I followed the Mahdiyyah only to save other people's lives?' He possibly had his own neck also in mind.

The call of a wider Islam certainly found him responsive in the latter period of his reign. His suspicions, fanned by the French advance towards his western border in 1909–12 and the Italian descent upon the Libyan coast in 1911–12, convinced him that these Christian Powers were quite faithless; their diplomatic shadow-boxing and their complicated intrigues one against the other masked their united intention to destroy Islam. It only required pan-Islamic propaganda, active in Cyrenaica and the Western Oases since 1908, to convince him doubly of their perfidy. He must have been told that his own sultanate was still formally within the sovereignty of the Ottoman sultan and there were Ottoman maps which still, in one comprehensive sweep, labelled the land mass between the Red Sea and the Chad basin 'Ottoman Africa'. He began to style himself *amīr al-mu'minīn fī Dār Fūr* and his

seals, 2½ in. in diameter, bore his genealogy, the greater and the lesser, set out in the Ottoman imperial manner. In one respect he did not imitate Ottoman usage: unlike the Funj sultans of Sennar he never claimed for his hotted capital al-Fāahir the epithets *al-mahrāsah* and *al-mahmiyyah*. He followed Arab princely tradition in publishing his *diwān* of verse, *Diwān al-madīh fī madīh al-nabī al-milīh* (Khartoum, 1913).

Dr. Theobald has not presented a biography in the personal sense. For while he has written much about 'Ali Dīnār's relations with the Sudan government to which he was tributary and with his own tiny satellite states in the west, he has written little about the personality of the man who combined African kingship with frontier Islam. Within the drily impersonal limits which he has set himself Dr. Theobald has produced an efficiently planned and adequately documented work on the administration of the sultanate under 'Ali Dīnār so far as it can be studied from the archives of Khartoum, London, and Durham, a chapter which cries out for comparison with neighbouring systems of kingship. Dr. Theobald shows that the governor-general, Sir Reginald Wingate, far from laying deep schemes for the deposition of the sultan and absorbing his realm within the central administration of the Sudan, did not decide to seek permission to mount an offensive operation against 'Ali Dīnār until the sultan's violent language had made any other course impossible. Wingate, as would be expected in a war of propaganda, exaggerated the amount of arms and ammunition which the sultan was receiving from the Central Powers; so for that matter did 'Ali Dīnār. 'Ali Dīnār's conduct after 1914 cannot be explained as that of a crazy fanatic who sacrificed his throne by driving the Sudan government to depose him. The remoteness of his primitive mind from the modern world outside Darfur made the gulf too wide to be bridged by mutual understanding. Consequently he misinterpreted the attitude of the Sudan government towards him and over-rated the armed might of the Ottoman caliph, to his own destruction.

In one particular this book introduces what may be a future international issue in that it contains the most convenient summary known to the reviewer of the long Anglo-French travail of delimiting the frontier between Darfur and the French colony of the Chad, a frontier which has outlived the disappearance of both French and Anglo-Egyptian rule from the region. It was a compromise frontier as most frontiers are, and it was tolerable in the political setting of 1924. The wishes of the local people were not taken into serious consideration in the course of the bargaining

though the commissioners did their best to avoid the splitting of tribes. Delimitation left several ethnographic and administrative anomalies which still rankle on both sides of the frontier. If ever a re-delimitation is undertaken—and in the new political situation of the republics of the Sudan and the Chad it is not altogether to be excluded—the future delimitation commissioners would be wise to read their Theobald.

RICHARD HILL

I. M. LEWIS: *The modern history of Somaliland: from nation to state.* (The Weidenfeld and Nicolson Asia-Africa Series.) xi, 234 pp., 16 plates. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, [1965]. 36s.

This book breaks new ground, for it is the first general history written in English (and perhaps in any other language) of the Somali of north-eastern Africa. This alone must claim attention for the book: these people, some 3½ million of them, and their new, independent country are not negligible in the modern African world, even though they have been unduly neglected by Africanist scholars. Fortunately, however, we do not have to welcome the book merely because of its scarcity value, for in its own right it is an excellent work, all that one could wish for in a brief history—comprehensive, reliable, readily readable, up to date.

The author, Dr. Lewis, is a professional anthropologist who has specialized on the Somali for more than a decade, and has visited their country several times. He has already published an anthropological monograph and a number of papers, and doubtless there is no one who is better qualified for the task of writing a first history of Somaliland. Although he makes good use of his anthropological experience and expertise, perceiving factors in Somali history that others might not have seen, he does not allow this to outweigh the more strictly historical purpose of his book. Neither the historian nor the general reader need fear a biased presentation in anthropological jargon.

Alone among the newly independent countries of Africa, Somaliland is very largely composed of people who have a single traditional cultural heritage and identity. Dr. Lewis regards his history as that of a single 'nation', although for much of the period with which he is concerned the Somali were split up by external (colonial) forces. This book in effect traces the development of Somali cultural nationalism to full political nationalism. This

kind of development contrasts most markedly with the situation in the rest of Africa where artificially devised colonial boundaries have come to enclose newly independent countries. But within these boundaries are heterogeneous collections of tribes, ethnic groups, nations (call them what you will) with no common culture, heritage, or identity, but with a considerable and feared potentiality for disintegration.

The fulfilment of Somali nationhood has not been achieved: that is, the incorporation of all Somali and the areas which they distinctively inhabit into the political state of Somaliland. Over a million Somali (nearly one-third of the total population) still live outside the nation-state, principally in the Ethiopian Ogaden and in north-eastern Kenya. Governments in these two neighbouring regions are prepared neither to cede territory and people to Somaliland nor to admit the principle of the primacy of cultural nationalism and cultural determinism in political affairs. No African country or government would be safe were that principle allowed full play, and there is no politician who does not know this. Consequently there remains a *Somalia irredenta*, and Somali conflict with Ethiopia and Kenya has been internationally important, and may well be so again. Dr. Lewis's book is now essential reading for anyone who really wishes to understand that situation. It is also a valuable addition to the general story of the ending of colonialism in Africa and of nation-building.

P. H. GULLIVER

ROBERT I. ROTBERG: *Christian missionaries and the creation of Northern Rhodesia, 1880-1924*. xvi, 240 pp., 8 plates. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1965. (Distributed in G.B. by Oxford University Press. 52s.)

The main themes of this short book are European mission involvement either in autonomous secular authority, or in colonialism, and the lack of sympathetic mission connexion with Africans. Often critical of European missionaries, it is a book about Europeans, not Africans; in that sense it continues the colonialist tradition that African history is the history of Europeans in Africa.

The background of tribal power politics, stressed by Gluckman, is sketchily treated: for example, the Makololo appear with Livingstone, but only later and incidentally is their rule over Barotseland mentioned (4-5, 21). Other tribal relationships, as Lozi-Ila or Lozi-Ndebele, need elaboration. The harshness

of African traditional life is omitted; critical judgements by European missionaries hang in a void. African traditional religion is practically confined to an aside about 'the worship of ancestors' (128); were ancestors worshipped? African Christian missionaries are almost excluded. Dr. Rotberg approves Livingstone Nyasa evangelists, and disapproves—though Coillard called two early helpers 'earnest Christians and choice evangelists' (*On the threshold of central Africa*, 338)—of the Basuto; their contribution is not examined. Leonard Kamungu, first ordained Nyasa of the UMCA, who worked and died (1917) at Msoro, is unmentioned. Dr. Rotberg explains that he has treated Christian separatism elsewhere, not indicating where.

For missions and autonomous secular authority, the author describes chiefly LMS work in north-east Rhodesia: '... none were as systematic as the London missionaries; none were as successful or as wholeheartedly committed to the exercise of temporal power' (56). Laws and Chisholm of the Free Scottish mission, conducting in 1905 an inquiry for the LMS directors, found the work anything but systematic or successful. Was the early LMS experience, as Dr. Rotberg suggests, a representative example, or, as Laws thought, an aberration? Dr. Rotberg quotes Laws, but never mentions the inquiry nor outlines its findings.

Immediately before the Laws inquiry, LMS missionaries considered demoting all members to the catechumenate. Laws advised against this; the directors accepted his report; I do not know how this affected the proposed punishment. The author says nearly the entire LMS membership was suspended in 1905; his only reference is 1904 (139).

Dr. Rotberg says LMS missionaries were 'shunned at Fwambo and at Niamkolo—labor was scarce and the churches and schools remained empty—until the missionaries belatedly built stockades around both of the stations in 1890. Once the stockades were constructed, Mambwe and Lungu families built their homes on mission land...' (57). No references are given. Niamkolo letters in the LMS archives include the following. 27 June 1889: 'A good few people have built huts at the station. They have come from various villages of Ulungu and I understand more are coming. I am sorry I can't employ more of them but the question of cloth is becoming serious' (7.4.C). 15 August 1889: 'I have regularly on Sunday collected the people living on the station with me and proclaimed to them as I could the message of the Gospel'. 26 February 1890: 'In consequence of continuous slave raids in this district our settlement is increasing rapidly and we are

having an attendance of 120 to 150 people every Sunday to service' (8.1.A). Finally, on 19 June 1890: '... We were forced to put ourselves & people (who have for the 3rd time gathered around us) in a state of defence by erecting a *Boma* around our village . . .' (8.1.C; see A. J. Hanna, *The beginnings of Nyasaland* . . . , 48). Has Dr. Rotberg used other unspecified sources, or reversed practically every detail? The incident is significant, relevant in assessing how far secular authority was thrust upon missions: compare the author's bald summary of early events at Blantyre (11). The Fwambo stockade was built in 1891.

As the LMS is a chief example of independent secular involvement, so the Paris Society is of colonial involvement. According to the author, Rhodes, wishing to secure Barotseland peacefully, urged Coillard to obtain a plea for British protection from Lewanika. Coillard did so, supported by chief Kgama, who recommended the British against Ndebele and Boers. In 1890 Lochner, aided by Coillard, persuaded Lewanika to sign a Company treaty. Lewanika and his councillors soon regretted this, and turned indignantly against Coillard (23-4).

Relevant events before and after are omitted. British influence was evident to the south, in the break-up of the Stellaland and Goshen republics, the extension of British protection to Bechuanaland, both in 1885, and the Lobengula treaty of 1888. Lewanika several times discussed a Barotse protectorate privately with Coillard, Coillard refusing to act; in 1888 Lewanika raised the matter in the Barotse council. (Did Lewanika not share Coillard's fears about Portuguese infiltration? —23.) Finally, Coillard and Lewanika sent letters to Shippard, British administrator in Bechuanaland, and to Kgama (who was, incidentally, a Christian). Then, when the British government dawdled, Rhodes nipped in. During the Lochner negotiations, Coillard tried in part to be interpreter only. Subsequent events unmentioned include Coillard's refusal to be Rhodes's Resident, independent European traders' opposition to the treaty, the British defeat of Lobengula, Coillard's rejection of the 1900 treaty, the Paris missionaries' support of the unsuccessful Barotse appeal for direct imperial rule in 1907, etc.

Dr. Rotberg implicates missions in Company taxation, without clear references (52, 100-1). Acute anxiety over taxation, at the Missionary Conference, he omits.

The third theme, failure to understand Africans, stresses critical European judgments. For example, Dr. Rotberg quotes Coillard on the Barotse, in an 'unfathomable abyss of corruption and degradation, of which

[he had] found a parallel no where in heathen Africa', 'treacherous and suspicious—no savages' feet are swifter than theirs to shed blood. The least provocation, the most groundless suspicion, envy, jealousy, and vengeance justify the most atrocious crimes' (38). This, standing alone, scarcely does justice to Coillard. First, Coillard's evidence is omitted; Barotseland would have been a revelation to Rousseau. Second, Coillard's standards were not simply European: he sometimes condemned Europe (*Threshold*, 399, 473)—'shall we be the first to cast a stone at these poor Barotse?'; some criticisms, as of Barotse marriage, were by contrast with the Basuto, whose marriage by cattle Coillard called 'a blessing . . . a barrier against corruption, and a civil contract' (*Threshold*, 284; cf. Rotberg, 131). Third, Coillard was more sympathetic than Dr. Rotberg's selective quotations reveal. Philip Mason's *Birth of a dilemma*—inclusive but alas ineffectual example—marshals such instances. Add Coillard's account after his wife's death. 'Lewanika hastened to pay me a visit of condolence. He was really sad, and I felt grateful to him for saying so little. I had a message for him. Afterwards there was his mother, whose age and position give her especial claims on my affection; then his sister, the Princess Katoka, an empty-headed creature, but kind-hearted enough at bottom; then his wives, who came in groups, chattering, giggling, and teasing one another—mere will-o'-the-wisps—they got on my nerves' (*Threshold*, 440). This is balanced, neither a determination to see the worst, nor to pretend things better than they are.

Even when missions prefer African links to imperialist interests, as in teaching vernaculars rather than English, Dr. Rotberg is discontented. He emphasizes so much the mission fear that English 'would hasten the emancipation of a "bad class" of "cheeky Africans"' (48, 109-10), that we may imagine Luther translating the Bible because he found Augustinian novices turning cheeky on learning Latin. Some language questions are neglected. Was Roman Catholic policy distinct, as in Kamerun Roman Catholics were more willing to teach a European language? What of missionaries whose native language was not English, a quarter of the 200 pioneers whose brief biographies form an appendix? (Probably the proportion was higher; the Paris Mission, as two others also in 'Abbreviations used in the appendix', is omitted.) Only one of 31 Jesuits (all with tiny notices) was native to English—and is the training of a Jesuit priest really equivalent to a Moody Bible Institute course (161)? The Phelps-Stokes commission of 1924 is missing, even in

the bibliography, though its report supplements statistics cited on pp. 125-6. Was Fell's American visit (124) Phelps-Stokes sponsored?

In inter-mission relations, we hear much of competition, little of co-operation. Personal relationships are omitted, as when Coillard wrote, 'You would have been very much astonished to see me, a descendant of the Huguenots, holding serious converse with this disciple of Loyola, on the experiences of the Christian life...'. Coillard disagreed with his Jesuit colleague over physical punishment: '... it is a serious thing to take the law into our own hands, and be judge, jury, and executioner all in one' (*Threshold*, 187-8). Laws's inquiry for the LMS, mentioned above, was an outstanding instance of trust. Striking is the absence of the General Missionary Conference, though its reports are cited. It began in 1914; in 1922, at least 11 societies took part; in 1927, Anglo-Catholics came in cassocks, Jesuits felt strong enough for trousers.

Do home-base differences among European missionaries deserve more attention? Was the American contribution peculiar? The American Seventh Day Adventists are introduced in half a line (71), the English Primitive Methodists (because they were 'low men'?—162) in a full page (26-7). What of the rural background of the Dutch Reformed missionaries (not all Afrikaners—36), which Richard Gray mentioned in *The two nations*? (In 1864 the DRC condemned the Reverend T. F. Burgers for 'denying... the personality of the devil', so fundamentalism was not for Africans only (76-7).)

Often selection is merely puzzling. Holub—'adventurer' even in the index—among the Mashukulumbwe gets full treatment; the World War goes unnoticed. Repeatedly 'a mission', 'one station', etc., did something; but we have full names of early Brethren theologians.

Sometimes brevity is tantalizing: Father Torrend was gaoled for making payments in goods (98)—surely an incarcerated Jesuit is worth a word or two more. Torrend was the only Roman priest openly disobeying his bishop (166); how? did his bishop incarcerate him? or forbid him to be incarcerated?

The style is ironical, underlined by abundant quotation marks. 'Somewhat mystifying mores and folkways' is the tone for describing the West, 'indigenous jurial context' for Africa (113, 57). There are too many generalizations about 'Africans' doing this, 'missionaries' that. There are carelessnesses: a priest, summoned to a chief's death-bed 'in the vain hope that he could alleviate the chief's suffering', 'made the last weeks of Mwamba's life more comfortable' (34); 'of the com-

paratively few catechumens who were even baptised... innumerable African Christians' relapsed (139). Did missionaries really reject 'on innumerable occasions' Johnston's advice about Swahili (47)? What is a non-denominational sect (76)? Was it traditional marital custom that Christians marry non-Christians (130)? What Christian expects 'total victory' before the Second Coming (145)?

I noticed few typographical errors: 1828 for 1822 as the foundation of the Paris Society (19), 1929 for 1939 as the end of Ross's Kambole service (188). Is 1919 an error for 1909 (125)? otherwise a 1924 source is cited for 1929 information. Draper died at Kawimbe in 1927 (170).

In a short book, under 150 small pages (excluding appendixes), choice is central. When material on one side is repeatedly chosen, information on the other repeatedly omitted, the problem of choice becomes a problem of bias. Independent Africa will not be content with the piety of earlier mission studies; it is a pity this book does not provide the new critics with a surer foundation. Fortunately, the Lord, not the academic, must answer Abraham's questions about the number of righteous men necessary to save the city.

HUMPHREY J. FISHER

ARLETTE THURIAUX-HENNEBERT: *Les Zande dans l'histoire du Bahr el Ghazal et de l'Equatoria*. (Collection du Centre national d'étude des problèmes sociaux de l'industrialisation en Afrique noire.) 318 pp., 4 maps. [Bruxelles]: Éditions de l'Institut de Sociologie de l'Université Libre de Bruxelles, 1964. Bel. fr. 330.

STEFANO SANTANDREA: *A tribal history of the western Bahr el Ghazal*. (Museum Combonianum, N. 17.) [ii], 345 pp., 4 maps. Bologna: Editrice Nigrizia, 1964.

Dr. Thuriaux-Hennebert is surely fully justified in believing that intensive local studies constitute the best means of extending our knowledge of the history of what Schweinfurth called the 'heart of Africa'. Several historians have concerned themselves with the broad framework of nineteenth-century developments within the Upper Nile-Upper Congo region; a deeper dimension can be explored only by taking the ethnic group as the unit of study. It would be difficult, also, to choose a more significant and exciting example than the Azande, with their complicated and turbulent expansion, extending their sovereignty over numbers of subject peoples and

assimilating these into fresh political and cultural moulds. It is, therefore, all the greater a disappointment to discover that history for Dr. Thuriaux-Hennebert can be constructed only from the documents of contemporary eyewitnesses. This self-imposed limitation reduces the author to an almost exclusive dependence on European material: from the report of the Niam-niam picked up by Browne in Darfur in 1799 she jumps to the mid-nineteenth century when European travellers first entered into direct contact with the Azande. The author thus loses an opportunity of reconsidering the formative early years of the great Zande conquests, although as she herself admits the material relating to this epoch has been recorded by linguists and anthropologists and is in dire need of a historian's analysis. But this is by no means the full extent of her loss. For without a serious attempt to investigate the internal dynamics of Zande society, without a detailed consideration of dynastic politics and tribal rivalries, it is impossible to comprehend the external diplomacy of the Azande, or to see their leaders as more than puppets reacting with various degrees of effectiveness to the challenges of contact with the outside world. Yet, as Professor Evans-Pritchard has demonstrated in relation to one Zande chieftaincy, this internal initiative can be revealed by using the contemporary written evidence to check on the major themes disclosed by oral tradition, whereas Dr. Thuriaux-Hennebert employs tradition to write a gloss on her documents.

Our loss is all the greater since the author's scholarship and command of her chosen material is thorough and comprehensive. Apart from those studies that have appeared since 1960, a reading of which might have saved her from a few minor errors—such as her account of the founding of Meshra er Req, which has been shown to be based on apparently false evidence—or, more seriously, should have added considerably to her account of the Mahdist contacts with the Azande, she has indefatigably exhausted the published material. A certain residuum of information regarding the Azande has been missed by neglecting the unpublished records of travellers and consular reports from the Sudan, but this is almost certainly of minimal importance compared with the wealth of documentary material relating to the approach from the Wele, which, it is now revealed, is available in Belgian and Congolese archives. All this has enabled her to reconstruct a reliable account of what the traders, explorers, and officials observed among those Azande with whom they came into contact. For assembling all these references, for introducing clarity into many

confused accounts, for resolving intricate questions of historical geography, and, above all, for drawing attention once more to the potentialities of this study, future scholars are in her debt. But for an insight into Zande history, or for a deeper understanding of their role in the history of the Sudan and the Congo, we must await a historian prepared to make full use of the African evidence.

During more than 30 years' service in the Bahr el Ghazal, Father Santandrea seized his opportunities to record traditions and to reflect on the problems they present. He has now gathered together his material on some little-known tribes situated between the Dinka and Azande. Each chapter is devoted to a different group, with a preliminary, general survey, followed by detailed notes, comments, and the records of scattered events. The historical horizon for most of these people has been dominated by either the Zande expansion or the nineteenth-century influences from the north, and, although at times it is difficult for the reader to distinguish between the traditions and Father Santandrea's reflections and comments on them, the book contains a wealth of incident vividly illustrating the strategy and alliances of survival.

RICHARD GRAY

JAN VANSINA: *Oral tradition: a study in historical methodology*. Translated by H. M. Wright. xiv, 226 pp. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965. 30s.

Professor Vansina enjoys an established reputation as the most experienced and successful student of African oral traditions. In this truly masterly survey of the whole field, which first appeared in French in 1961, he discusses fully the classification of the different types of tradition, and how to collect, criticize, and publish them, providing both an indispensable handbook for the field-worker, and a brilliant introduction to the scientific interpretation of this type of evidence for all who have to take account of it. The abstract character of much of the argument and the necessarily technical vocabulary employed must have made the original book rather formidable to many English-speaking readers, and the present excellent translation is therefore assured of the warmest welcome from all teachers and students of African history.

It seems almost impertinent to criticize a book already generally recognized as a classic, but it is perhaps this circumstance itself which justifies the expression of certain reservations. No one would question Professor Vansina's

demonstration that such traditions are determined in form and content by the whole cultural environment which gave them birth and that they are not to be understood in ignorance of their social context or of the purposes which their preservation was designed to subserve. It is equally undeniable that the historian who has to make use of oral materials has much to learn from the techniques of field inquiry developed by the anthropologist. It may seem a mere truism that such sources, like any other historical sources whatsoever, can only be safely interpreted by scholars with fluent command of the language in which they are preserved, but it badly needed to be said. One's only fear is that the force with which these arguments are developed might carry many readers further perhaps than Professor Vansina himself would want them to go in differentiating oral sources from written ones. The historian in Africa certainly faces peculiar difficulties which he does not meet in Europe and he has to evolve new techniques to deal with them, but his task here is essentially the same as anywhere else; there is no occasion to imply that there is some special mystique about it. Professor Vansina seems always to be thinking of an expatriate historian having first of all to find his way into an alien society. It must surely be recognized that in the very near future the typical historian in Africa will be himself an African. While it is clear that the Yoruba historian, say, who would reconstruct the past of his own people, needs to be as professionally skilled as his European or American confrères, it is less easy to see why he, more than they, should be called upon to undergo the secret initiation rites apparently practised by social anthropologists.

D. H. JONES

J. H. G. LEBON: *Land use in Sudan*. (The World Land Use Survey. Regional Monograph No. 4.) xiii, 191 pp., 20 plates. Bude: Geographical Publications Ltd., 1965. 50s.

Land use studies in developing countries have a practical significance to development projects. They illustrate the problems and provide data for future action. A study of land use in the Sudan is welcome for both academic and practical reasons. Dr. Lebon's monograph deals with a tropical area of which much is arid or semi-arid, and it offers valuable comparisons with the three earlier regional land use monographs on Hong Kong, Cyprus, and Tobago.

This monograph is the result of ten years of

intensive study, during eight of which, whilst the author was Professor and Head of the Department of Geography in the University of Khartoum, several field investigations were made, particularly in Jebel Marra, the Nuba mountains, the Red Sea hills and coastal plain, and parts of the South and North. Far more than a land use description has been produced. The work provides a geographical analysis of the Sudan.

The task was of considerable magnitude. The latitudinal extent and area of the Sudan (3° 25' to 23°N: 967,500 square miles), and great deficiencies in basic data, have raised some major problems of treatment of the subject. No extensive land use surveys in the field were available. The topographical maps, mostly on a scale of 1:250,000, were too inadequate in detail and precision to be of much help. Fortunately for most of the country north of 8°N there were available the high-level trimetrogon air-photographs taken by the USAAF in 1943-4. Whilst there are more recent air-surveys, these are limited in extent and variable in quality. The incompleteness of these later photographs restricts their use for a land use survey. Using his knowledge of conditions on the ground, Dr. Lebon has been able to make air-photographs the basis of much of the mapping, which has been plotted on a 1:1,000,000 scale. For areas south of 8°N, data have had to be pieced together from a variety of sources, which include individual studies and official reports such as that of the Jonglei investigation. Dr. Lebon has also drawn widely on the ecological work of Messrs. J. K. Jackson and M. N. Harrison and their vegetation map of the Sudan which was published on a scale of 1:4,000,000 in 1955. The visual result of the completed task of combining many diverse and partial sources of information into a comprehensive survey is seen in fig. 39 of the monograph which is a plotting of the land use types on a 1:8,000,000 scale. It is a pity that this is hidden inside the back cover, and inevitable, but unfortunate, that the original 1:1,000,000 sheets are not published.

The seasonal nature of the rainfall under hot, tropical continental conditions of climate emphasizes the major importance of water availability for vegetation and crops, man and his stock. Even in the wetter South, with a dry season of only three or four months, and where a small area has an average annual rainfall over 1,200 mm., the irregularities of the advance and retreat of the inter-tropical convergence and of the rains to the south of it mean that water problems are serious. The Nilotic tribes show considerable skill in adjusting their land use to the uncertainties of rainfall, water-level and availability of grazing.

In the north-west about one-fifth of the country is almost barren desert. The White and Blue Niles and other rivers with sources in the wet Ethiopian uplands provide invaluable sources of irrigation water, but in area (but not economically) the share of the Sudan covered by the Nile basin irrigated lands must not be exaggerated. The monograph gives the problems of water supply and management detailed consideration, both in the chapters concerned with geology, relief, climate, hydrology, soils and vegetation, and in the main body of the discussion of land use types. The importance of soil texture and permeability in this context emerges clearly.

The interpretation of land use draws on a wide range of interrelated facts. A geographical synthesis of the features of the natural environment and of the human societies, their techniques and customs, must be made. This involves selection of material in order to understand and reveal the special characteristics of land use in different areas. It is possible for details which are rather marginal in relevance to slip in. Some of the interesting material included in the discussion of the social systems of different tribes might sometimes be viewed thus. The section on vegetation provides a considerable amount of botanical information. Some of this goes beyond the needs of the monograph, and it hardly seems that it can be justified wholly on the grounds of not having been published hitherto nor as aid to the recognition of species in the field. However, much of the land use in the Sudan reflects the vegetation cover in an unimproved state, which has been modified in varying degrees by human activity. It is highly significant to appreciate that the various grasses and types of savanna have different soil and water needs, and also that their varying habits of growth and fodder value affect the lives of the pastoral tribes.

A particularly interesting part of the chapter on land use types is that which discusses the movements of nomadic tribes and their complex environmental adjustments—to water supplies and available grazing in particular. Figs. 18, 20–25, and 27 are of much interest in this respect. Dr. Lebon's discussion of the distinctions between sedentary and nomadic pastoralists emphasizes the importance of an understanding of the social geography and anthropology to land use studies. The prejudice of nomadic tribes towards agriculture, though breaking down, is a significant factor. It is a difficult matter always to draw a clear division between dependence on cropping or pastoral activities. In this context, logical though it is in terms of the ordered scheme of the World Land Use types, treatment of agriculture (type 4) before pastoralism (type 6)

may be less appropriate in the Sudan. This is not to say that agriculture, whether of irrigated cotton or other crops in the Gezira, at Khams-el-Girba or on the Nile riverain lands, or flood irrigation in the Gash and Baraka deltas, or rainland cultivation in central Sudan, is not of the utmost importance (especially in economic terms), but the area affected and proportion of the present estimated population of 13 million involved are limited. Many special qualities of the Sudan must be appreciated in a land use study. A regulated system of land tenure such as is found in the Gezira or Manaql cotton lands is not the prevalent pattern. Except in north-eastern Sudan, there is no private ownership of either cultivated or grazing land. The complexities of the subject are illustrated further by historical considerations. The effects of slave-raiding and insecurity in the past, changes in pastoral practices such as the turning of the Baggara tribe from camel to cattle herding, or the explanation of the origins of terraced agriculture in Jebel Marra, the Nuba mountains, and the Ingessana Hills, are instances of the need to draw upon a wide knowledge of social conditions and physical geography. This Dr. Lebon has done. The subject is often involved and sometimes the text itself also becomes involved. A more definite subdivision of the long ch. iii might have helped here.

The more generalized world classification scheme, when applied to areas with special and distinctive qualities, must be modified. This has been a particularly difficult exercise for the Sudan. Dr. Lebon has evolved a scheme of 30 land use types, with some further subdivisions for vegetation characteristics in some areas of unimproved land. The 1 : 6,000,000 map and the scheme itself are detailed, and at times intricate, but this is largely unavoidable in view of the size and varied character of the Sudan. Problems of definition, when combined systems of grazing and cropping or different forms of land rotation or shifting cultivation occur, are difficult to resolve. A hard and fast line between used and unused unimproved land is not always easily drawn. Inevitably on the scale of working the minute urban areas and irrigated lands in small patches or river bank strips cannot be mapped. The more generalization there is, the greater is the loss of significant detail. It would be hard to simplify the scheme set out in table xx.

The fourth and final chapter on land use problems is of particular interest. In the Sudan, where industry, even of a craft or traditional nature, is limited and in the early stages of development, use of the land for grazing, cropping, or forestry must be the mainstay of the economy for a considerable time to come. The discussion of this problem

has both academic and applied value, although it involves some repetition of points made earlier in the monograph. Scientific study of the land use reveals strikingly cases of over-use or misuse. Although population densities are low by world standards, locally there are overpopulation pressures, for example, on the Nile riverain lands or in the shifting cultivation areas of the Azande in the South. Soil depletion and erosion, especially in overgrazed areas around water-points, demonstrate the fine balance between plant cover and soil and climate and its vulnerability to upset by man. The desirability of a controlled system of natural pasture management—'deferred grazing'—and perhaps some form of stock ranching, is clear but its adoption would involve complex mental and social readjustments. The vexed question of fire damage to the vegetation is another example. Elimination of grass-firing, even if possible, would not be wholly beneficial since, where there is no fire check, ticks and unwanted grass species may multiply. The distinctive physical and social characteristics and problems of the North and the South of the Sudan are constantly revealed. They must be accommodated in the development projects of the future.

The text is well supported by 39 diagrams and maps, many of which afford a valuable picture of distribution patterns, by 38 half-tone illustrations, and by 24 tables. Sources of information are fully indicated, and a valuable bibliographical list of published and unpublished sources appears in the footnotes. It would have been easier for reference, however, had this information been assembled at the end of the work. Careful proof-reading has almost entirely eliminated misprints. In some cases there are very minor discrepancies in the maps and map keys. The railway system shown on some of the maps, no doubt a result of the time required to go through the press, is not quite up to date. Appendix B on the Thornthwaite classification of climates would be rather difficult for a non-specialist to comprehend, and some misprints have crept into the water balance computation for Yambio in table XXIV. In the chapters dealing with the physical geography of the Sudan, there are some points which might be debated by the specialist, but this is inevitable where compression is required, and the conclusions, so far as the understanding of the land use is concerned, are not affected.

Indeed one has to search hard for any defects, and those that are found are minor in character. The reviewer would reiterate the words of the editor in his preface—'this fine exposition of the whole land use of the Sudan'. It is to be hoped that it will provide a model

for surveys of land use in other parts of the world, and that, within the Sudan, it will be valued for its academic contribution to the better understanding of the country, and as a foundation and a sign-post for a more effective future use of the Sudan's natural assets.

J. OLIVER

JAMES L. GIBBS, Jr. (ed.): *Peoples of Africa*. xiv, 594 pp. New York, etc.: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., [1965].

This is a really admirable textbook for students of ecology and special areas in Africa as well as for those beginning anthropology. Fifteen societies are described. These include foragers, pastoralists, agriculturalists, and mixed farmers. They are distributed over most of the sub-Saharan ecological zones, which largely coincide with the culture areas designated by Herskovits. A surprisingly large number of prominent anthropologists have contributed. All contributors have expressed themselves very clearly, even though some of them deal with aspects of complicated themes which have appeared in their monographs. Some material is published for the first time, particularly that by Dr. Gibbs on the Kpelle of Liberia and by Dr. Southwold on the Ganda.

The editor has not tried to impose a rigid theme on the material, but he does suggest certain correlations of ecology, population size, and political and social complexity. He does this by including before each article a short summary, in which he compares the society described with others in the book on the basis of the above three variables.

A strong interest of the editor throughout is the way in which the various societies are integrated. The Afikbo Ibo of Eastern Nigeria are politically uncentralized, but are characterized by a strong development of associations which have the function of integrating a wide range of people in a unitary manner. The same general function is ascribed to five other societies described, the Tiriki, Jie, Tiv, Yoruba, and Swazi, which have formalized age systems. Among the Yoruba and Swazi these systems are supplemented by the existence of kingdoms as socially integrative institutions. At a more specific level, the functions of some age systems among these peoples are sharply differentiated. The Tiriki system has assisted the difficult process of acculturation. The Jie system tends to reinforce cultural conservatism. Tiv age-sets cut across the divisive effects of a dominant patrilineal principle.

The pastoral Jie, Fulani, and Somali are similarly compared. All three analyses show that in the necessary movement of people with their cattle, the cluster of rights pertaining to

individual herds provides the focus of group formation. Thus basic to the structural formation of social groups cattle are also at the basis of ideology: that of the lineage among the Somali, and that of the family among the Jie and Fulani.

Foragers are represented by the !Kung Bushmen of the Kalahari desert and the Mbuti Pygmies of the Ituri forest. A common feature of both is the wandering band, which is of necessity small. Though these two peoples differ in detail in their hunting techniques, they both exhibit the marked lack of social complexity characteristic of hunters and gatherers.

Agriculturalists and mixed farmers may together be divided roughly into those societies generally devoid of political centralization and those constituting centralized states. The relevance of type of subsistence to political organization is apparent in the example of the Ganda. The Ganda staple crop is the banana which requires very little attention and can be grown in the same plot for many years. This allows a relatively high density of population and enables men, freed from the time-consuming labour of other agricultural societies, to concentrate their energies on elaborating the society's institutions, including that of government and kingship. The result is the development of one of the most highly refined and strongly centralized kingdoms in Africa before the coming of the European.

Of the centralized states, the Ruanda are clearly distinguished by their caste-like structure. But, strangely, the Suku are not accorded the separate designation of 'segmentary state', in spite of the pioneering work by Aidan Southall among the Alur in 1953. The editor is as guilty here as the author. He states that the Suku have both political centralization and a strong segmentary lineage principle and, as if announcing new findings, indicates 'that the two principles are not completely incompatible, as they have sometimes been asserted to be, but complementary'. Referring to the same article the editor curiously describes matrilineal descent and patrilocal residence as virtually incompatible norms, rather than as a variation of the matrilineal principle. Even at the level of a textbook it may be better to avoid these categorical assertions.

But these seem to be the only faults in a book of very many virtues. The editor and publishers have done a fine job.

D. J. PARKIN

ROBERT F. GRAY and P. H. GULLIVER
(ed.): *The family estate in Africa: studies in the role of property in family*

structure and lineage continuity. v, 265 pp. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964. 30s.

In the tradition of P. H. Gulliver's own *The family herds* and Jack Goody's indispensable Cambridge symposium *The developmental cycle in domestic groups*, this volume of essays edited jointly by Dr. Gray and Dr. Gulliver examines the recurrent patterns of formation, growth, and dissolution in the life of the family and its resources in seven traditional African societies (Shambala, Tanganyika; Gusii, Kenya; Suku, Congo; Taita, Kenya; Lobedu, Transvaal; Arusha, Tanganyika; and Sonjo, Tanganyika). In a straightforwardly written, if sometimes curiously naive, introduction, Dr. Gray justifies this at once economic and developmental (or 'processural') approach in terms of the light which it sheds on the manner in which kinship relations are connected with rights in property and change as these change.

While one welcomes the emphasis on ecological and economic factors, Dr. Gray's treatment reveals all too clearly the danger of placing too great weight on these imperatives to the neglect of other relevant influences. Thus, in discussing the effects of migration, an evolutionary sequence is envisaged in which the migrant family groups lose the autonomy and independence (which they are assumed to have possessed as migrants) in response to further influxes of new settlers and population growth. No account is taken of defensive or offensive needs, of common ritual interests, or of pre-existing social, political, or religious organization, to say nothing of culture in the widest sense. Similarly, given that polygyny in patrilineal societies gives rise to matri-centric divisions within the polygynous family, the suggestion that whether this, or the patrilineal tendency, 'prevails' is mainly determined by the system of property rights is altogether too simplistic. And it is equally questionable to argue that the reason the matri-centric 'house' principle is prominent amongst the Gusii is the 'strict system of bride-price book-keeping'.

In short, what might otherwise be an unexceptionable plea for the need to give due weight to ecological and economic considerations in any thorough structural (or 'processural') analysis all too often degenerates into a blatant environmental and economic determinism.

Fortunately, as a whole, the essays are more rewarding than this introduction. Professor Winans opens with a workmanlike account of the Shambala family, enlarging on his previous monograph on this people, and pointing how in this patrilineal society marriage payments

do not convey full rights over women to their husbands. A married Shambala woman remains partly at least still a member of her own natal lineage and her father continues to have considerable ritual responsibility towards her. In the following generation, as we would expect, matrilineal ties are correspondingly important. Next Professor R. A. Levine contributes some further material on the family organization of that well-documented people, the Gusii, showing how contemporary land shortage and the growing economic independence of sons jointly weaken traditional paternal authority. Professor Igor Kopytoff follows with new information on the interesting family and lineage structure of the Suku who have the distinction of being the only matrilineal people dealt with in this volume. Despite their adherence to this principle of descent, however, marriage payments run high and include a substantial portion for the bride's father as a reward for having begot and safely reared his daughter. Moreover, on divorce the amount of bride-wealth returned to the husband is reduced by half for each daughter born to him, and by a quarter for each son. There are thus clearly established paternal rights in this matrilineal society and these rights can be relinquished by the husband and given over to his wife's lineage with the return of his marriage payments. The father's legal role is consequently that of a trustee for his wife's lineage; and daughters are in effect redeemed on marriage when their father is rewarded for his services. Sons in turn are expected to remain with their fathers until the latter's deaths. This is fascinating material.

The next article on the Taita family developmental cycle by Professor and Mrs. Harris is also interesting. In common with many Muslim societies but few non-Muslim African societies (the Tswana are an exception), the Taita, though patrilineal, do not have exogamous clans and indeed tend to concentrate their marriages within their principal residential groups. It is difficult, however, to see why the exercise of property rights as contingent on local residence, or the sharp emphasis on matrilineal ties, should excite any more surprise than the operation of similar factors (with, however, clan exogamy) amongst that prototype of patrilineal societies the Nuer. The 'appearance of bilaterality' at the local level in the composition of residential units is not a very rare feature in patrilineal societies.

The Taita are followed by the Lobedu on whose family organization and marriage system Dr. Krige has contributed a long and well-documented article which is all the more welcome since it incorporates new material

collected since her earlier research and publications. Richly studied with case material, this essay emphasizes the crucial exchange role of cattle in marriage and the pairing of siblings in terms of a man's right to marry with the cattle acquired through his sister's marriage and his corresponding obligation to produce a daughter for his sister's son to marry. However, contrary to Edmund Leach's interpretation (in 'The structural implications of matrilineal cross-cousin marriage', *JRAI*, LXXXI, 1-2, 1951), this is not a 'Kachin structure in reverse' with a strong tendency for the wife-receiving group to rank higher than the wife-giving. On the contrary, Dr. Krige maintains, the relationship between wife-takers and givers is one of mutual respect and equality. What does emerge, though, is that the cattle-linked sister has a special ritual relation with her brother's children. And it is interesting that traditionally, though rarely to-day, a husband on divorce could not keep his wife's children but received a total refund of his marriage payment cattle with their increase. The children went with the mother and when she remarried were absorbed into her new husband's lineage.

Dr. Krige's essay is followed by an admirably clear account of the Arusha family by Dr. Gulliver which affords a useful supplement to his recently published volume on Arusha social control. This brings out strikingly the disparity between the ideal familial values of the Arusha and their actual situation and shows how the traditional authority of the father with its economic basis in the control of bride-wealth can be offset by a son's ties in the age-set system, as well as to-day by his increasing opportunities for economic independence. Finally, Dr. Gray himself concludes with a short essay on Sonjo lineage structure and property in which his concern with reducing kinship ties to property interests seems to be responsible for his strange conclusion that irrigation water—which is not lineage controlled—can hardly be considered as a form of property. Why not?

I. M. LEWIS

PAUL SPENCER: *The Samburu: a study of gerontocracy in a nomadic tribe.* xxv, 341 pp., 4 plates. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965. 40s.

The author of this book did 27 months of field-work among the Samburu, a branch of the Massai in northern Kenya. He regards the choice of a virtually unknown tribe for study

as a 'risk many anthropologists have to take'. This seems to be a rather unfortunate remark, for surely an anthropologist should be glad to find a tribe which has not been studied; or is he no more than a sort of literary plumber who has to probe the unknown because it is a job he is paid to do? However, he clearly liked the Samburu when he got among them, and his book is a good and useful contribution to Nilo-Hamitic studies. In spite of our defective knowledge of the rest of the Masai, Dr. Spencer's account makes it clear that there are considerable and significant differences between the patterns of organization of the Masai and the Samburu. The elders have much more power than they appear to have among the Masai, while the Samburu seem to have had no *laibons* of the Masai type. It might, however, be legitimate to speculate as to whether an anthropologist working to-day is likely to have such reliable sources of information as those of 30 or even 20 years ago, in the time before a period of unprecedented change during which a whole generation has elapsed. Nevertheless the book gives an excellent, detailed, and well-documented account of certain aspects of Samburu life. It consists of 11 chapters, the first three of which deal with stock economy, clanship and exogamy (in which the interdependence of clansmen is stressed), the family and the herd, and the allotment of cattle to wives. In the fourth chapter we come to the segmentary descent system, by which term Dr. Spencer designates the two-group division ('Black Cattle' and 'White Cattle') with subdivisions, *il-mareita*, which he calls phratries, clans, and sub-clans. The phratries seem to correspond to the *in-kishomin* of the Masai, and the clans to their *il-gilat*. But this section of the book needs a good deal more elucidation. It is followed by a short account of the age-sets which is far from adequate. (In passing, is *olpiroi* on p. 82 a misprint, or is it the correct Samburu word?) Much of the rest of the book deals with the 'conspicuous difference' between the *moran* (warriors) and the rest of the society, with the restrictions placed on them, and with the control exercised over them by the elders. The latter appear as the real power in the tribe, controlling the *moran*

by means of their privilege of cursing. The status of women is then discussed. There is a chapter on 'social attitudes and ceremony' in which we are given analyses of (a) a particular marriage, (b) circumcision ceremonies, and (c) dancing, together with an explanation of the 'shaking' in which both Samburu and Masai indulge, e.g. before battle. The last two chapters compare the Samburu and some of their neighbours (Turkana, Dorobo, Rendille), and offer some remarks on 'the gerontocratic society' in general. It will thus be seen that the book covers only a limited part of the whole of Samburu society; the subject of religion, for instance, is not really brought in at all. Although the index gives 'religious beliefs, p. 185-93', all that we find on turning to these pages is a vague statement that certain actions may lead to misfortune through the agency of supernatural forces which are ultimately directed by 'God'; and this is followed by a number of statements about ritual cursing. Our knowledge of Masai religious beliefs is very inadequate, and one might have hoped for further information from this book, not in spite of, but rather because of, its insistence on gerontocracy. Dr. Spencer's note that he has given a fuller account of Samburu religious beliefs elsewhere does not excuse this shortcoming, especially when 'elsewhere' turns out to be not a normal published source, but a cyclostyled paper read at a conference. In a book of this size it should surely have been mentioned that the Samburu appear to be the 'Burkeneji' of the early travellers such as Teleki and von Höhnel (whose book, incidentally, is not included in the bibliography, though Thomson's is, and he hardly saw the Samburu). The diagrams are helpful, though the map on p. xvi is not so good. In one of the four coloured plates the skin colour has come out with a queer bluish tinge. There is a great deal of value in the book, and the chapter on the *moran* is of particular importance; the practice of whipping contests described here is another of the interesting peculiarities of the Samburu. Dr. Spencer has done well with the material he has selected for presentation.

G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD

SHORT NOTICES

OTTO A. JÄGER: *Antiquities of north Ethiopia: a guide*. 130 pp., 12 plates. Stuttgart: F. A. Brockhaus Komm. Gesch. GmbH, Abt. Antiquarium; London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., 1965. 30s.

This is a nicely produced guide to the antiquities of northern Ethiopia written by an enthusiast for the benefit of layman and tourist rather than the expert. Dr. Jäger spent several years in Ethiopia where he served as a medical adviser. The beauty of the country, its wonderful climate, its exciting fauna, and the antiquities which testify to Ethiopia's long and turbulent history have all combined to arouse the author's interest in the history and civilization of this ancient realm. Dr. Jäger has a keen eye for art and beauty; he has travelled widely and wisely in northern Ethiopia and knows the Gondar area particularly well. His narrative is pleasant and unpretentious, and the illustrations and drawings convey the authentic atmosphere of Ethiopia.

Apart from the Gondar region, the guide deals with the antiquities of the Aksum area and the famous monolithic churches of Lalibela. The historical narrative reveals the pen of the amateur rather than the professional scholar—and, perhaps inevitably, there are many inaccuracies and oddities. The table of historical dates and the bibliography are somewhat inadequate: the *Kebrā nagast* has been placed in the sixth century [*sic*], Enno Littmann is throughout described as an archaeologist, and Conti Rossini obtains one mention in the bibliography, while Perruchon achieves no fewer than 14! Terms like 'Sabaeen' or 'Jewish' lack precise definition, and the beginnings of Oriental Christianity are described in terms that would worry the student of Eastern religions. The English translation (?) is somewhat idiosyncratic, and minor blemishes, such as 'apocryphaes', 'Henoch' (p. 26), 'autocephal' (p. 124), ought to have been removed.

Nevertheless, tourists as well as seasoned travellers in Ethiopia will welcome Dr. Jäger's monograph.

EDWARD ULLENDORFF

GÜNTHER KRAHL: *Deutsch-arabisches Wörterbuch*. xxiii, 480, [xxvii] pp. Leipzig: VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie, 1964. DM 30.

The fact that this work has an introductory sketch of German grammar—noun and verb

inflections, etc. (both in German and Arabic)—seems to indicate that it is primarily intended for Arabic speakers, rather than German speakers. The nature of the work itself bears out this impression. There are approximately 12,000 entries, but only rarely are more than one or two Arabic equivalents given, and the rich subtlety of nuance of Arabic is unexploited. For 'Sending' we are given only the mercantile term *irsāliya*, the radio term *barnāmaj* (no mention of *idhā'a*), and as an equivalent of 'Mission' *risāla* (and not *wafd* or *taufid*). For 'Posse' we are given only *masrahiya hazliya ša'biya* or *faṣl mudhik*, and nothing for the more generalized sense of the word outside theatrical usage. While it is a reasonably good guide for the Arabic speaker to everyday, technical, and business German, the sparseness of the interpretations makes it doubtful whether it will be found adequate for the Arab desirous of reading German imaginative literature or poetry. For German speakers attempting to write acceptable Arabic it would certainly be of little use.

In the light of this, it seems odd that the compiler has thought fit not merely to incorporate all the numerals (up to the thousands—'sieben', 'siebzehn', 'siebzig', 'siebenhundert', 'siebentausend' all get separate entries) in the dictionary, but also to add an appendix listing the Arabic cardinals and ordinals in their full form written out in words, a feature of use only to German speakers.

The typography is excellent and very clear; one contributory cause of the clarity is that only essential vowels are given.

A. F. L. BEESTON

GEOFFREY PARRINDER: *Jesus in the Qur'ān*. 187 pp. London: Faber and Faber, 1965. 32s. 6d.

Dr. Parrinder, who is Reader in the Comparative Study of Religion in the University of London, considers that 'the encounter of the world religions is a major fact of our times and it demands a restatement of traditional theological expression' (p. 144). He conceives of his book as providing a tool for some of this theological activity by presenting 'a compendium of Quranic teaching on this great subject' (p. 15). Though his interest is thus religious and theological the book is primarily a work of scholarship. It passes in review all the references to Jesus in the Qur'ān, arranging them according to topic. The focus is on the Qur'ān itself, but later Muslim commentators are taken into account where they throw some

light on the interpretation of the text. Recent writing by Muslims and some books and articles by Christians are also drawn on. There are also comparisons with the New Testament and other early Christian material in order to bring out parallelisms between these and the Qur'ān.

It might have been thought that there was little new to be said on these matters. Yet Dr. Parrinder's assertion that 'the teaching of the Qur'ān about Jesus is widely ignored' (p. 15) is amply justified by the many novel pieces of insight to be gained from his book. His careful collection of relevant material and still more his serene exploration of various possibilities of interpretation have produced a fascinating work from which the present reviewer gladly acknowledges that he has gained much of value. It is to be hoped that this book will help to stimulate the needed theological discussions, not least by such phrases as 'the undoubted revelation of God in Muhammad and in the Qur'ān' (p. 173). One small slip has been noted in the remarks about gods having wives and families (pp. 73, 136); there is nothing in Wellhausen's *Reste arabischen Heidentums* to justify such concepts, despite references to 'daughters of God' in the Qur'ān. The reference to the *Hibbert Journal* on p. 127 should be to an article entitled 'Islamic theology and the Christian theologian', and to XLIX, April 1951. That on p. 159 to this *Bulletin* is to XXI, 1, 1958, 1-14.

W. MONTGOMERY WATT

HANS KINDERMANN (tr.): *Über die guten Sitten beim Essen und Trinken: das ist das 11. Buch von al-Ghazālī's Hauptwerk. Übersetzung und Bearbeitung als ein Beitrag zur Geschichte unserer Tischsitten.* xxix, 330 pp. + addendum slip. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1964. Guilders 45.

The student of al-Ghazālī will perhaps be somewhat disappointed by this book for it is not primarily about al-Ghazālī, but, as the sub-title indicates, about the history of table manners and other customs connected with eating. It is nevertheless a most learned work, and contains a mass of material from many obscure sources. The translation occupies only 42 pp., then 280 pp. are given to particular words, while an 'analytischer Sachindex' is allotted about 70. This gives some idea of the character of the work. Anyone who dips into it will find much fascinating lore and accounts of vestigial customs, while the index makes it eminently usable as a work of reference.

W. MONTGOMERY WATT

HELGA BRENTJES: *Die Imamatlehren im Islam nach der Darstellung des Ash'arī.* (Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig. Philologisch-historische Klasse, Bd. 54, Ht. 5.) 60 pp. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1964. DM 8.10.

This essay, consisting of about 50 large pages, is devoted to an examination of the views of the imamate held by various Islamic sects, as these have been expounded by the well-known al-Ash'arī in his *Maḡālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*. The material is presented in seven chapters dealing with Khawārij, Zaydites, extreme Shī'a, Rawāfiq, Mu'tazila, Murji'a, and Sunnites. To the statements of al-Ash'arī there has been added much information from other sources about the persons named. On the whole this has been competently done; the most questionable point noticed is the inclusion of Dirār b. 'Amr among the Mu'tazila (p. 42 f.) despite the saying of al-Khayyāṭ (not mentioned though the book was used) that he was a follower of Jahm. Fundamentally, however, the essay is no more than a preliminary collection of material. The treatment is at what might be called the conceptual level as distinct from the existential; that is, there is no attempt to relate the views a man held to his historical situation. One might have expected, e.g., some consideration of the close association of some of the Mu'tazila with al-Ma'mūn. Again many profound difficulties raised by the material are ignored, such as the relation of Dirār to the Mu'tazila, the problem of how Abū Ḥanīfa can have views 'close to the Murji'a' or be reckoned as one of them (p. 48) and yet presumably be a Sunnite, and the connotation of the terms Rawāfiq and Imāmiyya, assumed to be identical on p. 15 but apparently ignored on p. 36. In extenuation it may be noted that the essay was completed early in 1962, since which date material and discussions have appeared which make such an essay hardly worth publishing in 1966.

W. MONTGOMERY WATT

STANLEY LANE-POOLE: *Saladin and the fall of the kingdom of Jerusalem.* (Khayats Oriental Reprints, No. 8.) [ii], xix, 416 pp., map. Beirut: Khayats, 1964. L.L.12, 30s.

Since this book was first published in 1898 (second ed., 1926), much work has been done on the Egypt and Syria of Ayyūbid times. The essential characteristics, political and

military, of the Ayyūbid régime are now more fully understood than heretofore. Attention has also been given, in the course of modern research, to the difficult problems of a financial, economic, and commercial nature, which beset the Ayyūbids. The numerous publications of more recent date have set the career of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in a more exact and luminous perspective. None the less, the present volume, based on Arabic sources of the first importance, e.g. the works of Bahā' al-Dīn, Ibn al-Athīr, 'Imād al-Dīn, etc., and also on invaluable Christian sources such as the chronicles of William of Tyre and of Ernoul, remains the best narrative account available in English of the great Muslim whose name—after that of the Prophet Muḥammad—still evokes perhaps the most immediate of responses in the Christian mind. This volume is furnished with an index and with a number of maps and tables (p. xvii gives a list of contents, misleading, however, in one or two small details—the reissue contains, e.g., no list of illustrations and no table iv). The reappearance in print of this well-known book should be welcome to student and scholar alike.

V. J. PARRY

J. J. SAUNDERS: *A history of medieval Islam*. xv, 219 pp. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965. 32s.

This work, as the author himself makes clear (p. viii), is not a direct outcome of original research. It is in fact an attempt to set forth in brief the achievements and attitudes of modern historical scholarship within the broad field of medieval Islam. Mr. Saunders, in the preface to this book, states his belief that there is now in being a considerable reading public interested in the Muslim East—a public, however, as yet ill-furnished, in English, with historical works of a general nature. This volume has been written as a small contribution towards the fulfilment of such a need.

A first chapter outlines the conditions prevailing in pre-Islamic Arabia. Further chapters trace the course of Muslim history from the time of the Prophet Muḥammad to the Mongol capture of Baghdad (seventh-thirteenth centuries). A final chapter is devoted to the civilization of medieval Islam and a short epilogue points forward to events after the fall of Baghdad in 1258. Mr. Saunders does not examine Islam as a religion; nor does he refer more than briefly to the affairs of Muslim Spain and Muslim India. Each chapter is provided with a short annotated list of suggestions for further reading, the main emphasis resting on books, monographs, and articles of recent date in English and French (there is mention also of one or two works in

German and Italian). The author notes also translations, into English and French, of important Muslim sources (e.g. of works by Nizām al-Mulk and Ibn Khaldūn). The volume contains, in addition, a glossary of Muslim terms, a chronology of the main dates, a number of maps, and an index. Mr. Saunders, through a careful selection of material, has sought 'to indicate the main trends of Islamic historical evolution' (p. viii). His book, which is clear and informative in character, deserves the favourable attention of the wider public mentioned in the preface.

V. J. PARRY

MAHMUD Y. ZAYID: *Egypt's struggle for independence*. x, 258 pp., map. Beirut: Khayats, 1965. L.L. 18, \$6.

Despite its emotive title, this book is a serious investigation of Anglo-Egyptian relations from 1882 to 1936, intended 'to provide the reader with a historical study... of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936' (p. ix). The scope of Dr. Zayid's inquiry is thus confined to diplomatic and political history; and since, from the select bibliography and footnote references, it seems that he had access only to published materials (almost exclusively in English and Arabic), the analytical depth of the resulting presentation is necessarily limited. After an introductory chapter, summarizing developments down to the British occupation, Dr. Zayid enters upon his main theme. Ch. ii deals with the occupation proper, from 1882 to 1914. The sources cited for these first two chapters vary considerably in authority, and some indication of their standing would have been useful. The important recent study, Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher with Alice Denny, *Africa and the Victorians* (London, 1961), has apparently not been consulted. Ch. iii and iv cover the protectorate and the course of events leading to its abrogation. Ch. v-vii describe the ensuing vicissitudes of Anglo-Egyptian diplomacy, and their repercussions on political life between 1922 and 1936. The Treaty of 1936 is examined in detail. There are some slips in names and dates, and the typography is not impeccable.

P. M. HOLT

ROBERT W. MACDONALD: *The League of Arab States: a study in the dynamics of regional organization*. xiii, 407 pp. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1965. (Distributed in G.B. by Oxford University Press. 68s.)

This book attempts an analysis of the

League of Arab States as a case study in regional organization. While the author has made use of League documents and interviewed many persons directly engaged in its work, he corroborates his interpretations of the material with extensive use of secondary sources. He starts out with the premise that the League has been a relatively effective agency for the accommodation of the rivalries and conflicting national, or particular, interests among Arab states, thus helping to maintain peace between them. He then refers to the expanded activities and increased efforts of the League in bringing about greater economic and cultural co-operation between member states, as well as in promoting better arrangements of collective security between them. He finds its efficiency and efficacy proven in the area of regional functional and political organization. To this extent those who felt that the League would remain at best an instrument for the national policies of one or another of the stronger Arab states and at worst a dead paper organization have been disappointed. The author also suggests a real and effective extension of the League's independent authority and influence with member states under the energetic administration of Secretary-General Muḥammad 'Abd al-Khāliq Ḥassūna.

P. J. VATIKIOTIS

JAMES FULLER BLUMHARDT and D. N. MACKENZIE: *Catalogue of Pashto manuscripts in the libraries of the British Isles*. xii, 147 pp. London: British Museum and Commonwealth Relations Office, 1965. 70s.

This catalogue is something new in library co-operation, for it represents the first 'union catalogue' of manuscripts in one Asian language in British libraries. It describes the 170 Pashto manuscripts known to exist in these libraries, mostly in the British Museum (89) and India Office Library (80) with smaller numbers in the John Rylands Library (16), School of Oriental and African Studies (10), University Library, Cambridge (8), Bodleian Library (5), Trinity College, Dublin (2). The late J. F. Blumhardt had described 62 of these in his *Catalogue of the Marāṭhī . . . , Pushtu and Sindhi manuscripts in the library of the British Museum*, London, 1905, and 54 of the IOL manuscripts in an unpublished catalogue; other descriptions had been published by Ethé and Browne. These descriptions, amounting to 126, have been edited and revised by Dr. MacKenzie, who is solely responsible for the descriptions of the remaining 44 manuscripts.

The table of contents provides a clear conspectus of the works listed, classified under the convenient headings of 'Religion', 'History', 'Philology', 'Poetry' ('a. Diwāns'; 'b. Other verse'), and 'Tales, etc.'; the serial numbers (from 1 to 169, there being an inserted 62A) show the numbers of each text and the number in each of Dr. MacKenzie's categories. The works are cited in a transcription in which dots, sub- or superscript, mark distinctions of the script having only graphic significance, while underlines, macrons, and inverted circumflexes mark signs of phonological significance—a clear and convenient system which might well be usefully copied for other languages using modifications of the Arabic script. In the detailed descriptions which follow Dr. MacKenzie gives, in addition to the usual bibliographical data of location, size, date, colophon, provenance, etc., a brief account of the author where any details of him are known, and a full account of the contents of each work, often with lengthy citation of the Pashto text.

The descriptions are followed by a numerical index which forms a concordance to the MS numbers in the various library lists, their numbers in the Blumhardt and Ethé and Browne catalogues and handlists, and their numberings in the present catalogue. There are complete indexes of titles and of persons, in transcription and in the Pashto script.

In a preface the Keeper of the Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts in the British Museum and the Librarian of the India Office Library express the hope 'that the publication of the catalogue may stimulate other co-operative undertakings by which the manuscript resources of many libraries in specialist branches of orientalist scholarship are surveyed within the compass of a single publication'. If their hopes can eventually—for such undertakings involve much dedicated and time-consuming labour—be justified, Oriental scholarship will be well served.

J. B.-P.

BOZORG ALAVI: *Geschichte und Entwicklung der modernen persischen Literatur*. (Iranische Texte und Hilfsbücher, Bd. 5.) x, 264 pp., map. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1964. DM 48.

Professor Alavi describes the evolution of Persian prose and poetry since the beginning of the twentieth century (with a brief introduction on nineteenth-century developments) against the background of political and social change. His treatment of his subject is therefore strictly chronological. While he has a deep

feeling for Persia's literary heritage, it is clear that he considers that literature should reflect the spirit of the time, and this, for him, is the struggle against despotism. He writes with sympathy, understanding, and honesty. He accepts the conventional starting-point for modern Persian literature, namely the work of Qā'im Maqām (1797-1835). He points out that whereas prose could develop freely poetry was weighed down by the incubus of the past, and it was not till after the death of Naṣir al-Dīn Shāh that poetry became concerned with political ideas and patriotic emotions. He analyses the development of both prose and poetry and the various influences, internal and external, to which they were subjected, the development of the short story, the novel, and new tendencies in Persian verse. He traces the increasing maturity of Persian prose as the century progresses and the high degree of success achieved by prose writers, and contrasts this with the position as regards the newest trends in poetry. There he points to a certain anarchy corresponding to the unrest which he sees in all aspects of the country's life. He welcomes the revolutionary transformation which has begun in the works of some of the younger poets, but frankly admits that it has not yet reached fruition. He gives a critical assessment of the achievements and place in the evolution of modern Persian literature of a large number of prose writers and poets. Among the former he singles out, among others, as key figures, Malkam Khān, Dīkhudā, Jamāl-zādeh, and Hidāyat; among the poets he notes many figures of importance including 'Arif, Irāj Mirzā (Jalāl al-Mamālīk), Ashraf al-Dīn Gilānī, 'Ishqī, Farrukhī Yazdī, Lāhūtī, and Hūshang Ibtihāj. He includes short sections also on the *Farhangistān*, or academy, set up under Rizā Shāh, and the work done by Persian scholars in the literary field, paying special tribute to Mirzā Muḥammad Qazvīnī and Malik al-Shu'arā Bahār (whose work as a poet he also discusses at length). This book as a history of Persian literature in the twentieth century is to be highly recommended although the critical approach which Professor Alavi adopts towards the works of the writers and poets he discusses does not extend to his discussion of the political history of the period with which he is dealing.

ANN K. S. LAMPTON

LUDWIK STERNBACH: *Supplement to O. Böhtlingk's Indische Sprüche*. (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, xxxvii, 1.) xxvi, 119 pp.

Wiesbaden: Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, Kommissionsverlag Franz Steiner GmbH, 1965. DM 28.

Böhtlingk's *Indische Sprüche* (second edition, St. Petersburg, 1870-3; supplements in *Mélanges Asiatiques*, vii, 1876, 659-67 and viii, 1-2, 1877, 203-49), undertaken originally as a matter of urgency to provide material for the Petersburg dictionary, remains an indispensable reference work for the editor of Sanskrit texts. Dr. Sternbach's *Supplement* brings together a number of further attestations for most of Böhtlingk's 7,866 *subhāṣitas*, drawing mainly on his own research in the field of *dharmaśāstra* and *nīlīśāstra*. Completeness is unattainable, but the author's familiarity with material obtained from Sinhalese, Javanese, Burmese, Tibetan, and other sources as well as with *kāvya* and the vast *kośa* literature makes the *Supplement* a useful aid to research.

One must regret some errors of judgement (the reprinting of a large amount of Cāṅkya material where a brief reference to Dr. Sternbach's Cāṅkya compendia would suffice, and the subordination of the bibliography to an unindexed list of sigla) and one recalls that Böhtlingk would never have noted a reference without noting also the variants found. Böhtlingk's purpose was rather different from that of Dr. Sternbach: 'The specification of additional sources . . . may one day help in the determination of the authorship'. Reference to a particular work in text and sigla list does not mean that a thorough collation has been undertaken: thus there is no reference *ad Spruch* 18 and (variant) 3971 to *Subhāṣitarainakośa* (siglum SkV) v. 1338 (similarly the published edition and translation of SkV ignore Böhtlingk's apparatus for this verse, although a corrupt SkV reading supports the *kim aparam* of *Spruch* 18 and the combined evidence suggests an original *parivādas tathyo bhavati vitatho vā kim aparam, atathyas tathyo vā harati mahimānam janaravaḥ* . . . close to Haebler's version published in 1847, and more coherent than any later version). Böhtlingk's own supplements have not been used, not even to the extent of omitting information already supplied by Böhtlingk.

J. C. WRIGHT

SEIREN MATSUNAMI (comp.): *A catalogue of the Sanskrit manuscripts in the Tokyo University Library*. ix, 387 pp., front. Tokyo: Suzuki Research Foundation, 1965.

The publication of Professor Matsunami's excellent catalogue, available for consultation

in Tokyo University Library since its compilation in 1936-44, is most welcome and less tantalizing than might have been the case, since Professor Matsunami has promised further scholarly evaluation of these important texts.

The Sanskrit collection of the Tokyo University Library consists of manuscripts brought to Japan c. 1914 from Nepal and Tibet by Junjirō Takakusu and Ekai Kawaguchi. Of the 570 manuscripts collected, some 60 failed to survive the earthquake of 1923 in a recognizable condition, and a further 100 (approximately) are non-Buddhist. The remainder are termed Buddhist, although this can be decidedly misleading, much of the material classified as Tantra and Dhāraṇī being merely Buddhist recensions of important Śaiva and neutral material (*Mahābhairavatantra*, *Skandapurāna*, *Yamarājalokeśvaraprāthānāstotra*, etc.): in any case an index of titles (however conjectural) would have been useful.

J. C. WRIGHT

A. KRISHNASWAMI: *The Tamil country under Vijayanagar*. (Annamalai University Historical Series, No. 20.) [xiii], 418 pp. Annamalainagar: Annamalai University, 1964.

Studies of the history of Vijayanagar have, hitherto, tended to concentrate upon the activities of that great kingdom in the Deccan, and upon the architectural and other remains that it left there. Its increasing involvement with Muslim power to the north, culminating in 1565 with the battle of Tālikoṭa, has also received due attention.

Welcome, therefore, is Dr. Krishnaswami's study, which deals with the activities in the south of India of the Vijayanagar kings with particular reference to the Tamil country. His sections on Kāñcīpuram and on the development of the Nāyaka kingdom of Madurai after the battle of Tālikoṭa are especially interesting.

The continued involvement of Orissa in the politics of this area is rightly discussed by the writer at some length. We know from Tamil literary sources such as *Kalīṅkattupparaṇi* that Kāliṅga had already exerted considerable influence upon the medieval history of the Coromandel coast.

I was disappointed to note the rather sparing use by the author of Tamil literary sources for this work. Since the Hoysaḷas are mentioned on the first page, it might not have been amiss to allude even in a footnote to *Puraṇāpūru*, v. 201, wherein occurs possibly the earliest reference to a tiger-slayer as an ancestor of a

royal person that we possess in the languages of this area.

The layout and presentation are good, and it is but to be hoped that a subsequent edition would be illustrated. There is a large number of buildings endowed by the kings of Vijayanagar throughout the Tamil country.

J. B. MARR

KHALIQ AHMAD NIZAMI: *Some aspects of religion and politics in India during the thirteenth century*. [xxxii], 421 pp., front., 5 plates. Bombay, etc.: Asia Publishing House for the Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University, [1965]. 50s.

Although the publishers have not made it clear, this book is a reissue of Dr. Nizami's book which was originally published as Publications of the Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University, No. 16, in 1961: the pagination, the introduction by Professor Mohd. Habib, the foreword by Dr. C. Collin Davies, and even the binding, seem to be identical with those of the original version.

Dr. Nizami's valuable study of thirteenth-century Indian Muslim society, largely drawn from little-known hagiographical sources, is by now well enough known to need no further comment. That the Asia Publishing House has now taken on its publication is not only a healthy sign for the increasing interest in medieval Indian history, but should also ensure a wider circulation for this useful work.

J. B.-P.

INDIA. NATIONAL ARCHIVES: *Fort William-India House correspondence and other contemporary papers relating thereto*. (Indian Records Series.) Vols. iv, xv. Delhi: Manager of Publications, Government of India, for the National Archives of India, 1962-3.

Vol. iv: C. S. SRINIVASACHARI (ed.): 1764-1766. xxxvi, 536 pp., front., 8 plates. 1962. Rs. 17, 39s. 8d.

Vol. xv: C. H. PHILIPS and B. B. MISRA (ed.): 1782-1786. xviii, xlv, 905 pp., front., 8 plates, 2 maps. 1963. Rs. 25, 58s. 4d.

In face of the growing tendency to present students with pre-digested selections of documents the Indian National Archives must be congratulated for their perseverance in their

policy of publishing in full this important correspondence covering the period between 1748 and 1800, although it may sometimes be felt that insignificant details might with advantage have been omitted. Like their predecessors, these volumes each contain, besides the documents, an editorial introduction, notes, a selective bibliography, a comprehensive index, and a detailed list of office-holders.

The volumes under notice are concerned with matters of the greatest historical interest—the former with the return of Clive to India and the acquisition by the East India Company of the civil administration of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, the latter with the last troubled years of Warren Hastings in India and with some of the problems that he left to his successors. From time to time it is mistakenly assumed that undergraduates can rely on textbooks and need not busy themselves with original sources. But the student reading the several dispatches in these volumes can gain not only an understanding of the complexity of the age but also good grounds for questioning the textbooks themselves. He can see, for example, how as early as 1766 the Council at Fort William are dealing with the problem of a ‘drain’ of wealth from Bengal, or how as late as 1786 they seem to fear the danger of French intrigues with other Indian powers. But he may also ask how far such policy considerations were stressed by the authorities at Fort William with an eye to their acceptability in England—how far, in other words, the official documents suffice for an understanding of official policy. These volumes should prompt such questions even if they do not necessarily provide answers.

K. A. BALLHATCHET

HOLDEN FURBER and P. J. MARSHALL (ed.): *The correspondence of Edmund Burke. Vol. 7: July 1782–June 1789.* xxx, 496 pp. Cambridge: University Press, 1965. £6.

As Holden Furber observes in his preface, the period covered by these letters represents a time ‘of little change’, and therefore ‘these letters lack the cohesiveness given by the political theme’. It was during this time that Burke turned increasingly to the condition of India, and set himself to bring about the downfall of Warren Hastings. Yet events in India appear in the correspondence almost entirely as adjuncts to the English political debate. Philip Francois, Henry Dundas, and other participants in Indian affairs are among his regular correspondents. Yet India remains

only the backdrop to their projects: it might easily have been North America (for example) which provided the stage upon which these men conducted what was essentially a dialogue about English political principles. In this respect, the attitude of the late eighteenth century provides the tone which prevailed in the relationship between colonial and home politics right down to the end of the British Empire. Professor Furber has discharged his editorial task with an exact attention to the ramifications of political and social interests, such as would have delighted the doyen of the politics of the era of George III, Lewis Namier himself.

HUGH TINKER

K. M. DE SILVA: *Social policy and missionary organizations in Ceylon, 1840–1855.* (Imperial Studies, No. xxvi.) x, 318 pp. London: Longmans for the Royal Commonwealth Society, 1965. 45s.

This work, skilfully written from a study of official and missionary archives, is an appropriate contribution to a series of ‘Imperial Studies’, having the orthodox approach of British colonial historians. Its *leitmotif* is the evolution of policy, as between the Colonial Office in Whitehall, and the officials and missionary establishment in Ceylon. Dr. de Silva has chosen to compare the role of the missionaries, *vis-à-vis* the government, in the formation of policies towards Buddhism, education, caste, tribalism, and the problem of immigrants from India. One might have supposed that, as his main theme is the interaction of Evangelical Christianity with indigenous religion and social custom, a systematic account of the religious, political, and economic forces within Sinhalese society would have been provided. But though the author is condescending to the one-sided approach of the early-Victorian British who are under his inquiry, he is equally one-sided in his own presentation of the situation. The Sinhalese hereditary officials, the temple managers, the monks, and the peasants and coolies who provide the infrastructure, as it were, of British policy make occasional and momentary appearances in the narrative as supernumeraries. Only in the chapter called ‘The problem of caste’ does the author begin to illustrate the effects of missionary activity by producing some examples of social pressure and social change. This is a useful work, but its scope is severely limited.

HUGH TINKER

B. D. SANWAL: *Nepal and the East India Company*. viii, 347 pp. London: Asia Publishing House, [1965]. 45s.

Because of the reassertion of Chinese suzerainty over Tibet, India is vitally interested in preserving the independence of the Himalayan frontier state of Nepal. For this reason Mr. Sanwal's interesting account of British relations with Nepal from 1767 to 1857 serves a useful purpose. The author has not the scholarly equipment of the late Professor Sylvain Lévi and is indebted to the French savant's *Le Népal*, published in 1905. He is also indebted to W. W. Hunter's detailed study of Brian Houghton Hodgson, the British Resident at Kathmandu between 1833 and 1843, from whose researches into Nepalese history and culture all later scholars have borrowed. To understand Gurkha history it is essential to remember that early in the nineteenth century all real power passed to the hereditary prime ministers of the Rana family and the kings of Nepal became state prisoners in the white palace of Kathmandu until, in 1950, King Tribhuvana reached Delhi by air. A well-deserved tribute is paid to Jang Bahadur Rana, who came to the assistance of the British in the Indian Mutiny. There is a very interesting chapter on Jang Bahadur's visit to England. While in London he went to the opera. It is recorded that he did not seem to appreciate the music but was obviously attracted to the ballet. The book is probably intended for students in India. Place should have been found in the bibliography for N. Chatterji's *Mir Qasim* (1935); L. Petech's *China and Tibet in the early eighteenth century* (1950); H. B. Wood's *Nepal bibliography* (1959); S. Cammann's *Trade through the Himalayas* (1951); and Sir Francis Tuker's *Gorkha* (1956). The book deserves better maps.

C. COLLIN DAVIES

J. A. B. PALMER: *The mutiny outbreak at Meerut in 1857*. (Cambridge South Asian Studies.) xi, 175 pp., map. Cambridge: University Press, 1966. 40s.

Here is a detailed, hour by hour and person by person account of that fateful day at Meerut which set off the Indian Mutiny. The author has investigated meticulously each shred of evidence relating to this episode, and he succeeds to some extent in penetrating beneath the surface of events to the motives of those involved. Like all Mutiny accounts, this is the story as seen through British eyes, even though the author brings to his task an

intimate acquaintance with the Indian idiom. His conclusion is that the Meerut outbreak was carefully planned by the rebel leaders. In his belief, because the Bengal Army represented a cross-section of the rural population of the Gangetic plain, the revolt was more than a mutiny; it was an expression of a much wider social discontent. The author is not prepared to argue that the Meerut incident was part of a carefully planned large-scale rising—this is outside his set purpose, which is to ascertain what happened at Meerut on 10 May 1857. This he accomplishes in an urbane and well-modulated narrative. A writer of such fastidious accuracy would doubtless wish to be informed of any minor errors, and in stating on p. 95 that a Conductor was a Sergeant he is wrong. Among British personnel attached to the Indian Army, a Conductor was a Warrant Officer Class I.

HUGH TINKER

PRAN CHOPRA: *On an Indian border*. xi, 140 pp., front., 8 plates. London: Asia Publishing House, [1964]. 30s.

The latent border-conflict between India and China has stimulated Indian interest in regions which were previously seldom visited and only inadequately documented. Their strategic importance has resulted in the establishment of administrative and military centres in areas where until 1947 a sparse local population lived in a state of virtual autonomy. Among these border-regions which have recently come into the limelight of publicity, though unfortunately they have been closed to Western travellers, are Lahul, Spiti, Kinnaur, and Ladakh, and the present book deals with the conditions and problems of these areas. It is written in the popular style of a travel book, but contains interesting observations on the ethnography, geography, and political problems of the localities visited.

Mr. Pran Chopra is clearly a person of independent judgement, and his assessment of the many problems created by the impact of Indian officials and soldiers on local social patterns deeply rooted in traditional ideas shows unusual sensitivity and imagination. Throughout the book he advocates a policy of tolerance and respect for local customs, and takes on the whole a line very similar to that pursued by Verrier Elwin in the North East Frontier Agency. Although this is not a scholarly or systematic account of life in the western border areas, it contains much information not available elsewhere. He shows, for instance, that the Chinese suppression of monastic life in Tibet has had very grave effects on Buddhist institutions inside

the Indian border. For monasteries which used to obtain reincarnate lamas from Tibet and sent their novices and monks to Tibet for training and study are now cut off from their spiritual roots, and their prestige is waning even among the local population.

This unpretentious book will be useful to all those concerned with the changed economic, social, and political situation on the Tibeto-Indian frontier.

C. VON FÜRER-HAIMENDORF

SUNIL KUMAR SEN : *Studies in industrial policy and development of India (1858-1914)*. [ix], 192 pp. Calcutta : Progressive Publishers, 1964. Rs. 12.50.

The second half of the nineteenth century was a period of economic transformation for India. The building of the railways, roads, and irrigation canals, the rise in agricultural prices, the rapid increase in the volume and value of India's foreign trade, these were some of the elements of growth in the economy. In this book Dr. Sen has shown that some of these activities were more than passively influenced by the policy of the British Government in India. As one of the largest purchasers of a wide variety of industrial products in the country, the Government of India was in a crucial position to influence the country's industrial development. Between 1877 and 1914 the average annual expenditure of the Government on stores for India amounted to £1½ million, while the value of the stores for the state railways not charged to Revenue rose from under £1 million in 1883-4 to nearly £3 million in 1913-14. The Government indents included iron and steel, coal and coke, timber, machinery and engineering goods, woollens, paper, and chemicals. In formulating its policy for the purchase of these products the Government, according to Dr. Sen, was mainly motivated by two considerations. In the first place, under the influence of the prevailing doctrines of laissez-faire, it was utterly opposed to any direct participation in the productive process, and, secondly, it reserved the right to purchase on terms most advantageous to itself on the ground of both quality and price. The effect of this policy was naturally that for a long time the greater part of the stores had to be imported from abroad, although in 1876 Lord Salisbury, then Secretary of State for India, allowed the purchase of articles specifically manufactured in India. Dr. Sen seems to think that this was the first time that the Government considered buying goods of Indian origin in the Indian market. But there is definite evidence that in

the early days of railway construction in India both the Court of Directors and the railway companies repeatedly stressed the importance of procuring railway materials in the local market, and it is probable that the difficulty experienced in obtaining them at competitive prices led to the abandonment of this policy. While it does not pretend to examine the general problems relating to India's industrial development, Dr. Sen's short book, based entirely on official sources, provides a useful guide to certain aspects of Government policy on the question of official support for Indian industries.

K. N. CHAUDHURI

M. N. SRINIVAS : *Religion and society among the Coorgs of South India*. Reprinted. xvi, 269 pp., front., 10 plates. London : Asia Publishing House, 1965. 45s.

Professor Srinivas published the results of his field-work among the Coorgs of South India in 1952, at a time when the first post-war social anthropologists were either in the field or were writing up their material. This book is not itself a 'village study' of the kind which the latter produced and which was to become almost the standard form of research. Rather, it considers the whole of Coorg society (admittedly a fairly localized one). Yet because of its concern with social structure and with the relation this bears to ritual practice, the book has stimulated a great deal of later work. Especially significant have been Professor Srinivas's analysis of caste and village structure in terms of vertical and horizontal solidarity, his detailed consideration of the rights and obligations of members of the Coorg joint family, and his main subject, namely, the consideration of the 'ritual idiom' of Coorg society. Probably the most debated idea in the book is that of Sanskritization, which the author uses together with the notion of 'spread' to analyse the way in which local cults and religious ideas are related to those at a higher, up to an all-India, level. Although the term has come under fire and the concept has been modified, the picture of cultural and social fluidity which Professor Srinivas drew with it has proved most useful. In short, the book has had a most important influence on the development of the subject, and it is good that a reprint now makes it again readily available both to Indianists and to others interested in Indian society and culture.

A. C. MAYNE

HENRY ORENSTEIN: *Gaon: conflict and cohesion in an Indian village*. xi, 341 pp., 4 plates. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1965. (Distributed in G.B. by Oxford University Press. 68s.)

This is a book about the social organization of a village in the Poona district of Maharashtra. We are given, after preliminary chapters, analyses of the family and household, the wider kin groups, the caste groups and their interrelations, the system of economic relations, and the pattern of political power in the village. Finally, two chapters discuss social changes assessed in 1964-5 and again when the author briefly revisited the village in 1961.

Much of the analysis and many of the conclusions will prove useful for comparative studies. For instance, Professor Orenstein's remarks about the relations of caste to kinship, the nature of social control within castes, the relation of caste to subcaste, and the importance of commensal relations as an idiom of caste hierarchy corroborate and can be used to amplify already published material on caste systems. The data are presented convincingly, though there are inevitably places where one asks for more, e.g., on the implications of cross-cousin marriage, or on the degree to which a settlement in which the majority of the populace lives in scattered homesteads can be called a village at all, a problem which is touched upon comparatively late in the book. The discussion of conflict and cohesion, too, is brought in at a fairly late stage, and is less the book's main theme than is the purely structural and organizational analysis. The book's value lies not here but rather in its place as the first detailed social anthropological work on this part of India, and it is a welcome addition to the literature. One can only regret that the price (for which only four plates are included, and no glossary) may deter people from buying and reading it.

A. C. MAYER

ABDUR RAUF: *Renaissance of Islamic culture and civilization in Pakistan*. xix, 320 pp. Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1965. Rs. 20.

For the most part this book, by the Director of the West Pakistan Bureau of Education, is an account of the development of Islamic civilization in general and that of Pakistan in particular; this is directed to a wide public and is generally subjective. Of greater value to the scholar are the chapters on religious education in mosque, school, and university, and a useful account of such cultural institu-

tions as the Central Institute of Islamic Research at Karachi (soon to move to Islamabad), the Institute of Islamic Culture at Lahore, the Islamic Academy of Dacca, and others. There is a short account of the Auqaf Department, and a longer record of the recent 'Phenomenal growth of Islamic literature' in Pakistan. There is a full bibliography and an adequate index.

J. B.-P.

S. M. IKRAM: *Modern Muslim India and the birth of Pakistan (1858-1951)*. Second edition, revised and enlarged. xv, 350 pp., front., 15 plates. Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1965. Rs. 20.

This book originally appeared under the title *Makers of Pakistan and modern Muslim India*, by 'A. H. Albiruni', in 1950. In its new dress it is much enlarged, although its general approach is still largely biographical. In the account of those Muslim political theorists whose thought has had most influence on the conception and ultimate realization of the Islamic State which is Pakistan much more attention has now been given to Bengal, and the events and the dominant personalities of the last 15 years have been fully treated; particularly detailed is a long study of Muhammad Ali Jinnah. This account of modern Islamic political thought as interpreted in Pakistan will be welcomed for its lucidity and careful presentation. Its referencing, in footnotes, is adequate if not copious; but a full bibliography and an index would add considerably to its utility. Perhaps Dr. Ikram will provide both in the next edition.

J. B.-P.

PAUL RATCHNEVSKY (ed.): *Beiträge zum Problem des Wortes im Chinesischen II*. (Ostasiatische Forschungen, Ht. 3.) [iii], 138 pp. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1964. DM 32.

In this volume H. Herrfurth examines the semantic and syntactic functions of the numeral classifiers in colloquial Chinese, comparing them with Indonesian classifiers and with the means of distinguishing noun classes in other languages, such as Indo-European gender ('Die Klassifikationsaffixe im Chinesischen', pp. 1-44). Paul Ratchnevsky discusses two classical prefixes: (1) archaic 有, well known in such combinations as 有 夏, and according to Ratchnevsky widely used in the 'Odes' in contexts where it has been mistaken for the existential verb; (2) 阿 before kinship terms, personal and

family names, and certain pronouns, common since the Han especially in the South, and paralleled in many Altaic and other eastern Asian languages—Ratchnevsky defends the thesis of Haenisch that it is a foreign borrowing ('Zur Frage der Präfigierung im archaischen und alten Chinesisch', pp. 45-80). G. Schmitt argues that many classical words, particularly among the prepositions and among animal names, are phonetically descended from interjections; an appendix considers the phonology of the final particles ('Zur Frage der Interjektionen im archaischen Chinesisch', pp. 81-108). M. W. Sofronow traces the history of the colloquial prefixes 阿 *ā* and 兀 *wū* and the suffixes 子 *zǐ* and 兒 *ér* (both diminutive from the Han to the eleventh century) and 頭 *tóu* (marking round or curved objects until the sixth century), and classifies their various functions in the earlier colloquial literature ('Die wortbildenden Präfixe und Suffixe im Mittelchinesischen', pp. 109-38).

A. C. GRAHAM

periodical articles on kindred subjects and publishing them in book form is highly meritorious. Dr. Bishop has accumulated particular merit in editing these works by different hands on Chinese literature. The authors are all Harvard scholars, and most of the articles originally appeared in the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*. They are so well known that they require no comment. Two of them are Dr. Bishop's own, on colloquial literature; Dr. Glen Baxter contributes his article on the origins of the *ts'u* and a translation of Yoshikawa Kōjirō's study of Six Dynasties prose style; Achilles Fang has his rendering of the *Wen-fu*; and, finally, Professor Hightower has three pieces, all with model annotations, the longest being 'The *fu* of T'ao Ch'ien'. The general combination of meticulous scholarship with a due sense of proportion and occasional levity makes this book pleasurable as well as profitable to read, or re-read.

D. E. POLLARD

SSU-YÜ TENG: *Advanced conversational Chinese*. xv, 293 pp. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1965. \$5.50, 41s.

Language textbooks, if successful, multiply their kind. *Conversational Chinese* has been successful, judging by sales, so Professor Teng has given us *Advanced conversational Chinese*. With Chinese the kinds to multiply are added to by the various types of romanization. This book uses Wade-Giles. The first half consists of model conversations, backed up by short exercises, on subjects of potential interest to gentlemen of an inquiring mind. The second half has the complete texts of two one-act plays, 'An artist' by Hsiung Fo-hsi, and 'A wasp', by Ting Hsi-lin; these are accompanied by notes, transcription, and translation. The plays are well chosen, the translation helpful, and the whole idea a very good one. Altogether, the amount and variety of material in this book is very considerable, and those who have already set out with Professor Teng may continue their journey with confidence.

D. E. P.

JOHN L. BISHOP (ed.): *Studies in Chinese literature*. (Harvard-Yenching Institute Studies, XXI.) [viii], 245 pp. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965. (Distributed in G.B. by Oxford University Press. 36s.)

The current practice of collecting memorable

[E. D. GRINSTEAD and J. LUST]: *Chinese periodicals in British libraries. Handlist no. 2*. [iv], 102 pp. London: British Museum, 1965. 20s.

This is a revised, refined, and enlarged version of the mimeographed *Handlist no. 1* of the same title circulated by the British Museum some time ago. It is not only fuller in its coverage than the previous lists, but gives characters for titles (although these are missing in a few entries). A few additional items might have been added from specialist (particularly scientific) libraries, but it covers the main collections adequately. The overall picture, however, remains very patchy. There is much to be done—and a great deal of money to be spent—before we in Britain can claim anything like adequate holdings of Chinese journals.

D. C. T.

FRANK H. H. KING and PRESCOTT CLARKE: *A research guide to China-coast newspapers, 1822-1911*. (Harvard East Asian Monographs, 18.) x, 235 pp. Cambridge, Mass.: East Asian Research Center, Harvard University, 1965. (Distributed by Harvard University Press. Distributed in G.B. by Oxford University Press. 28s.)

The foreign-language press of the nineteenth-century China coast is clearly a vast untapped resource to the historian. But there has been

a wide variety of reactions to it, ranging from its dismissal as biased and inaccurate, acting as the mouthpiece of various vested interests on the one hand, to its uncritical use as primary principal source material on the other. A critical appraisal has been urgently needed, and Mr. King and Mr. Clarke have provided us with an excellent preliminary summary.

After a brief, common-sense and highly relevant introduction, setting out the critical problems, they list, with all available detail on editorship and policy, all Western-language papers published in Macao, Hong Kong, or China until 1911, and certain London papers and 'overland' editions of the China Coast press produced for interested readers in England. This list is very full, and includes, for example, Russian newspapers published in Manchuria, Japanese newspapers from Manchuria, Hong Kong, Shanghai, and Tientsin (in an appendix), and many papers from minor ports, besides the long lists of the press in Shanghai, Canton, and Hong Kong with which we are comparatively familiar. A number of scholars throughout the world have clearly gone to great trouble to make this list as complete as possible, and a finding-list details all known library holdings of each paper. Scholars in this field will also be very pleased to know that Mr. King's university is planning to make microfilm available of all these newspapers. A further very useful index lists the often confusing and inconsistent Chinese names by which contemporary Chinese writers refer to each paper.

This is, however, much more than a bibliography. Many readers who are unlikely to go further into this material themselves than an occasional foray into the *China Mail*, the *North China Herald*, or the *London and China Express*, will find interesting material in the balanced, sensible, and wittily written introduction, and will get an amusing new perspective on nineteenth-century journalism from the long section devoted to the biographies of known editors and journalists. Particularly in the earlier years court actions, assaults, and duels between rival editors seem to have been matters of common occurrence. And to these early editors, the common journalistic peril of the libel action (it is amazing that there were not even more, considering the intemperate tone of much of this early journalism) was compounded by the pressures exerted by the colonial governments in Hong Kong and Macao. Modern editors may complain of the operation of the law of libel and defamation: but none is likely to suffer the fate of Tarrant whose criticisms of the corrupt Hong Kong government of the 1850's culminated in a libel action in which the colonial government

retained the entire Bar of Hong Kong, so that poor Tarrant was forced to defend himself.

D. O. T.

JOHN DEFRANCIS: *Chinese-English glossary of the mathematical sciences*. [iv], v, 277 pp. Providence, R.I.: American Mathematical Society, 1964. \$3.

Mathematics is one field where Chinese scholars have continued to produce a formidable output of research of the very highest quality. The American Mathematical Society has made strenuous efforts to make the results of this research available to Western scholars, since the number of trained mathematicians with a good reading knowledge of Chinese is, and is likely to remain, very small. This glossary of some 16,000 technical terms, which was commissioned by them, will be immensely useful to the Chinese linguist faced with the necessity of translating technical material in the mathematical field. It will also be a useful stand-by for such people as social scientists working in the field of statistics, for the vocabulary is rather broad in scope. Lastly, it also will be of some use to persons working on similar fields in Japanese, as it extracts much of its vocabulary from recent Japanese technical dictionaries of mathematics and statistics. These Japanese terms are clearly labelled as such, and need cause no confusion.

D. O. T.

HERSCHEL WEBB: *Research in Japanese sources: a guide*. [By] Herschel Webb with the assistance of Marleigh Ryan. xv, 170 pp. New York and London: Columbia University Press for the East Asian Institute, Columbia University, 1965. \$4.75, 35s. 6d.

This is an extremely useful little book, providing a guide to works of reference, through which the student can solve a wide range of problems arising in the use of Japanese materials. There are chapters on bibliography; calendars and dating; weights and measures; personal names; place-names; translation; written sources in general; historical sources; and legal and official materials. In each, there is a brief survey of the available reference books and how to use them, accompanied by a sufficient account of the relevant institutions to make the explanation clear. Much work has clearly gone into the task of making the material both accurate and succinct. There is some doubt whether the handbook will be of

much help to students who know no Japanese, despite the pious hopes expressed in the preface; but there can be no question that it will be an indispensable part of the library of those who have a knowledge of the language.

W. G. B.

SYDNEY CRAWCOUR: *An introduction to kambun*. (University of Michigan. Center for Japanese Studies.) xix, 78 pp. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1965.

In this work the author lists the constructions and semantic classifications of Chinese and assigns to them their equivalents in the standard system of Japanese readings, giving examples in the original Chinese, with the Japanese version, English translation, and explanation. Indexes enable the reader to find references by means either of the Chinese character or of the Japanese word. The person with a knowledge of Japanese wishing to interpret the Chinese is able to do so, and the student of Chinese can use the Japanese versions to help him understand the Chinese, or, at least, this is the hope of the author. A reader with a knowledge of modern Japanese might welcome being given the modern equivalents of the peculiar and archaic Japanese used. One section of the introduction explains how to extract the correct Japanese readings when the Chinese text is provided with *kunten*. It is felt that the author could have usefully provided more examples of the disentangling of these, for they seem to present a considerable difficulty. In general, however, this book should prove very useful.

C. J. D.

R. P. DORE: *Education in Tokugawa Japan*. (International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction.) xiii, 346 pp., 8 plates. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press; [London: Routledge and Kegan Paul], 1965. 35s.

This book fills an important gap in the search for the political, economic, and social factors that enabled Japan to adjust so rapidly to its precipitate entry into the comity of nations in the mid-nineteenth century. The existence of a large class of highly literate samurai officials was of obvious advantage in the absorption and application of the new technical knowledge. These were the men who determined the national goals, but the widespread diffusion of literacy among the masses gave these leaders a rank and file capable of

understanding directives from above and acquiring their own modicum of technical skill.

Professor Dore reviews the development of education during the Tokugawa period at both these levels with his usual exhaustive but never exhausting acumen. He shows in a new context how the Tokugawa settlement slowly weathered during the long peace into a régime of considerable social and economic complexity, in which education became less and less the opiate of the samurai class and increasingly a training for administrative efficiency. By 1868 almost all samurai were literate, and many had received an intensive education in the great secular schools. This literacy was shared by the majority of town-dwellers with a settled occupation and farmers of middling status, in a society that depended upon the written word for its efficient operation. However, Professor Dore regards such progress as having been made in the teeth of the curriculum, which was 'plainly dull and in addition almost meaningless', later conceding that there was still a sufficient glimmer of inspiration to make rebels of the best pupils, ensuring that when the time and the opportunity came they would seek to destroy the educational traditions that had formed them!

His analysis of the various aspects of such a diffuse subject as education is throughout a model of clarity. The growth of scholarship and the spread of literacy are carefully pursued as two separable but obviously related themes. Later, the educational system as a whole is analysed in terms of the three variables of the existing degree of appreciated need for differentiated talents, the ideal status system, and the actual distribution of income, power, and prestige. Finally, the number, size, and organization of the various educational institutions and schools are convincingly estimated from statistical material that presents some difficulty to evaluate. It is doubtful that Professor Dore's handling of this subject will be improved upon, and his book provides a solid foundation for discussion upon the nature and extent of Tokugawa education, a subject so far abandoned in Western writing to the airy speculations of the value-system sociologists.

A. FRASER

M. A. JASPAN: *Folk literature of south Sumatra*. [Vol. 1, Pt. 1.] *Redjang Ka-ga-nga texts*. [ii], 92 pp., 2 maps [on endpapers]. Canberra: Australian National University, 1964. A£1 1s.

The sub-title of this work tells us that it deals with texts coming from the Redjang country

in the mountains behind Bencoolen and that they are in the local form of several Sumatran pre-Islamic scripts of South Indian derivation. The language is Malay. There are eight texts and they have been written on bark cloth, a bamboo cylinder, bamboo tiles, rattan sticks, a buffalo horn, and, in one very recent case, paper. They deal with love lyrics, spells and incantations, maxims, proverbs, formulations of customary law, and clan history. They are displayed by Mr. Jaspan on 18 pp. with the help of a Redjang fount for a typewriter evolved by himself and lithographically reproduced here and they are accompanied by romanized transliterations, translations, and notes as well as a description of the syllabary and comments of various kinds.

The field is not new and, as will be seen, the material presented is scanty. Moreover only one of the passages is likely to be more than 100 years old. The present monograph does not in itself add much to work done in the past by Dutch scholars, but, looking on it purely as a first instalment in a co-ordinated programme of work sponsored by the Australian National University, it may lead to very interesting results.

Can it be that an old form of Malay language and culture penetrated in Hindu/Buddhist times from the east coast of Sumatra beyond the navigable reaches of the rivers to remote mountainous areas well south of Minangkabau and there survived and flourished long after the east coast and its immediate hinterland had become Muslim? Are the various *Ka-ga-nga* scripts of Sumatra evidence that there was a considerable Old Malay literature in the maritime kingdoms of Śrīvijaya and Malayu? How does one account for the similarity of the Macassarese script?

Perhaps one or more of these and similar questions may be answered after further material has been gathered and presented in the forthcoming parts of this work. The next three are to be called: *Further Ka-ga-nga texts* (containing, I understand, texts from Pasemah, Serawai, and cognate Middle Malay peoples), *Mythology and legends . . .*, and *Poetry . . .*

E. C. G. BARRETT

P. DRABBE: *Drie Asmat-dialecten*. (Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Deel 42.) viii, 236 pp., map. 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1963. Guilders 37.

Father Drabbe, to whom we already owe several grammars of New Guinea languages and dialects, and who must surely be one of

the most industrious and indefatigable pioneers in the field of Papuan linguistics, has chosen to describe simultaneously three closely related dialects, spoken in the lower reaches of the rivers flowing through the Asmat country in the southern part of Western (formerly Netherlands) New Guinea.

The Asmat people, who are perhaps among the least-known and least-aculturated of the coast dwellers, speak languages with highly complex morphological patterns, and the mind boggles at the thought of the immense physical and intellectual obstacles which Father Drabbe must have overcome before he was able to gather all the information in this first compendium.

The modern techniques of linguistic analysis cannot be employed as a criterion to evaluate this work. The author is eminently a practical and methodical man, whose concern is to put on record all the grist that comes to his mill. Thus, faced with a number of closely related dialects, rather than choosing one and ignoring the others, he makes a careful record of all three, so that every item of information is given three times over (of necessity in a partly similar, partly different form). It must be admitted that this greatly complicates the task of grasping essential features, especially as the three dialects (Kawenak, Keenok and Keenakap) are not always tabulated separately.

The grammatical part of the work occupies pp. 5-116. The rest consists of carefully annotated texts in the Kawenak dialect (pp. 117-94), followed by comprehensive word lists and useful indexes.

A highly specialized study of this nature is not likely to have a wide appeal, and its discursive nature does not make it readily usable for practical purposes. And yet, now that it is available in a convenient form, it is certain that this wealth of information will find an important place in the study of Papuan languages.

G. B. MILNER

SAMUEL H. ELBERT and TORBEN MONBERG (ed. and tr.): *From the two canoes: oral traditions of Rennell and Bellona Islands*. (Language and Culture of Rennell and Bellona Islands, Vol. 1.) x, 428 pp., 6 plates, 2 maps. Copenhagen: Danish National Museum in cooperation with the University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu, 1965.

Rennell and Bellona Islands are two Polynesian outliers in the British Solomons. The authors collected the bulk of their material in spells of field-work during 1957-9.

The first chapter gives a general account of the geography, social organization, and culture of the islands with some notes on the language. It outlines the field experiences of the authors, explains how they collected their material—the stories were mostly taken down verbatim at informal and convivial story-telling sessions attended by all interested parties, discusses methods of translation, and examines the status and function of stories and story-telling in the local culture. Ch. ii contains thumbnail sketches and biographies of most of the 72 informants who supplied the genealogies and legends that form the bulk of the volume. Ch. iii gives 10 genealogies of important local families and the first part of ch. iv lists five genealogies of gods. The remainder of the 19 chapters contain the oral traditions transcribed in a (segmental) phonemic script, side by side with an English translation. These texts contain stories of gods; of culture-heroes like *Mauikitiki* (the Maori *Māui*) and *Sina*; of the settlement of Rennell and Bellona by the Polynesians and their encounters with the *Hiti*—according to local belief, these were the aboriginal inhabitants; of their subsequent lives, adventures, and deaths, arranged in chronological order by generations; of visits by canoes blown off their course; and of the coming of Christianity.

This work is a model of its kind. The 236 texts, apart from the interest of their subject-matter, provide an invaluable corpus of linguistic data; each is carefully recorded and annotated, set in its situational context, and faithfully translated. The book has gained from the collaboration of two scholars whose interests are somewhat differently focused: Professor Elbert interested in language and folk-lore primarily for their own sake, Mr. Monberg for the light they throw on pre-Christian culture. *From the two canoes* is more, however, than a mere documentation and analysis of linguistic and cultural data. Affection and respect for the Polynesians and their culture leavens the authors' scholarship: the islanders responded by disclosing some part of their cherished traditions.

J. E. BUSE

HEDDA MORRISON: *Life in a longhouse*. 205 pp. [Kuching]: Borneo Literature Bureau, [1963]. 8s.

The author of this book had the privilege of enjoying on a number of occasions the warm hospitality of an Iban longhouse in Sarawak. The Ibans are slash-and-burn hill-padi farmers whose traditional way of life is threatened by the increasing shortage of land and the gradual transition to a cash economy. That is, their

characteristic form of residence under a single roof is not suited to the modern methods of farming which are gradually being forced upon them by decreasing soil fertility and increasing population. Moreover, the traditional religion can no longer find full expression now that head-hunting is suppressed, while Western cultural values are gaining an increasing foothold.

Because she felt that the days of the longhouse way of life might be numbered, the author decided to make a permanent pictorial record of it before it was too late. She selected a typical longhouse on the Ngemah river (a tributary of the Rejang) and used her opportunities with imagination and a feeling for atmosphere.

There are some 170 pages of photographs, hardly any of which betray any signs of self-consciousness or pose on the part of the subjects, and many of which cannot have been taken without a great deal of difficulty. Approximately half the coverage is devoted to the longhouse itself and the activities of its dwellers in or about their home. The other half takes us into the countryside for a comprehensive look at the whole cycle of rice growing, culminating in the storage of the harvest and attendant ceremonies.

The introduction sums up the past, sketches the changing situation of the present, and peers into an uncertain future. The translations provided in Malay, Iban, and Chinese, both of the introduction and of the captions, should help to secure for this book the wide circulation it deserves.

G. B. MILNER

RAYMOND FIRTH and JAMES SPILLIUS: *A study in ritual modification: the Work of the Gods in Tikopia in 1929 and 1952*. (Royal Anthropological Institute. Occasional Paper No. 19.) [iv], 31 pp., 4 plates. London: Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 1963. 10s.

The Work of the Gods (1940), one of the principal works published by Raymond Firth as the result of his main period of field-work during 1928-9 in Tikopia, describes in the fullest detail the two cycles of ritual and social activities which formed the climax of the religious year.

In 1952, accompanied by James Spillius, he made a second visit to Tikopia and was able to observe the same rituals, enacted in some cases by the same participants, and to measure the effect not only of the passage of 23 years, but of the advance of Christianity.

During his first visit, Christians had been in

a minority. The Polynesian religious cycles commanded the support of all the chiefs. In 1952 the situation was reversed. Analysis and comparison were, however, complicated by the fact, first that the principal enactor of the rites, though still a heathen, was prevented from taking his full part by old age and illness, and secondly that the supply of food on the island had become severely restricted by a hurricane.

These problems are discussed and a number of interesting practical and theoretical conclusions are reached. They stress the value of checking and confirming field data over a period of years. Much of the elaborate structure of Tikopia ritual down to the smallest details was still observable even after the passage of a generation.

The findings also show that as an ancestor cult declines in ritual importance, 'the kin unit it supports does not necessarily disintegrate; the meaning of the ancestor relationship may take on a new form as a political tie' (p. 30). Moreover when a strong pressure is applied, as in this instance that of Christianity, a pagan religious ritual cycle may prove remarkably flexible. Older symbols may 'mean much more to some people than to others, depending in part at least upon the degree of their status involvement in the symbolic behaviour. One result may be that rather than the symbols maintaining the social system, there is a struggle by certain elements of the social system to maintain the symbols' (p. 31).

It is to be hoped that a future edition of the *Work of the Gods* may include this paper as an appendix.

G. B. MILNER

JOHN J. CARROLL: *The Filipino manufacturing entrepreneur: agent and product of change*. [xxi], 230 pp. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, [1965]. \$5.75. (Distributed in G.B. by Oxford University Press. 46s.)

This study is based on intensive interviews carried out by Father Carroll among 92 Filipino entrepreneurs who operate relatively large-scale manufacturing enterprises—defined as employing 100 or more people. The study sheds much light on the patterns of social mobility in a developing country and on the factors which influence the nature and extent of entrepreneurial activity. There is also a short but illuminating discussion of the work of Max Weber, Everett Hagen, and David McClelland and its relevance to entrepreneurial studies.

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An interesting fact noted by Father Carroll is that the entrepreneurs who established enterprises before 1950 often started on a very small scale and many originated from the ranks of craftsmen artisans. A number originated from those who had been forced by the circumstances of the Japanese occupation to leave wage employment and to engage in 'buy and sell' trading and similar activities. For many this was a chance to prove to themselves that they could carry on business successfully. In contrast, those who started manufacturing in the 1950's usually originated from the ranks of large merchants. This was the period of import controls and dollar allocations. Most of the industries favoured in the allocations required large initial capital expenditure, e.g. automobile assembly. Many of the merchants who became manufacturing entrepreneurs in this period seem to have done so in order to protect their profits from the squeeze resulting from the imposition of controls. As one would expect, these entrepreneurs had to be as skilled in political lobbying as in industrial management. The author believes, however, that most of the enterprises founded in the period of controls will be able to stand on their own feet as controls are gradually dismantled.

This book is a very useful addition to the growing literature on entrepreneurship in underdeveloped countries and is informative on the conditions which encourage the development of manufacturing entrepreneurship. Economists, sociologists, and policy makers should find it of much value.

P. INGHAM AYRE

WILLIAM OATES and others: *Gugu-Yalanji and Wik-Munkan language studies*, by William and Lynette Oates, Hank Hershberger, Ruth Hershberger, Barbara Sayers, Marie Godfrey. (Occasional Papers in Aboriginal Studies, No. 2.) vi, 146 pp. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, 1964.

RICHARD PITTMAN and HARLAND KERR (ed.): *Papers on the languages of the Australian Aborigines*. (Occasional Papers in Aboriginal Studies, No. 3.) [iii], iii, 166 pp. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, 1964.

These two volumes contain between them 22 papers on the phonology, grammar, and vocabulary of six Australian languages. They are mainly written by members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The material has generally been obtained at first hand, either

in the field or from an informant at the University of Queensland. The languages covered are Gugu-Yalanji, spoken along the Bloomfield River in North Queensland; Wik-Munkan, spoken at Coen in North Queensland and on the Gulf side of Cape York Peninsula; Anyula, spoken at Borroloola on the McArthur River in the Northern Territory; Burera, spoken in the Blythe River area of Arnhem Land; Maung, spoken on Goulburn Island and the adjacent mainland of western Arnhem Land; and Gidabul, a dialect of the Bandjalang group in north-eastern New South Wales. These languages are spoken by small groups, rarely numbering more than a few hundred.

The data on which these papers are based were collected during fairly short periods of research. Some of the material is necessarily therefore a little sketchy and some of the analyses are provisional and tentative. The phonology is generally limited to an outline phonemic analysis together with a brief statement of syllable structure. The papers on grammar are rather more detailed, and there is a 1,200-word vocabulary of Gugu-Yalanji, as well as an interesting comparative article on pronominal matrixes.

J. E. BUSE

KAY WILLIAMSON: *A grammar of the Kolokuma dialect of Ijo*. (West African Language Monograph Series, 2.) vii, 127 pp. Cambridge: University Press in association with the West African Languages Survey and the Institute of African Studies, Ibadan, 1965. 18s.

This is the first detailed grammar of any dialect of Ijo (Ijaw), which is spoken by about 500,000 people living in the Niger delta area of Nigeria. This language is of particular interest because it differs in some important respects from its neighbours, Igbo, Edo, and Yoruba, and its relationship with them is obscure. The differences are a gender system in the noun, a passive construction of the verb, and, most of all, a system of extensive morphophonemic tone changes which completely transforms the tone patterns which would be assigned to words in a lexicon of the language. This, it has been suggested, represents a stage of transition from being a tone language to one with a pitch accent or a purely intonational system.

The description is based on the generative transformational method, but in an interesting section of her introduction (pp. 7-10) Dr. Williamson explains why she found it necessary to make certain modifications in dealing with this language. In brief, this was because she

was attempting to describe an obscure language about which little was previously known and because she had to use more than one informant, so that her material was not uniform. She readily admits that some of her rules are not as tidy as she would wish and that certain points need further investigation. One would like, for example, to know more about the distribution and use of the aspect-tense morphemes which are listed in Appendix 1, pp. 112, 113. Ijo is split up into many dialects and it is doubtful if, in spite of the number of speakers, there will ever be much written in the language. The value of this grammar, which is in itself an important contribution to West African language studies, would certainly be enhanced if it could be followed by a supplementary volume of texts.

E. C. ROWLANDS

A. J. WILLS: *An introduction to the history of central Africa*. ix, 386 pp. London: Oxford University Press, 1964. 25s.

A dull book is not necessarily a bad book, but when—as in this case—it is intended to encourage a somewhat reluctant teaching profession to pay more attention to local history a dull book may do harm. This one is as pedestrian as a Company Report and will neither stimulate the younger teacher, nor overcome the suspicion or indifference of the older teacher, whether he be white or black, about the value of African history. Students, whom the author also hopes to reach, will find little but conventional themes and accepted judgements, many of them long overdue for revision or much better dealt with elsewhere. Although it is claimed on the cover that the book gives a 'balanced consideration to the long history of the African peoples before the advent of the European', the material unconnected with European activities is in fact cursory and confusing. This applies particularly to the discussion of Zimbabwe and the Shona-speaking peoples. It is surprising that a work from a distinguished press should contain so many errors in the notes and in the bibliography, nor does the text itself reach a high standard of accuracy in dates and names.

RICHARD BROWN

ROBIN HALLETT (ed.): *The Niger Journal of Richard and John Lander*. (Travellers and Explorers.) ix, 317 pp. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965. 42s.

The journal of the Lander brothers' successful expedition of 1830 to determine the course

of the lower Niger was an apt choice to initiate this new series of popular editions of great works of travel in modern times. Richard and John Lander were ill-equipped as scientific explorers, both materially and educationally. They confined themselves very largely to the twin objectives they triumphantly accomplished, to solve the purely geographical problem and to turn their experiences into a 'best-seller', which for all its dated 'literary' mannerisms remains one of the most entertaining narratives in the whole library of African adventure. They were abundantly justified in the modest value they themselves set upon their work as sociological reportage. They do, however, present us with a first-hand account, superficial and heavily prejudiced though it is, of a wide area of southern and central Nigeria, at a period of crucial historical developments, which are otherwise largely undocumented, and as such their journal constitutes an indispensable source-book of Nigerian history.

The present edition, by the general editor of the projected series, is a skilful abridgement which reduces the leisurely three-volume journal to little more than half its original length, while preserving the flow of the narrative and the essential flavour of the book. The introduction brings together all that we now know about the authors, and usefully reviews the Nigerian background in the 1830's. Editorial footnotes to the text are kept to an adequate minimum, but there is a full gazetteer of places named. The attractive black and white illustrations are mostly reproductions of those of the first edition, supplemented by others from Allen and Thompson's 1848 edition of their Niger explorations.

As the editor himself acknowledges, the serious student must still go to the full text. Many of the passages omitted here (some of which are summarized in the notes) contain precisely the detailed historical information he will be most interested in. The general reader will, however, welcome the Landers' book in this much more handsome and readable format, teachers may confidently commend it to undergraduate students of African history, and it should be a valuable accession to any school library.

D. H. JONES

C. W. NEWBURY (ed.): *British policy towards West Africa: select documents, 1786-1874*. xxviii, 656 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965. 63s.

As the author explains in his preface, this 'is essentially a book of sources from State papers, most of which are published here for

the first time and are not easily accessible to students'. The need for such a book has long been felt, especially in African universities, and it should prove a most valuable tool to teachers and students.

The size is about right for the purpose. The material is well chosen. Errors of transcription or citation appear to be remarkably rare. (The minute printed on p. 340 was actually dated May 1846, not 1845 as here, and cannot therefore be attributable to Lord Stanley who was not then in office.) The documents are grouped together in chronological order under such topical headings as 'Legitimate trade', 'Relations with African societies', 'Company and Crown administration', etc., each topic being prefaced by a page or so of explanatory comments.

The 'diplomatic' aspects of the subject do not fare too well under this treatment. It is not really possible even to illustrate the complexities of Glover's dealings with his Yoruba neighbours, by the publication of three or four of his often somewhat disingenuous dispatches. Administrative history is better suited to this approach and here Dr. Newbury is usually a sure guide. The need for compression leads him, however, to give on p. 540 the false impression that a Supreme Court for the West African Settlements (which remained, in fact, a paper scheme only) was actually established in 1866.

The 40-pp. general introduction is both very learned and very well written. It is likely to remain for a long time the best short survey of the whole subject.

D. H. JONES

GODFREY and MONICA WILSON: *The analysis of social change, based on observations in central Africa. Reprinted*. vii, 177 pp. Cambridge: University Press, 1965. 16s.

The reissue of this still stimulating book 20 years after its original publication should please anthropologists. True, certain concepts and propositions have become outdated. In these days we are unlikely to introduce our main theme with such a heading as 'From primitive to civilized'. Terms like 'small-scale' and 'complex' are among those which have rightly replaced 'primitive' and 'civilized'. Yet, allowing for the development and modification of ideas over these years, the book is useful for teaching purposes, both as regards certain concepts and as an example of immediate post-war anthropological thought.

The Wilsons see two major causes of social change. One is the ready acceptance by indigenous populations of new ideas and

behaviour. The other is the 'disequilibrium', eventually restored to a new balance, created by vehemently opposed groups and categories of people. The central concept in the analysis is that of 'scale' which the Wilsons define as 'the number of people in relation and the intensity of those relations'. Where a society suffers from unevenness of scale disequilibrium will ensue. Since, the Wilsons claim, equilibrium is a basic necessity of social life, evenness of scale will reappear in the context of a remoulded society. Social change will have occurred.

There are two major criticisms to be made of these ideas. One is that the whole analysis depends too much on the rather vague notion of equilibrium. A more pertinent question nowadays would ask what degree of integration among their institutions different societies show over time, a question the Wilsons touch upon. The second criticism is that the notions 'scale', 'impersonality', and, indeed, 'social change' are too broad and imprecisely defined for use in the intensive analyses of to-day, in which role-analysis and ego-centred extended case studies have become indispensable yardsticks.

But all this detracts unfairly from a work which constituted an advance in its science when it was published.

D. J. PARKIN

Nigerian law: some recent developments.

A report of a discussion conference held from March 13 to March 16, 1964, at St. Catherine's, Cumberland Lodge, Windsor Great Park. (The British Institute of International and Comparative Law. Supplementary Publication No. 10.) viii, 131 pp. London: Stevens and Sons Ltd., 1965. 21s.

The papers which are contained in this volume explain, briefly, a variety of different features of the Nigerian legal system and its background; and they show the way in which it is being developed, both in the courts and through the active interest of the members of the very recently-created law faculties of the universities.

Two of the papers are concerned with constitutional law: Mr. Nwabueze, of the University of Lagos, outlines the main features of the Federal Nigerian Constitution; and the Deputy Solicitor-General, Mr. Adebisi, deals with fundamental rights and provides some useful information on the manner in which the courts have interpreted the constitutional provisions relating to freedom of conscience

in particular. In the field of public law there are also two papers on labour relations—one by Professor Hanbury, which deals with the background and some of the principles involved in Nigerian legislation on the topic; and a more detailed exposition of the contemporary position by Mr. Yesufu, of the Ministry of Economic Development in the Federal Government. A Nigerian barrister, Mr. Okubadejo, contributes an interesting description of some of the problems relating to local government, its structure and its place within the Federal and Regional systems.

Professor Allott offers some useful and original ideas on the subject of the 'common law of Nigeria', and deals at length with the place of the received English law within it as well as with the possible ways in which it will evolve in the future. The volume concludes with a valuable paper by Professor Milner, of the Ahmadu Bello University at Zaria, on 'Legal education and training in Nigeria', which contains not only a clear picture of the growth of the system of legal education in the Federation, but also a number of important suggestions for its improvement.

A short conference of the kind which gave rise to these papers cannot hope to cover the entirety of the contemporary Nigerian legal system. There are a number of obvious omissions in the subjects chosen for presentation, notably within the field of private law, which receives scant attention: apart from references to it by Professor Allott and Professor Milner, there is only one paper within this field—by Mr. Justice Onyeama, on land law—with all the remaining topics being ignored. The same applies to customary and Islamic law.

NEVILLE RUBIN

DOUGLAS BROWN: *Criminal procedure in Uganda and Kenya.* (Law in Africa, No. 13.) xxvi, 155 pp. London: Sweet and Maxwell; etc., 1965. 37s. 6d.

This volume provides a brief outline of the manner in which the Criminal Procedure Code of Uganda works and is concerned almost entirely with trials which take place in the magistrates' courts in that country. It is intended as an elementary handbook, to be used by non-professional magistrates, police officers, and students, rather than as a comprehensive commentary on the Code; and, as such, it succeeds well in providing the reader with an outline of the relevant rules, derived either from statute or case law. Its applicability to Kenya is less direct, and derives from the fact that the Code in that country is

similar to Uganda's though not identical with it. From a practical point of view, this probably makes very little difference; and care is taken by the author to refer readers to the appropriate sections of the Kenya Code, even though the text is based on that of Uganda. Kenya cases are also cited.

NEVILLE RUBIN

C. R. BOXER: *Portuguese society in the tropics: the municipal councils of Goa, Macao, Bahia, and Luanda, 1510-1800*. xvi, 240 pp., front., 4 plates. Madison and Milwaukee: University of Wisconsin Press, 1965. \$6.

There is an artistry in Professor Boxer's choice of subjects for monographs. Unlike lesser mortals, who are restricted by their own narrow expertise to some well-defined field or furrow of research, he is equipped to select at will that continent or period or culture which happens to awaken his fancy as an apt illustration of whatever occurs to him as significant. And he possesses the intellectual imagination to seize upon subjects which are limited in themselves but which may illuminate and extend our understanding of major historical themes. Now, he has chosen to compare the working of the municipal council, the *Senado da Camara*, in widely-separated Portuguese settlements in South America, south-west Africa, South Asia and eastern Asia. He demonstrates that the Portuguese idea of local participation in municipal affairs is far removed from that British 'Gas and Water Socialism' which was exported (with dubious success) to the emergent countries of the British Empire. One of the main functions of the overseas Portuguese municipal councillors was to organize and celebrate the Feasts and Processions of the Catholic year. This appealed vastly to the Asian tradition of popular management and participation in festivals, and contributed largely to that fusion of Lusitanian and Asian attitudes which gave to Golden Goa and Macao, City of the Name

of God in China, their unique character as doorways both to the East and the West. As a means of self-government, the *Senado da Camara* was somewhat sterile. Professor Boxer shows how all important decisions had to be referred to the Crown in Lisbon. Still, the Council gave the settlements much-needed continuity, amid the comings and goings of Governors, and provided yet another thread in the web of checks and balances which ensured that the rickety Portuguese Empire enjoyed such an amazingly long lease of life.

HUGH TINKER

Boletín de la Asociación Española de Orientalistas. Año I. 231 pp. Madrid: A.E.O., 1965. Ptas. 120, \$2.

This new Spanish publication, of which at least one volume per year is promised, will include articles, notes, and book reviews drawn from the entire field of oriental studies. In an introductory editorial Professor F. M. Pareja describes the foundation and aims of the Asociación Española de Orientalistas, to which is appended a copy of its statutes. Among the contributions in this first issue of the *Boletín* are studies of the Muslim origin of capital designs in Spanish cathedrals by Francisco Iñiguez Almech; of the provenance of the first Spanish shields by Martín Almagro; of the age of the Palestinian Targum by A. Díez Macho; of the psychology of Islamic mysticism by Fernando Frade; and a proposal for the edition of Arabic manuscripts relative to Muslim Spain by Charles Pellat. Among the notes and notices are summaries of the several orientalist congresses held each year throughout the world, and announcements of forthcoming meetings. Finally, there is a section of brief book reviews. Students in all branches of oriental studies will welcome the appearance of this periodical, in its pleasing format and with its wide range of subjects.

J. WANSBROUGH

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OBITUARY

ALFRED GUILLAUME

For a wide circle of his friends the death of Alfred Guillaume on 30 November 1965, shortly after his 77th birthday, was a sudden shock, though not altogether unexpected within his family. To the last months he was sending offprints of essays and notes on the interpretation of difficult passages in the Old Testament to friends who marvelled at his undiminished vigour of mind. Throughout his active years, when administrative duties occupied a great part of his time, he had always pursued his research in his chosen field, bordering on both Arabic and Hebrew studies.

Tall and muscular, Guillaume was of Channel Island stock settled in England, and never lost his fondness for the countryside and the tending of a garden. In his later life he enjoyed watching the games he had once played on the odd day he could spare at Twickenham or Lords. Above all a man of humour with an infectious laugh, he could remove dyspeptic gloom and induce a balanced view of difficulties; impatient of real negligence of duty or bad behaviour, he did not allow a passing phase to prejudice him long. Loved by his family, continuously bound to many colleagues, Alfred Guillaume leaves a happy memory among his circle.

He went up to Oxford a year or two later than the normal, to Wadham, with an Exhibition and then the Pusey and Ellerton Hebrew scholarship; in 1913 he was awarded a first class in the Oriental schools—Hebrew and Arabic with Syriac as the third subject, then an exacting test for an Englishman—and won all the prizes available, the Houghton Syriac and Septuagint, and the Junior Kennicott Hebrew scholarship. Thus he was solidly based in the intense and extremely critical learning of the Oxford Semitic scholars of his time. It is probably difficult for anyone now to understand the intellectual ambience that then prevailed; over 50 years of discovery, decipherment, and minute inquiry into details have altered so much. S. R. Driver, to whom, with the Americans Brown and Briggs, all English-speaking scholars are indebted for the revision of Gesenius's dictionary, had established a form of the 'Higher Criticism' developed at Tübingen and other German and Dutch centres as academic doctrine; the ignorance shown in counter-criticism, generally of the kind found much earlier in the attacks on Robertson Smith in Scotland, and the erratic views of Sayce, left students the more convinced that the methods and results of Old Testament criticism were beyond question. In Arabic studies Wellhausen was, with Goldziher, the prevailing influence, but at Oxford the idiosyncracies of D. S. Margoliouth created an extreme scepticism. To appreciate Guillaume's stature as a scholar it is necessary to compare his work with the doctrine he received—a comparison he never made himself—for the stages by which he arrived at his final attitudes were part of his make-up; but the labour and mental effort demand a proper appreciation.

In 1914 when the first World War broke out Guillaume, already an ordinand,



ALFRED GUILLAUME

joined, as many of us did, a Kitchener battalion of the Royal Fusiliers as a private, but was given a commission in the Lancashire Fusiliers (a tough lot) in 1915 and served with them in France. Sick leave in England gave time for his marriage to Miss Margaret Woodfield Leadbitter, daughter of the Rector of West Walton, Norfolk, in 1916, then he was sent to Egypt and at the end of his military service was Captain on the staff of the High Commissioner, mentioned in despatches—for some who remember the circumstances as honourable as a decoration. The ability to deliver a lecture in modern Arabic, rare at that time among European scholars, was acquired in Cairo.

He returned to Oxford in 1919 as Liddon Theological Student, took a curacy, and lectured on Hebrew to theological students at Cuddesdon College. After acting as lecturer on the Old Testament at King's College, London, he was appointed Professor of Hebrew and Oriental languages at Durham, 1920–30, serving also as a parish Rector, years of which he and his wife retained happy memories. From 1930 to 1943 he was Principal of the training college for Church of England schoolteachers at Culham, and acted as honorary Assistant Keeper of Public Records during the war years. In the winter of 1944–5 he was at the American University of Beirut as Professor of Arabic, and in the autumn succeeded S. H. Hooke, an old Oxford friend, as Davidson Professor of Old Testament Studies in the University of London. In 1947 he accepted the Arabic chair at the School.

Up to this time his main published work on the Old Testament is to be found in contributions to the *New commentary on Holy Scripture, including the Apocrypha*, 1928, for which he acted as co-editor with Bishop Gore, and in the Bampton Lectures, *Prophecy and divination*, 1938, an examination of both the passages in the OT which refer directly to omens and those which can be explained on comparative grounds as due to priestly or prophetic routine in augury. His work in Arabic studies had been devoted to the religious teaching and thinking in the early centuries of Islam in the two holy cities of the Hijaz, a subject which seems not to have interested English or Scots scholars at the end of the nineteenth century, though vigorously examined by the Germans and Dutch. *The traditions of Islam*, 1924, was followed by *The influence of Judaism on Islam*, 1927, his thesis for D.D., and *The summa philosophiae of al-Shahrastānī: Kitāb nihāyatu 'l-iqdām*, 1931, from the time when he was collaborating with Sir Thomas Arnold on *The legacy of Islam*. The courses he gave for undergraduates between 1947 and 1955 at the School were therefore directed to instruction in the basic tenets and philosophy of Islam, and their tenor can be found, reduced to small scope, in his Penguin of 1954, *Islam*; it has been translated into Arabic, Italian, and Spanish, no small tribute to its authority when the available books in these languages are considered. These years also led to his translation of Ibn Ishāq as edited by Ibn Hishām, *The life of Muhammad*, 1955, a boon for all those of us who cannot read or cannot easily find their way about in that compilation. Because these books superficially make no claim to originality, nor any parade of argumentation about

modern views with abundant references, it is easy to forget that they represent an almost total change of attitude from that known to Guillaume at Oxford and indeed still common in some quarters in 1940–50. Doubts dispelled by new knowledge are quietly suppressed; legitimate scepticism is mentioned without unnecessary emphasis, but proved facts appear where relevant. Islamic religious tradition will never, probably, become a popular subject: but the study in England has been set on a new course. Guillaume was made a Member of the Arab Academy of Damascus in 1949, and of the Academy of Baghdad in 1950; ‘*ulamā*’ recognized in him one learned in their specific ‘*ilm*’ even before the appearance of these books.

After Guillaume retired from the School in 1955 he spent two years at Princeton as Visiting Professor, and then returned to his home near Abingdon, still busy on contributions to the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* and other articles. His last work on the traditions was published in 1960, *New light on the life of Muhammad*, a summary of the contents of a MS in a library at Fez, about which Dr. Hopkins had sent him a brief report; Dr. Allouche obtained a microfilm for his use. This MS, lacking the title at the beginning, is an account by al-Bazzāz of a report by Yūnus ibn Bukair, who heard Ibn Ishāq’s lectures at Kūfa and added some 200 *ḥadīth* from other sources. In default of the edition Guillaume had hoped to produce of this much damaged and difficult text, he gave a full summary of passages not in Ibn Hishām’s edition, and an introduction providing necessary information with comments on points of special interest. It was a remarkable testimony to his eyesight and energy at the age of 72.

For many years he had published brief notes on passages in the OT formerly subjected to radical—generally too radical—emendation. He was extremely sceptical where emendation required major alterations in the consonantal text, but welcomed with great pleasure confirmation of modern corrections in, for instance, the great Isaiah scroll from the Dead Sea region. Most of his notes justified the consonantal text by accepting the existence of a percentage of words explicable by Arabic root-significance larger than was recognized before, say, 1914, when legitimate comparisons were thought to be confined to Aramaic and—rarely—Akkadian. Freer use of Arabic for comparison developed during the 1930’s and 1940’s, but spasmodically, and sometimes without regard to whether the meaning assigned to the Arabic word was really ancient and primary. Results were then generally doubtful, sometimes unacceptable, and always subject to the suspicion of dictionary-flipping. Guillaume’s mastery of both languages put his suggestions into a different class. Finally, this work brought before him the problems of the book of Job—form (generally dissected into two entities), background (not usually considered as belonging specifically to a particular area), date (commonly, in ‘Introductions’ to the OT, assigned to the Hellenistic period or not much earlier). At the time of his death he had nearly finished a book on this subject. In outline what he had to say is by now already known from essays published in the last two years, but it will be fascinating to read his full exposition when the book appears, as it surely must, even

if the final revision is lost. On the three points Guillaume came to firm conclusions : the form corresponds to one known in Arabic literature, the background specifically the area east of Jordan, near the caravan route to Taima and the Hijaz, the date sixth century B.C., the time of Nabonidus's campaign, referred to in the text. As was usual with him, Guillaume did not in these essays enter into arguments against the orthodox critical views he had once accepted ; he concentrated on the positive aspects of what he had to say. He was obviously much influenced by Professor Gadd's edition of the Nabonidus texts from Harran, yet the freshness of mind displayed astonished me. For 40 years I have been a heretic about the book of Job, as the result of conversations with Budge in the 1920's, and well laughed at by friends for believing in an early date—earlier than even Guillaume's. His last work, at the age of roughly 75, has all the virtues that should attach to the writing of a man 40 years younger.

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BLANK VERSE (*AL-SHI'R AL-MURSAL*) IN MODERN ARABIC LITERATURE

By S. MOREH

The accepted definition of poetry among most of the classical Arab prosodists is *al-kalām al-marozūn al-muqaffā* 'speech in metre and rhyme'.¹ Unrhymed verse was thus excluded.

The simplest rhyme in Arabic verse is generally, a consonant (*rawiyy*) between two vowels. The only exception to this rule is the rhyme of *al-qasīda al-maqṣūra*, i.e. in a poem which rhymes with *alif maqṣūra*, where the consonant is not important.²

It is obvious from the different statements of some of the critics and philosophers who were interested in the Greek sciences, that the Arabs were aware that the Greeks had blank verse. However, they were all firm in their conviction that rhyme in Arabic poetry is as essential as metre. Fārābī (873–950) in his *Kitāb al-shi'r*,³ observed that Homer used blank verse: *wa-yabīn min fi'l Aumūrūsh shā'ir al-Yūnāniyyin annahu lā yaḥtafiḥ bi-tasāwī bi-nihāyāt*,⁴ while the Arabs pay more attention to rhyme than do other nations: *Inna li 'l-'Arab min al-'ināya bi-nihāyāt al-abyāt allatī fi 'l-shi'r akthar minimā li-kathīr min al-umam allatī 'arafnā ash-'arahā*.⁵

Even the great scholar of Greek philosophy and the commentator on the *Poetica* of Aristotle, Ibn Sinā (980–1037) tended to deny Arabic unrhymed verse the title of poetry: *al-shi'r kalām mukhayyal mu'allaf min aqwāl dhāt iyyqā'āt muttafiqa, mutasāwiya, mutakarrira 'alā wazniḥā mutashābiḥa ḥurūf al-khawātīm . . . wa-qarobimā: 'mutashābihat al-khawātīm' li-yakūn farqan bayn al-muqaffā wa-ghayr al-muqaffā—falā yakād yusammā 'indanā bi 'l-shi'r mā laysa bi-muqaffā*.⁶

The Arab prosodists disapproved of slight discordances in the rhyme, its vowel, and the vowels preceding its consonant (*rawiyy*). In their developed 'art of rhymes' (*ilm al-qawāfi*) each type of discordance was given a special term such as *iqwā'*, *ikfā'*, *iṣṣāf*, and *sinād*. Of course, avoiding such 'defects' imposed greater shackles on the freedom of the poets. Pure scientific, philological, and lexicographic works which were written by Arabic scholars, developed

¹ The third condition usually added is the existence of intention (*qaṣd* or *niyya*) to compose poetry. In this way the prosodists were able to exclude certain verses of the Qur'ān which may be scanned into one of the Arabic metres from being poetry.

² cf. 'Abd Allāh al-Ṭayyib, *al-Murshid ilā fahm ash-'ar al-'Arab wa-ḡinā'atihā*, Cairo, [1955], I, 22–3.

³ See *Shi'r*, the magazine for Arabic poetry, III, 12, 1959, 90–5, edited by Dr. Muḥsin Mahdī.

⁴ *ibid.*, 92.

⁵ *ibid.*, 91. Cf. also, the definition of Ḥāzīm al-Qartājannī in his *Kitāb al-manāḥij al-adabiyya*. The third chapter of this book whose original title is supposed to be *Minḥāj al-bulaghā' wa-sirāj al-udabā'* was edited and published by 'Abd al-Rahmān Badawī, separately as a reprint from: *Mélanges Taha Husayn, offerts par ses amis et ses disciples à l'occasion de son 70ième anniversaire, publiés par Abdurrahman Badawi*, Le Caire, 1962, 85–146. (The Arabic title of the book is: *Ilā Taha Husayn fī 'id milādih al-sab'īn*.)

⁶ See *Jawāmi' 'ilm al-mūsīqā*, ed. Zakariyyā Yūsuf, Cairo, 1956, 122–3. Cf. also Muḥammad al-Ahwānī, *Ibn Sinā*, Cairo, 1962, 85–6.

poetry towards purification in form, music, and visual perfection by introducing *al-badrī* (the science of metaphor). These devices added more obstacles to free expression of emotion and thought. During the centuries the monotonous themes, poetical diction, and metaphor arrived at a point of stagnation, in spite of the fact that, through their extraordinary talents, great masters of Arabic poetry succeeded in adding a few interesting innovations to the Arabic poetic heritage.

Under the impact of the West, some Arab poets tried to introduce new poetic diction, metaphors, and themes, and to find new forms and music which suited them in order to be able to avoid what they considered the enslaving style and sonorous and declamatory tone of classical Arabic poetry. For this reason strophic forms of the *muwashshah* and *zajal* were revived. The versification of the *Iliad* by Sulaymān al-Bustānī (1856–1925)⁷ was one of the most serious attempts to get rid of the burden of the monorhyme in the monometric poem. Bustānī translated most of the *Iliad* into strophic verse following an established fashion among the Syrian and Lebanese poets. He did not want to use blank verse, the original form of the *Iliad*, in his versification. He preferred strophic to blank verse because, as he stated, poetry in Arabic is defined by rhyme and metre (*al-kalām al-muqaffā al-mawzūn*).⁸ For this reason he refrained from violating Arabic taste and the nature of the Arabic language which is rich in rhymes, in contrast to other languages.⁹ However, although he was convinced that rhyme and its melody are an essential part of Arabic prosody, he did not use monorhyme extensively because he found it monotonous and an unnecessary restriction in epic and narrative poetry.¹⁰ Nevertheless, his admiration for rhyme led him to avoid any defects in rhyme condemned by Arab prosodists.¹¹

Later on, strophic verse became firmly established in modern Arabic poetry through the continuous endeavour of the Lebanese and Syrian poets in the Arab world and in America. However, many other poets tried to find new forms and music for the new themes of narrative, dramatic, and epic poetry which they attempted to introduce in order to enrich Arabic literature with new elements borrowed from the West,¹² but found that the rhyme is an obstacle which must be removed :¹³

⁷ The Arabic title is : *Ilyādhat Hūmīrūs, mu'arraba naẓman . . .* followed by a French title : *L'Iliade d'Homère, traduite en vers arabes avec une introduction historique et littéraire sur l'auteur et son oeuvre en regard de la littérature arabe et des usages de l'orient. Le texte est accompagné de notes et suivi d'un vocabulaire par Sulāyman al-Bustāny, Cairo, 1904.* On Bustānī see H. A. R. Gibb, 'Studies in contemporary Arabic literature', *BSOS*, iv, 4, 1928, 751.

⁸ *Ilyādha*, 94.

⁹ *ibid.*, 95.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, 101–2.

¹¹ *ibid.*, 99–100.

¹² This tendency among the Egyptian poets to experiment on 'blank verse' and not only on strophic verse is demonstrated in the following phrase written by 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Farḥāt in his critical notes to Aḥmad Zakī Abū Shādī's *diwān, Anīn wa-ranīn*, Cairo, 1925, 157 :

اذ ان من المستحيل بغير هذه الوسيلة ايجاد الملاحم الشائقة في اللغة العربية ومجازاة الغربيين في نهضتهم ولن تغني الموشحات ولا اساليب النظم الحديثة التي اولع بها المهاجرون في امريكا خاصة عن احياء وانماء الشعر المرسل.

¹³ From Zahāwī's article '*Ḥawā al-nāṭr wa 'l-shī'r*' 'On prose and poetry', in *al-Siyāsa al-Uṣbū'iyya*, ii, 78, 1927, 18, reprinted in the appendix of Hilāl Nāji's book *al-Zahāwī wa-dīwānuh*

وأما اختلاف القوافي في القصيدة الواحدة كجعل كل قسم من أقسامها على قافية ففيه سهولة للشاعر ولكن القافية مهما اختلفت فهي تقيّد الشاعر ولا تدعه حراً في اظهار ما يريد من معنى او شعور. فالسبب الاكبر لتأخر الشعر في العربية عنه في [اللغات] الغربية هو القافية ذلك القيد الثقيل الذي ينوء به الشعر فيرسف مبطناً في سيره كالماشي في الوحل. وأحسب ان القافية هي عضو اثرى قد بقي من كلمات كان يكررها في آخر كل بيت النادب في المناحات والمتحمس في الحرب والصدام يوم تولد الشعر في عصور الجاهلية الاولى ولا بد من زواله بالتام لعدم فائدته اليوم ولتقييده الشعر فلا يتقدم حراً كبقية الفنون.

The Egyptian poets, who were influenced mainly by English literature, and the Iraqi poet Jamil Šidqī al-Zahāwī (1863–1936) who was influenced by the scientific and literary activities of the American missionaries and their Arab graduates,¹⁴ preferred experimenting with unrhymed verse which they termed *Shi'r mursal* to imitate English blank verse. Their plea for introducing it was that it was used by most of the European nations, and occurred in old Arabic poetry. They bolstered up their claims by quoting instances from *I'jāz al-Qur'an* by Bāqillānī (d. 1013)¹⁵ and from *al-Muwashshah fī ma'ākhidh al-'ulamā' 'ala 'l-shu'arā'* by Muḥammad b. 'Imrān al-Marzubānī (909–93).¹⁶ Other critics described such examples as the worst possible types of rhyming, fit only for weak poets and women, and expressed their opinion that they should be forbidden in poetry. The modern poets also adopted the Western classification of poetry based upon Plato's theory that poetry is divided into the lyrical, the epic, and the dramatic.¹⁷ To their amazement, they found that the bulk of Arabic poetry written throughout its long history was mainly lyrical and that it did not deal with narrative, dramatic, or epic.¹⁸ They tried to explain this phenomenon and argued that one of the main factors which deprived Arabic poetry of epic and narrative element was the rigid tradition of using monorhyme in the Arabic *qaṣīda*, while other nations, including the Persians, practised writing long epics either in unrhymed verse or in changed rhymes in a simpler pattern.¹⁹

al-maṣṣūf, Cairo, [1963], 361–71 (see 364). Cf. also Zahāwī's introduction to *Shu'arā' al-'aṣr*, by Muḥammad Šabūrī, II, Cairo, 1330/1912, 11–12.

¹⁴ See *al-Kātib al-Miṣrī*, IV, 15, 1946, 459, 465.

¹⁵ Cairo, 1374/1954, 84. See 'Abbās Maḥmūd al-'Aqqād's preface to *Diwān al-Māzinī*, [Cairo, 1913], pp. m–n; Muḥammad 'Abd al-Mun'im Khafāji, *Madhāhib al-adab*, Cairo, 1953, 46–7.

¹⁶ Cairo, 1343/1924–5, 19–20. See Khafāji, op. cit., 47, and Ḥusayn al-Ḥarīfī's article '*Majma' al-buḥār*', *al-Risāla*, I, 7, 1933, 13–14.

¹⁷ of. Bustānī, *Ilyādha*, 163–4; Khafāji, op. cit., 41, 60; Māhir Ḥasan Fahmī, *Tafaṭwur al-shi'r al-'Arabī al-ḥadīth fī Miṣr 1900–1950*, [Cairo], 1958, 93. See also the criticism of this approach in *al-Risāla*, I, 14, 1933, 20.

¹⁸ However, Bustānī did not argue that the Arabs did not write epics, but that their epics were not in verse only but in verse and prose; op. cit., 171–2.

¹⁹ Bustānī, *Ilyādha*, 165–7, and Aḥmad Amin, *Fayḍ al-khāfir*, Cairo, 1940, II, 246.

The problem which attracted the attention of the modern Arab poets and critics is why the Arabs translated Greek writings on philosophy, logic, and medicine while ignoring Greek literature

Therefore, the following arguments were urged against the classical definition of Arabic poetry, namely, that it was characterized by metre and rhyme : that rhyme and its music are not an essential part of poetry ; that the monorhyme limits the sense and leads the poet away from his original conceptions, it obliges him to adjust his emotions and thoughts to the rhyme, an act which shocks the poet from his trance-like state of creative sensitivity, that its

and why the Arabs did not write epic poetry although other Eastern nations such as the Indians, Persians, ancient Egyptians, and Turks wrote epics while the Indians, Persians, and even the Syrians translated the *Iliad* into their language (Bustānī, loc. cit., and 62-3, 265). Among the first Arab scholars who tried to solve this problem was Sulaymān al-Bustānī who suggested three main reasons. First, religious, because of the pagan elements in the *Iliad*, while Greek philosophy, logic, and medicine were useful to the Arabs. Second, the Christian translators of Greek science were not able to write poetry in Arabic. Third, the Arab poets did not know Greek (op. cit., 65-7).

However, a more reliable answer to this difficult problem was provided by a contemporary scholar and poet of that period, which shed a strong light upon the attitude of the Arabs towards Greek poetry and whether in fact religion was an important factor. This scholar and poet is Ḥāzīm al-Qartājannī (see p. 483, n. 5 ; *GAL*, I, 317, Suppl., I, 474). The *diwān* of Qartājannī was edited and published recently by 'Uthmān al-Ka'āk, Beirut, 1965, under the title : *Diwān Ḥāzīm al-Qartājannī (608-684)*. In his book *Minhāj al-bulaghā* (or *Kitāb al-manāhij al-adabiyya*), Qartājannī succeeded in applying the ideas of Aristotle in rhetoric and poetics to Arabic poetry.

From the comments of Qartājannī we can understand how the Arabs looked at Greek poetry. In discussing the *Poetica* of Aristotle, Qartājannī described Greek poetry as limited to certain themes, each theme being written in a certain metre dealing mostly with legends (see Badawī's edition of the third chapter, 13) :

فان الحكيم ارسطاطاليس، وان كان اعنى بالشعر بحسب مذاهب اليونانية فيه، ونبه على عظيم منفعة وتكلم في قوانين فنّه، فان اشعار اليونانية انما كانت أغراضا محدوده في اوزان مخصوصة ومدار جل اشعارهم على خرافات كانوا يصنعونها يفرضون فيها وجود اشياء وصور لم تقع في الوجود، ويجعلون احاديثها امثالا وامثلة لما وقع في الوجود.

In another place, Qartājannī described the difference in the character of Arabic and of Greek imagination. The latter is based upon legends ' such as those which old women relate to children ' (ibid., 20) :

والاختلاق الامتاعي ليس يقع للعرب في جهة من جهات الشعر اصلا. وكان شعراء اليونانيين يحتلقون اشياء يبنون عليها تخايلهم الشعرية ويجعلونها جهات لا قوايلهم، ويجعلون تلك الاشياء التي لم تقع في الوجود كأمثلة لما وقع فيه، ويبنون على ذلك قصصاً مخترعا نحو ما تحدث به العجائز الصبيان في اسماهم من الامور التي يمتنع وقوع مثلها.

However, Qartājannī quoted the argument of Ibn Sīnā in his summary of the *Poetica* of Aristotle (cf. Aristotle, *De poetica, e Graeco transtulit commentis auxit ac critica editione antiquae, Arabicae versionis et Alfārābi, Avicennae, Averroisique commentariorum* 'Abdurrahmān Badawī, Cairo, 1953 (the Arabic title is, *Fann al-shi'r*), 184) that this type of poetry does not suit all temperaments (op. cit., 21) :

وقد ذم ابن سينا هذا النوع من الشعر فقال : «ولا يجب ان يحتاج في التخيل الشعرى الي هذه الخرافات البسيطة التي هي قصص مخترعة». وقال ايضا : «ان هذا ليس مما يوافق جميع الطباع».

As to the religious factor which Bustānī put forward as a very important one, it has been ably demonstrated by Qartājannī that it was not important (loc. cit.) :

فالكذب الاختلاقي في اغراض الشعر لا يعاب من جهة الصناعة لأن النفس قابلة له، اذ لا استدلال على كونه كذبا من جهة القول ولا العقل. فلم يبق الا ان يعاب من جهة الدين. وقد رفع الحرج عن مثل هذا الكذب ايضا في الدين

In fact we can add that the historical background, the setting of the epics, and the several strange names which are in these poems were foreign to the Arabs. Moreover, we cannot ignore

jingling effect disturbs the melody of the metre and that in a good poem, images and ideas are more important elements.²⁰

The modernist poets thought that by neglecting rhyme they would be able to rehabilitate Arabic poetry and to keep pace with European literature, by introducing dramatic, narrative, and epic poetry.²¹

Many critics tried to find out who was the first Arab poet to use unrhymed verse in modern Arabic literature. In an article written by Durrinī Khashaba in *al-Risāla* ²² entitled '*al-Shi'r al-mursal* and our poets who experimented with it', the writer said that he could not decide whether the first poet in Egypt and the Arab world to start writing in *shi'r mursal* was 'Abd al-Rahmān Shukrī (1886-1949) ²³ or Muḥammad Farīd Abū Ḥadīd. In an article in his book *Yas'alūnak* ²⁴ 'Aqqād tried to answer this difficult question and emphasized that the three poets Tawfiq al-Bakrī (1870-1932) ²⁵ in his poem *Dhāt al-qawāfī*, Jamīl Sidqī al-Zahāwī in a poem in *al-Mu'ayyad* and 'Abd al-Rahmān Shukrī in his poems in *al-Jarīda* were the first to try their hand at it. But 'Aqqād could not decide which of the three was the first among them.²⁶ He presumed that Tawfiq al-Bakrī was the first to do so in his poem *Dhāt al-qawāfī*. Then Zahāwī followed him and only later did Shukrī publish his *shi'r mursal*.

In our opinion, the first experiment in blank verse in modern Arabic literature

the importance of the fact that most of the actions in these epics are under the influence of the Greek gods which the Arabs rejected and considered as childish legends, and also of the pride which the Arabs enjoyed in their poetry. Other scholars who discussed this subject are: H. A. R. Gibb in 'Studies in contemporary Arabic literature', *BSOS*, v, 3, 1929, 465; Tawfiq al-Ḥakīm in *al-Malik Uwdīb*, Cairo, [1949], 9-54; 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Dāyini in *al-Adīb al-'Irāqī*, I, 2, 1961, 32-9; Māhir Ḥasan Fahmī, *Tafaṭṭur al-shi'r al-'Arabī al-ḥadīth fī Miṣr 1900-1950*, [Cairo], 1958, 93-6 (a brief survey of the problem with valuable references to articles and books which discussed it); and Shawqī Ḍayf, *Dirāsāt fī 'l-shi'r al-'Arab al-mu'āṣir*, second ed., Cairo, [1955], 44-7.

²⁰ On the argument of modern Arab poets that rhyme is not essential in poetry see Zahāwī in *Diwān al-Zahāwī*, Cairo, 1924, p. b, *Sihr al-shi'r*, ed. Rufā'il Buṭṭī, Cairo, 1922, I, 56-8, *al-Hilāl*, xxxv, 8, 1927, 913, and p. 484, n. 13 above; Naimy, *al-Ghīrbāl*, Cairo, [1923], 87; Nāzik al-Malā'ika, *Shazāyā wa-ramād*, second ed., Beirut, [1959], 12-13; 'Aqqād, preface to *Diwān al-Māzinī*, p. m; Nizār Qabbānī in *al-Shi'r qindīl akḥḍar*, Beirut, 1963, 36-9; Jamāl al-Dīn al-Alūāī, '*al-Mufaṭṭurāt aw shi'r al-malāḥim*', *al-Aqlām* (Baghdad), I, 4-6, 1964-5, 34-44; 71-78, 84-98; 89-98.

²¹ See for instance the article by Muḥammad Farīd Abū Ḥadīd in *al-Risāla*, I, 9, 1933, 10; Bustānī, op. cit., 101; p. 484, n. 12, and above, n. 20.

²² xi, 540, 1943.

²³ On Shukrī see *GAL*, Suppl., III, 125.

²⁴ Cairo, 1946, 64.

²⁵ On Bakrī see Dasūqī, *Fī 'l-adab al-ḥadīth*, third ed., II, [Cairo, 1959], 401-36; *GAL*, Suppl., III, 81-2.

²⁶ Ḥasan al-Zarīfī stated that Zahāwī was the first (*al-Risāla*, I, 7, 1933, 13), while Aḥmad Zakī Abū Shādī (see *Adabī*, I, 7-9, 1936, 368), and 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Dasūqī (*Jamā'at Apollo*, [Cairo], 1960, p. 86, n. 1) considered Shukrī to be the first poet to write blank verse in modern Arabic literature in Egypt, and Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ghafūr considered him to be the first who wrote blank verse in Arabic (*Apollo*, II, 9, 1934, 874). An anonymous writer of a letter to *al-Ādāb* (II, 4, 1954, 69) said that Abū Ḥadīd was the first. It is worth while noting here that 'Aqqād ignored in all his discussion on *shi'r mursal* the activities of Abū Shādī, probably because of the latter's criticism of his poetry in *Apollo* (see for instance I, 7, 1933, 707-9; II, 5, 1934, 364-5; II, 6, 1934, 471-3; II, 7, 1934, 583-7).

took place earlier than the beginning of the twentieth century, when these experiments were proceeding. This was performed by Rizq Allāh Ḥassūn (1825–80)²⁷ in his versified translation of the eighteenth chapter of the Book of Job in his book *Ash'ar al-shi'r* in 1869.²⁸ In his Arabic preface Ḥassūn said in explanation of his method :²⁹

وقد سنح لي ان انظم الفصل الثامن عشر من سفر ايوب على اسلوب الشعر القديم بلا قافية (لان حد الشعر عندى نظم موزون وليست القافية تشتط الا لتحسينه فقد كان الشعر شعرا قبل ان تعرف القافية كما هو عند سائر الامم ولم يسمع للعرب بسبعة ابيات على قافية واحدة قبل امره القيس لانه اول من احكم قوافيها).

This experiment did receive publicity in literary circles, as is shown by the publication of two editions of the book and by the composer's statement in his preface that he had shown his versification to Christian and Muslim scholars and poets and 'they approved of it and admired it'. Furthermore, it seems that Sulaymān al-Bustānī was referring to Ḥassūn's argument for applying 'blank verse' when he said in his article 'Shi'r' in *Encyclopédie arabe*³⁰ that 'some people claimed that rhyme was not required at first and that before Imru' al-Qays, seven successive monorhyme verses had not been heard of among the Arabs. However, this argument is irrelevant, because the Arabs did not compose on a single subject or event except in monorhyme verses'. Moreover, 'Isā Iskander al-Ma'lūf in his article 'al-Shi'r al-manthūr' (*al-Hilāl*, XIV, 10, 1906, 582), mentioned this experiment of Ḥassūn in which 'he made loose the chains of rhyme and liberated his pen from its obligations, thus his thoughts were free to tackle the ideas without hardship or deliberation'.

Hence, if we omit the four unrhymed verses which Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq (1804–88) mentioned in *al-Sāq 'ala 'l-sāq*³¹ as part of his attempt to write poetry in unrhymed verse of different metres, we may consider Ḥassūn to be the first poet in modern Arabic literature who wrote blank verse.

The assumption of 'Aqqād that Tawfiq al-Bakrī was the first Arab poet in modern times to write blank verse does not seem correct to us either. Bakrī published his poem in the *mutaqārib* metre, *Dhāt al-qawāfi*, in 1906–7 in his anthology *Ṣahārij al-ku'lu*.³² Each verse has two hemistichs and every two

²⁷ See Yūsuf As'ad Dāghir, *Maṣādīr al-dīrāsa al-adabīyya*, Beirut, [1956], II, 315–17; *GAL*, Suppl., II, 757–8.

²⁸ Beirut, 1870, 31–3. The first edition was printed in London, 1869, entitled *Poem of poems*, with an English preface and dedicated to 'His Imperial Majesty Alexander II, Emperor of all the Russians'.

²⁹ *ibid.*, 3.

³⁰ Cairo, 1898, x, 490.

³¹ Published in Paris, 1855, 369. The verses are :

الوصل يمضي كأنما هو ساعة	ساعة البعد عنك شهر وعام
وتنجمى لنجوم ذى تفليك	أتنجم الليل الطويل صباحه
ويذكرني البدر المنير محياك	ويخفق منى القلب ان هبت الصبا
وأخائه قلب يذوب تجلدا	الا ليت شعري كم أقاسى من النوى

³² Cairo, 1906–7, 341–50.

verses have the same rhyme—that is, he wrote this poem in *muzdawij* (couplet), as is obvious from the first four verses :

سقى دور مية بالأجرع مسف من الدجن لم يقلع
ولو ترك الشوق دمعا يجفني سقيت المنازل من ادمعي
شجي يحن لألافه ويصبو الى دهره الغابر
فهل عائد لي زمان مضى بنعف الغوير الى الحاجر

In English poetry, blank verse consists of unrhymed lines, generally in iambic pentameter, used mainly for epic and dramatic poetry. A clear distinction is made between this and the rhyming couplet which is always made of units of two, equal, rhyming lines, whatever the theme of the poem.³³ It seems that what made Arab critics and poets include the couplet in blank verse is that there are some accidental couplets in Milton's *Paradise lost*, and that Shakespeare ended some scenes of his dramas with a few rhymed lines although the rest of the scene was in blank verse.

'Aqqād was not the only poet to consider the *muzdawij* as *shi'r mursal* (blank verse). Other scholars did the same, such as Ḥasan Ṣāliḥ al-Jaddāwī who defined *shi'r mursal*³⁴ as being 'free of rhyme completely or of different rhymes . . .'. Abū Shādī was more reserved in his definition of *shi'r mursal* in *al-Shafaq al-bāki*, where he said :³⁵

يعد من الشعر المرسل نسبيا ما تجرد من التزام القافية الواحدة وان كان ذا قافية مزدوجة او متقابلة، ولكن الحقيقة ان «الشعر المرسل» (Blank Verse) لا يوجد فيه اى التزام للروى.

'That which is almost free from rhyme is considered *shi'r mursal* though it might be in couplets or alternative rhyme. But in fact in "*al-shi'r al-mursal*" (Blank Verse) there is no adherence to rhyme'. Still in his *diwān Anīm wa-ranīm* Abū Shādī³⁶ composed his poem *Laylat al-ams* in *muzdawij* using the *ramal* metre and added to the title the words *min al-shi'r al-mursal* 'in blank verse'.³⁷ However, if the *muzdawija* can be taken as *shi'r mursal* there would be no need to prove that blank verse is a recognized and established type in Arabic prosody in the *urjūza al-muzdawija*. Moreover, if the *muzdawija* which is composed in metres other than *rajaz* can really be taken as *shi'r mursal*, then Psalms civ,

³³ See art. 'Blank verse' in *Oxford dictionary of English literature*; Enid Hamer, *The metres of English poetry*, London, 1930, 61; and article 'Couplet' in S. H. Steinberg (ed.), *Cassell's encyclopaedia of literature*, I, 121. 'Aqqād, in his book *Shu'arā' Miṣr*, Cairo, 1937, 62, was reserved in his statement that Bakrī's poem was in blank verse when he said :

فهو يبلغ من الروح العصرية ان يذهب او يكاد مع الشعر المرسل الذى تتعدد فيه قوافي القصيدة الواحدة كما صنع في ذات القوافي ولكنه يخرج «الشعر المرسل» او ما شابهه بالحنين الى دور مية بالأجرع.

³⁴ *al-Shafaq al-bāki*, Cairo, 1928-[7], p. 14, n. 1.

³⁵ *ibid.*, 535.

³⁶ Cairo, 1925, 20.

³⁷ Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Saḥartī in his book *al-Shi'r al-mu'āṣir 'alā daw' al-nagd al-hadīth*, [Cairo], 1948, 177, considered Abū Shādī's poem *Ilā al-marsam* in his anthology '*Awdat al-Rā'ī*', Alexandria, 1942, 99-100, which is in fact an *urjūza muzdawija*, as blank verse.

cxix, cxxxv, etc.,³⁸ which were translated in *muzdawij* by Nāṣīf al-Yāzījī (1800–71)³⁹ in 1867 for the American missionaries, must be taken as the first attempt.

Hence, we cannot consider Bakrī as the first poet to write 'blank verse' in modern Arabic literature. Zahāwī can be taken as the first poet in the twentieth century who tried to introduce 'blank verse' into Arabic literature. Twice at least, Zahāwī declared himself to be the first poet to write *shī'r mursal*. In 1922 he said of rhyme in Arabic poetry, *Anā awwal man nabadhahā zahriyyan* 'I am the first to reject it';⁴⁰ and in his introduction to his poem *Ba'd alf 'ām* 'After a thousand years' in *al-Hilāl*⁴¹ in 1927 he said of the poem, *wa-hiya min al-shī'r al-mursal al-ladhī istahdathtuh fi 'l-shī'r al-'Arabī muṭliqan iyyah min qayd al-qawāfi* 'it is in blank verse, which I introduced into Arabic poetry freeing it from the chain of rhymes'.

However, in the second article he referred to a poem published in *al-Mu'ayyad* before 1908 as the first poem which he wrote in *shī'r mursal*.⁴² It seems that Zahāwī is referring to his poem entitled *al-Shī'r al-mursal* which he included in his anthology *al-Kalīm al-manzūm*,⁴³ and introduced by the words *wa-qāl ghayr multazim al-rawiyy wa-dhālik fi zaman al-istibdād*, subscribed 'Baghdad 1 April 1323[1905]'. The suggestion that this is the first *shī'r mursal* composed by Zahāwī which he published in *al-Mu'ayyad* is confirmed by the acknowledgement on the title-page of the *dīwān* which reads: 'The poet . . . published most of the poems . . . in pseudonym in the renowned Egyptian newspapers when [Ottoman] despotism was vigorous'.

In fact Zahāwī was among the most enthusiastic poets on behalf of the introduction of blank verse into Arabic literature. In his lectures, articles, and introductions to his *dīwāns* he condemned the monorhyme not because of its monotony, an argument which he rejected,⁴⁴ but because it restricts the poet's freedom in expressing his thoughts and emotions. According to Zahāwī the trammels of rhyme in Arabic poetry are heavier than in Western poetry because rhyme in Arabic involves the vowel (*haraka*) preceding the consonantal letter of the rhyme (*rawiyy*) besides the vowel of the consonant itself. The fact that the *casus* (case ending) of the rhyme is part of it, dictates the grammatical structure of the verses. Therefore, the poets let their ideas be dictated by the rhyme instead of its being complementary to the sense. Thus, by neglecting rhyme the Arab poets will be able to concentrate upon conveying their thoughts and emotions and will not allow rhyme to enslave them.⁴⁵

³⁸ See *Mazāmir wa-tasābih wa-aghānī rūhiyya*, Beirut, 1867, 215, 242, 271.

³⁹ On al-Yāzījī see Gibb, *BSOS*, IV, 4, 1928, 750; *GAL*, II, 494, Suppl., I, 140, 142, II, 765.

⁴⁰ *Shī'r al-shī'r*, 58.

⁴¹ See *al-Hilāl*, XXXV, 8, 1927, 913, quoted also by Hilāl Nāji, op. cit., 193–4.

⁴² We were not able to trace this poem in *al-Mu'ayyad* or the exact date of its publication because the issues of this newspaper in the British Museum are of the year 1900 only.

⁴³ Beirut, 1327/1909, 171–5.

⁴⁴ *Dīwān al-Zahāwī*, p. b.

⁴⁵ See the comments of Zahāwī cited in p. 487, n. 20 above. Hilāl Nāji in his comprehensive work on Zahāwī (*al-Zahāwī wa-dīwānuh al-mafqūd*, 187–8), gave a summary of Zahāwī's

However, the 'blank verse' which Zahāwī composed bears the crude signs of a first attempt. He still kept the rigid form of the Arabic individual verse with its caesura which divides it into two hemistichs, and the sense (grammatical form) and metrical pattern ending with the end-stopped line. In fact Zahāwī was not aware of the possibility of the run-on line. The 'enjambement' which is one of the main techniques of English 'blank verse' was still unfamiliar to him because the *tadmīn* in classical poetry is forbidden. His argument for introducing blank verse reveals his conventional attitude and his misunderstanding of the nature of blank verse. He claimed that metre rather than rhyme—made familiar by custom—is what is essential in producing the music, because 'when a single verse is quoted, it is still enjoyable whether this verse rhymes with the other verses or not'.⁴⁶ Moreover, he rejected the organic unity of the poem which other poets tried to introduce into Arabic poetry; a unity which 'is a matter of taste and is not essential in poetry'.⁴⁷ For this reason each verse in his 'blank verse' is independent in theme and structure from other verses and the poem tends to be a collection of proverbial sayings without any order or connexion but the monometre, upon which all the verses of the poem are based, as the first six verses of his first *shi'r mursal* written in 1905 show: ⁴⁸

لموت الفتى خير له من معيشة	يكون بها عبأً ثقيلاً على الناس
وانكد من قد صاحب الناس عالم	يرى جاهلاً في العز وهو حقير
يعيش نعيم البال عشرٌ من الورى	وتسعة اعشار الورى يؤساء
أما في بني الارض العريضة مصلح	يخفف ويلات الحياة قليلاً
إذا ما رجال الشرق لم يهضوا معاً	فاضبع شيء في الرجال حقوقها
إذا ناب اوطانا نشأت بارضها	خراب ولم تحزن فانت جماد

In these rhymeless lines the poet was not able to invent a personal or new style, form, music, and metaphor which could enable the reader to judge him on his own merits and independently of the classical school. Instead, the use of the *tawīl* metre, the traditional diction, and the end-stopped line kept the conventional external music of this metre. The sonorous tone and the proverbial sayings recall famous maxims but the absence of the monorhyme made a disappointing contrast with the conventional poetry.

introduction to the second volume of Muḥammad Ṣabri's book *Shu'arū' al-'aṣr*, Cairo, 1912, 3-15, where he defended blank verse.

⁴⁶ See Zahāwī's introduction to his poem *Ba'd alif 'ām* 'After a thousand years' in 100 verses of blank verse published in *al-Hilāl*, xxxv, 8, 1927, 913-17. Cf. also *al-Siyāsa al-Uṣbū'iyya*, II, 78, 1927, 18, and Hilāl Nāji, op. cit., 194, 365.

On the difficulty of the enjambement (*tadmīn*) in Arabic blank verse see Māzini's article on the translation of *The merchant of Venice* into Arabic in his book *Ḥaṣād al-ḥaṣīm*, Cairo, 1924, 23-4.

⁴⁷ cf. Hilāl Nāji, op. cit., 366-7, and *al-Siyāsa al-Uṣbū'iyya*, II, 78, 1927, 18.

⁴⁸ *al-Kalīm al-manẓūm*, Beirut, 1327/1909, 171, reprinted in *Diwān al-Zahāwī*, 31, and in *Shu'arū' al-'aṣr*, by Muḥammad Ṣabri, II, Cairo, 1330/1912, 33-5. In this poem in *shi'r mursal*, Zahāwī allowed himself to vary the type of foot in the *ḍarb* (the last foot in the line), a technique which is forbidden in Arabic prosody.

Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that, although Zahāwī did not study nor was able to read any European language and literature,⁴⁹ he still ventured to take tentative steps in a new form, at a time when the conventional form was regarded as the best and the only one suitable for Arabic poetry. However, the question arises as to how Zahāwī arrived at blank verse despite his not having studied any European literature. The answer is that he was influenced by the campaign launched by Syrian and Lebanese scholars against the conventional form of the Arabic *qaṣīda*, by the Arabic and Turkish translations of Shakespeare and of other European poets and dramatists, and by Sulaymān al-Bustānī's introduction to his verse translation of the *Iliad* in which he compared Arabic and European poetry and defined the various forms of Western prosody including blank verse.⁵⁰

The second experiment in rhymeless verse at the beginning of the twentieth century was made by Būlus Shaḥādah, from Acre. In a letter sent to the editor of the journal *al-Hilāl* published under the title '*al-Shi'r al-mawzūn ghayr al-muqaffā*' (*al-Hilāl*, xiv, 4, 1906, 214-16) the writer commented on an article by Jurjī Zaydān in which he encouraged the introduction of *shi'r manthūr* (poetry in prose) in Arabic literature initiated by Amīn al-Riḥānī. Būlus Shaḥādah argued that the Arab poets should also follow the European poets in composing rhymeless poetry (*shi'r mawzūn lā qāfiya lahu*) 'as the pre-Islamic poets before Imru' al-Qays did'. The merit of this type of versification, as Būlus Shaḥādah observed, is that it makes versification easier and enables the poet to express himself in a simple and natural way without the deliberation of rhyme and its burden, as Milton and Shakespeare did in their blank verse. It also enables the poet to concentrate upon ideas and simple style. He continued by saying that this genre is more effective than the *shi'r manthūr*. In this letter, the writer declared that he intended to translate the dramas of Shakespeare in this type of versification if Zaydān approved of it. At the end of his letter the writer gave a translation, in 14 rhymeless verses in *al-ṭawīl* metre, of a part of a scene from Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*.

In his reply, Zaydān encouraged this genre which was known in Syriac poetry and called to the Egyptian poets to lead the movement, so that Arab poets from other countries might follow them.

The Egyptian poets who wrote rhymeless verse after Zahāwī did so under better conditions. They had all studied English literature and their understanding of blank verse and its technique was deeper. Yet, they were unable to develop it to an acceptable standard, or to put into practice the theoretical techniques which they had studied in English blank verse.

Although all the indications show that Zahāwī was the first to write *shi'r mursal* in the twentieth century, Abū Shādī in his first manifesto on *al-shi'r*

⁴⁹ Zahāwī admitted this, in his letters published in *al-Kātib al-Miṣri*, iv, 15, 1946, 459.

⁵⁰ See for instance the article by Najīb al-Ḥaddād (1867-99) on the comparison between Arabic and European poetry in *Mukhtārāt al-Manfalūṣi*, second ed., Cairo, 1937, 126-46; Najīb Shāhīn's article in *al-Muqtataf*, xxvii, 1, 1902, 24-5; Bustānī, op. cit., 5-200. Cf. also Zahāwī's letters in *al-Kātib al-Miṣri*, iv, 15, 1946.

*al-hurr*⁵¹ declared that 'Abd al-Raḥmān Shukrī was the first to write 'blank verse' in modern Arabic literature. However, he did not mention Zahāwī although he too was a friend of his.⁵² Abū Shādī did not substantiate his argument with proof although it would appear that he was complimenting his living friend Shukrī at a time when Zahāwī was dead.

However, 'Abd al-Raḥmān Shukrī was more successful in his *shi'r mursal* because of his wide reading in English literature and in the masters of blank verse in this language. Shukrī, in contrast to Zahāwī was educated in English in the Egyptian schools under the British occupation, and after being trained as a teacher of English, graduated in 1909 from the High School of Education. He continued his studies in England and was deeply influenced by the English Romantic poets.⁵³ In his first anthology *Daw' al-fajr*, published in 1909, we find a poem in blank verse entitled *Kalimāt al-'awātif*⁵⁴ in *al-wāfir* metre which bears the same features as Zahāwī's first experiment. Although he occasionally used rhymed verses, Shukrī was unable to practise the principle of organic unity which he advocated.

In his anthology *La'ālī' al-afkār*, he published his narrative poem *Nābulūn wa 'l-sāhīr al-Miṣrī*⁵⁵ in 23 lines of blank verse in *al-kāmil* metre. It has unity, but still the caesura and end-stopped lines where the sense ends with the line are strictly observed.

Later on, his friend Abū Shādī patronized the movement of introducing *shi'r mursal* into Arabic drama, and into narrative and epic poetry. Dr. Abū Shādī studied in England for 10 years (1912-22) and was steeped in English literature. He was a great admirer of Shakespeare.⁵⁶ He translated the *Tempest*, and wrote his book *Dhikrā Shakespeare* 'In memory of Shakespeare', Cairo, 1926, for Shakespeare's anniversary. He admired his blank verse, and that of Thomas Hardy (1840-1928) in his epic drama *The dynasts* (1903-8).⁵⁷ However, the introduction of 'blank verse' by Abū Shādī was only one side of his wide activities in experimenting with every possible poetic form including the Arabic *muwashshah* forms and English free verse and sonnets. Nevertheless, Abū Shādī's activities gave great impetus to the movement, especially through his poems in *shi'r mursal* which he published with an introduction explaining the techniques and merits of this type of verse; and by his articles and replies

⁵¹ A type of 'free verse' introduced by Aḥmad Zakī Abū Shādī under the influence of American free verse. It is based on the principle of applying various Arabic metres in one poem. The change in metre should be according to the demand of the poetic experience. Cf. *al-Shafaq al-bākī*, 535; *Apollo*, I, 8, 1933, 846-7. See also the first manifesto of Abū Shādī on *al-shi'r al-hurr* and the second manifesto by Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Saḥartī in *Adabī*, I, 7-9, 10-12, 1936, 366, 415.

⁵² See Abū Shādī, *al-Shu'la*, Cairo, 1933, 101-3, and *Masrah al-adab*, Cairo, [1928], 191.

⁵³ See his article in *al-Muqtataf*, xv, 2, 1939, 172-3.

⁵⁴ Second ed., Alexandria, 1913, 71.

⁵⁵ Alexandria, 1913, 305.

⁵⁶ His book *Dhikrā Shakespeare* was written at the invitation of the Poetry Society in London on the occasion of the inauguration of the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre on Shakespeare's anniversary. It contains a sonnet, a quatrain, and three odes in praise of Shakespeare. See also *Apollo*, I, 8, 1933, 846, and his articles on Shakespeare's sonnets in *Masrah al-adab*, 138-56.

⁵⁷ See his article 'Thomas Hardy the poet of humanity', in *Masrah al-adab*, 120.

in his literary periodicals *Apollo* (1932-4) and *Adabī* (1936-7) in which he defended the use of *shī'r mursal* against the attacks launched by the conservatives⁵⁸ and encouraged other poets to adopt it.

In his various anthologies, Abū Shādī experimented with *shī'r mursal* especially in his large anthology *al-Shafaq al-bākī*. In this, he translated into unrhymed verse the narrative 'Memnon' by Voltaire (1694-1778)⁵⁹ in 201 lines, *The cricket on the hearth* by Charles Dickens (1812-70) in 26 lines,⁶⁰ 'Stars' by F. W. Harvey,⁶¹ 'If' and 'Night' both by Rudyard Kipling (1865-1936),⁶² and 'O Conspiracy' by Shakespeare.⁶³ Besides, he composed two long narratives in *shī'r mursal*, *al-Ru'yā*⁶⁴ in 126 and *Mamlakat Ibtīs*⁶⁵ in 131 lines. In these poems Abū Shādī was able to carry the *shī'r mursal* a step further by omitting the caesura and using run-on lines.

In his various articles and replies, he defended blank verse on the ground that it was known in old Arabic poetry, and that it is necessary in modern Arabic poetry to enrich it in themes and forms and to enable it to vie with European literature. Blank verse also helps the poet 'to subdue versification to poetry . . . instead of subduing poetry to composition Thus the poet achieves what he aims at, such as description, explanation, and analysis and invites the reader to concentrate all his thoughts on the meaning and the moral instead of being influenced by the jingling sounds of the words and the acrobatics of rhetorics and rhymes'.⁶⁶

In fact Abū Shādī was able to put his finger on the core of the problem and to understand the relation between form and matter. He argued that the poet is

⁵⁸ See for instance the article by Ḥasan al-Ḥaṭīm 'Apollo fi 'l-mizān', *Apollo*, I, 10, 1933, 1225-7, attacking Abū Shādī's school for his activities in introducing new forms in Arabic poetry including blank verse :

ولست اكنم صديقي ابا شادى ولا المدرسة الحديثة الآخذة بمبادئه او الآخذة هو بمبادئها اني اصبحت وكثيرون مثلي لا نطيق هذه التيارات العنيفة القوية التي يحاولون ان يوجهوا بها الشعر العربي - والا فاه هذه القصائد التي تبتدى بقافية وتتصرف بقافية ثم تنتهي بقافية؟ وهل نصبت اللغة عن ان تدرقوا في متحدة لقصيدة واحدة؟ وما شاننا نحن في ان يعجز الشاعر عن ان تنساق له القافية الواحدة في القصيدة الواحدة فيلهو بالقوافي ثم يعبت ثم يريد ان يحملنا في النهاية لا على ان نصدق ان هذا عجز منه بل على انه تجديد؟ وماذا يضر؟ اليس الشعر الانجليزي كذلك غير مقيد بقافية؟ وما القافية والتمسك بها؟ وما هذا القديم والتعلق به؟ . . . ارجوا ان اعتذر عن نفسي وعن جمهرة كبيرة من قراء اللغة العربية عن فهم ما تذهبون اليه مما تسمونه تجديدا ونحن نحسبه نسخا للادب العربي والشعر العربي على السواء.

ان الشعر في ابسط تعاريفه كلام موزن مقفى فان فقد الوزن والقافية فلا اسميه شعرا ولو دققتم عني - انني لا ادين بما تكتبون من هذا الكلام او هذا الشعر «الفرانكو-اراب» وانني لا استطيع ان اميزه او استسيغه او اوافقكم على انه شعر . . . الحق ان هذا كثير وانكم تحت ستار التجديد تريدون ان تمزقوا كل قاعدة وتهتكوا كل تقليد . . . وهل من ضرورات الثقافة الاوربية ان نحيد عن كل ما هو شرقي او عربي او مصري؟ وهل من النوق ان نعبث بالنوق العربي كل العبث فنرسل قصائد الرثاء في قواف مزدوجة والقصائد القصصية لا في قواف مرسله فحسب بل في اوزان مرسله ايضا.

Cf. also the article by Muhammad al-Bishbishī in *al-Risāla*, I, 11, 1933, 14-15.

⁵⁹ *al-Shafaq al-bākī*, 626-39.

⁶⁰ *ibid.*, 721-2.

⁶¹ *ibid.*, 726-7.

⁶² *ibid.*, 923-6, 1001-2.

⁶³ *ibid.*, 1014-15.

⁶⁴ *ibid.*, 658-68.

⁶⁵ *ibid.*, 1023-34.

⁶⁶ *ibid.*, 625.

free to choose the form which the poetical experience dictates irrespective of whether it is in metrical or prose rhythm.⁶⁷ This was an unsatisfying answer to the conservatives who clung to the argument from taste and heritage to justify the use of the conventional form. To apply *shi'r mursal*, he said, does not necessarily result from inability to master the conventional form which became worn out. The new form reveals the originality of the poet, while the conventional one smothers all originality by obliging the poet to echo the classical masters and imitate them. However, he failed to put into practice his brilliant ideas or to produce dramatic or epic works in *shi'r mursal*, or to give convincing examples which effectively answered any criticism, either in his unrhymed verse, or in his *shi'r ħurr*, in which he tried to copy English and American free verse, or even his 'blank-free verse'.⁶⁸

In 1933 after the publication of an article by Dr. Muḥammad 'Awaḍ Muḥammad in *al-Risāla*⁶⁹ condemning the use of *shi'r ħurr* which he called *majma' al-buḥūr*, Muḥammad 'Awaḍ Muḥammad prophesied for this genre of poetry, the same fate as *shi'r mursal* which he considered to be doomed to failure. This article provoked a reaction on the part of the revolutionary poets who had hoped to make a great revolution in Arabic poetry by employing *shi'r mursal* and *ħurr*, in dramatic and epic works, as was the case in English literature. To prove that *shi'r mursal* is the best medium for dramatic work Muḥammad Farīd Abū Ḥadīd in his reply to 'Awaḍ, cited a prose translation by Khalīl Muṭrān (1871-1949) of a scene from *Othello* by Shakespeare,⁷⁰ and in a later issue a scene from *Julius Caesar*,⁷¹ translated into prose by Muḥammad Ḥamdī. Side by side with these two prose translations, Abū Ḥadīd placed his versifications in 'blank verse' and invited the readers to judge for themselves which translation was more effective. Most of the readers preferred the blank verse and some remarked that by reading them with enjambement the absence of rhyme went unnoticed.

However, Abū Ḥadīd who was the first to write an original drama in *shi'r mursal*—*Maqṭal Sayyidīnā 'Uṭhmān* (published 1927)—made use of techniques in Arabic blank verse which were lacking in the former experiments of the Arab poets, such as the complete absence of caesura, the extensive use of run-on lines, in which the sense ends within the line, as against the end-stopped line, and in some of which he allowed the use of 5 or 7 feet instead of 6, as the sense required. In this way he thought that he was able to produce new musical effects and more agreeable verse.

This method of overflow of sense did not find favour with Suhayr Qalamāwī

⁶⁷ *Apollo*, I, 10, 1933, 1228.

⁶⁸ See *Adabī*, I, 7-9, 1936, 327-9, 353-4.

⁶⁹ I, 5, 1933, 10. See the reply of Abū Shādī in *Apollo*, I, 8, 1933, 845-7.

⁷⁰ See *al-Risāla*, I, 9, 1933, 10-12. The translation of Khalīl Muṭrān was published in Cairo, 1950, under the title '*Uṭayl*'.

⁷¹ *al-Risāla*, I, 12, 1933, 8-10. The translation was published in Cairo, 1928, entitled *Riwāyat Yūlyūs Qayṣar*. Besides these Abū Ḥadīd wrote in rhymeless verse his dramas *Maqṭal Sayyidīnā 'Uṭhmān*, Cairo, 1927; *Khusrū wa-Shīrīn*; *Maysūn al-Ghajariyya*, 1928; and *Zuhrāb wa-Rustum*. Cf. *GAL*, Suppl., III, 227. Unfortunately, I was not able to get hold of the last three dramas.

and in a later issue of *al-Risāla*⁷² she joined the discussion and argued that the end-stopped line which ends the sense with the metrical pattern is the most suitable technique for the *shi'r mursal* because it preserves two characteristics of Arabic versification—the Arabic metre and the end-stopped line—and ignores the third which is the rhyme.⁷³ Qalamāwī demonstrated her method in her poem *Dhu 'l-fa's*. In defending her poem, and *shi'r mursal* in general, she attributed the crudeness of her experiment to the novelty of the absence of rhyme in Arabic since the Arab ear and taste are used to the monorhyme poem.

However, with 'Alī Aḥmad Bākathīr, from Ḥaḍramawt who was educated in Egypt, the *shi'r mursal* acquired a higher standard. In his book in which he deals with the art of drama from his own experience entitled: *Muhāḍarāt fī fann al-masrahīyya min khilāl tajāribī al-shakhsīyya*, ([Cairo], 1958), Bākathīr reveals how he arrived at *shi'r mursal* and the identity of the main writers who influenced him.

At an early age Bākathīr started composing poetry in conventional form and style. In the Ḥijāz he read Shawqī's dramas for the first time. These dramas made a 'great impression' upon the young poet and he decided to imitate them. In consequence, he wrote his drama *Humām aw fī 'āsimat al-Aḥqāf*, in the same style as the Shawqī dramas in rhymed verse of two hemistichs.

His studies of English literature, especially Shakespeare, at Cairo University changed his attitude towards poetry and literature in general, and he determined to try his hand at unrhymed verse in imitation of Shakespeare's blank verse in order to prove to his lecturer in English poetry that the Arabic language is also capable of this genre.

His first experiment was translating *Romeo and Juliet*, using at first *al-mutaqārib* metre and then other Arabic metres which he found suitable for the content and situation.⁷⁴ In his preface to *Romeo and Juliet*, Bākathīr called his versification *mazīj min al-naẓm al-mursal al-munṭalīq wa 'l-naẓm al-ḥurr* 'a mixture of blank run-on verse and free verse', a style similar to that applied by Abū Shāḍī in 1926-7 in his versification of the 'Chorus of angels' by the Dutch poet Joost van den Vondel (1587-1679).⁷⁵

⁷² I, 14, 1933, 16.

⁷³ loc. cit. See also the criticism of Qadri Luṭfī, *al-Risāla*, I, 15, 1933, 18, and the reply of Qalamāwī, *ibid.*, I, 17, 1933, 11. An appreciation of Qalamāwī's article was published in *Apollo*, II, 2, 1933, 90.

⁷⁴ See Bākathīr, *Muhāḍarāt fī fann al-masrahīyya*, [Cairo], 1958, 4. This drama was published in Cairo in 1948, after it had awaited publication for 10 years as Bākathīr stated in his preface (*ibid.*, [3]). In June 1945, Bākathīr published a poem under the title *Namūdhaj min al-shi'r al-mursal al-ḥurr* 'A sample of blank-free verse' in 76 verses of irregular rhyme scheme with an irregular number of *mutaqārib* feet in each line without using enjambement (see *al-Risāla*, XIII, 625, 1945, 680-1). In a later issue of *al-Risāla* (XIII, 628, 1945, 752-4) Ḥusayn Ghannām criticized Bākathīr's experiment on the ground that it robs poetry of its music and that it is dull and prosaic. As an example of a successful type of what he defined as *shi'r mursal min awzān muta-qāriba* 'blank verse of similar metres' he presented his translation of H. W. Longfellow's (1807-82) poem *Hiawatha* (1855), written originally in trochaic dimeter, in *al-wāfir* metre with an irregular number of feet and an irregular rhyme scheme, a method which was termed *shi'r ḥurr* by Abū Shāḍī and not *shi'r mursal*.

⁷⁵ See *al-Shafaq al-bākī*, 801-4.

However, through this experiment Bākathīr arrived at the conclusion that the only metres which are suitable for *shī'r mursal* are those which repeat one type of foot such as *kāmil*, *rajaz*, *mutaqārib*, *mutadārik*, and *ramal*, while those which employ two types of feet—which Abū Shādī used—such as *sarī*, *khafīf*, and *ṭawīl*, are unsuitable.

The success of this translation encouraged Bākathīr to write an original drama in *shī'r mursal*, and he chose the life of Akhnātūn the Pharaoh who revolted against the priests of Amūn and preached peace and love. In this drama, *al-Samā', aw Akhnātūn wa-Nafartītī* (Cairo, 1943), he used the same techniques which he studied in Shakespeare's blank verse such as the overflow of sense, and the use of the paragraph, not the line as the unit of sense. Moreover, he used *al-mutadārik* metre only, throughout the drama, and allowed himself to use more frequently an undetermined number of feet in the lines, according to the demand of sense, thus avoiding the *hashw* (interpolation) which the conventional line of verse with its prescribed number of feet requires, and enabling him to use a rhythm for dialogues which is nearer to ordinary speech and more suitable to theatrical performances, as in the following example from this drama: ⁷⁶

طالما كانت تستيقظ في الاسحار فتكتم انفسها
وتقبل ما بين عيني في رفق حتي لا توقظني .
وأسارقها الطرف حيناً فحيناً فألمح في شفتيها ارتعاش الصبي
وقد اختلس الحلوى من مخدع جدته الشمطاء،
وفي عينيها اغتباط الطفل تملأ من ثدى امه !
ثم يغزو الثائب فاها الجميل،
ويلوذ النعاس باهدابها فتميل
الى جنبى وتعود الى نومها في طمأنينة وغرارة.

In these lines the number of feet used is irregular. Lines 1, 2, 5, and 8 contain eight *taf'īlāt* of the *mutadārik* metre (- - -), line 3 has nine feet, line 4 has seven, line 6 has four, and line 7 has five feet.

This method of versification in which a single metre with an irregular number of feet in each verse is used, was also employed by Dr. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Badawī, a lecturer in modern Arabic literature in the University of Oxford, in 1946. However, although he had read Abū Shādī's blank verse, yet the main influences were G. M. Hopkins (1844-89) and T. S. Eliot (1888-1965).

Through this type of versification Dr. Badawī intended to liberate lyrical poetry and make it nearer to actual live speech, and to render Arabic poetry suitable for drama and theatrical performance.

However, Dr. Badawī preferred to use metres which are based on two types

⁷⁶ See *Muḥāḍarāt fi fann al-masrahīyya*, 11.

of feet, because he was convinced that this type of metre is not monotonous, is nearer to prose rhythm, and is less declamatory.⁷⁷

Yūsuf al-Khāl did the same in his anthology *al-Bi'r al-mahjūra*⁷⁸ which he developed independently.

Ḥassūn, who was the first poet to write unrhymed verse in modern Arabic literature, did not attach any label to his new experiment. He only referred to it as *'alā uslub al-shi'r al-qadīm bilā qāfiya* 'in the style of ancient poetry, without rhyme'.⁷⁹ While Sulaymān al-Bustānī in defining the blank verse of the *Iliad* said: ⁸⁰ *wa-amma al-aṣl al-Yūnānī fa-huwa mauzūn ghayr muqaffā wa-qāfiyat kull bayt qā'ima bi-nafsihā lā turā'ā fihā al-mumāthala li-ayyat qāfiya min al-qaṣīda wa'l-nashīd* 'as for the Greek original, it is in metre and unrhymed. The rhyme in each verse is independent of the others, and it is not necessary for it to resemble any of the others in the poem or in the song'. Najīb al-Ḥaddād (1867-99) in an article comparing European and Arabic poetry referred to it as *al-shi'r al-abyaḍ*⁸¹ (a literal translation of the French term *vers blanc* 'blank verse'). This term was also used by L. Cheikho in his book *Tārīkh al-ādāb al-'Arabīyya fi 'l-rub' al-awwal min al-qarn al-'ishrīn*⁸² where he defined it as *fī mā yad'unahu bi 'l-shi'r al-abyaḍ ghayr al-muqaffā*, while Mikhā'il Nu'ayma (or Naimy) in *al-Ghirbāl* called it *al-shi'r al-muṭlaq (ghayr al-muqaffā)*.⁸³ Ibrāhīm al-'Urāyīḍ used the term *al-shi'r al-talq* as a synonym for *al-shi'r al-mursal*,⁸⁴ as Khafājī did in his book *Madhāhib al-adab*.⁸⁵ However, the term most frequently used for blank verse in Arabic is *al-shi'r al-mursal*⁸⁶ which was used by most of the Arab poets and critics especially the Egyptians.⁸⁷

Other critics, such as Sāmī al-Kayyālī⁸⁸ and Khafājī,⁸⁹ confused this term

⁷⁷ From a letter sent to me by Dr. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Badawī, from Oxford, dated 22 March 1965. Cf. also the preface to his anthology *Rasā'il min London*, Alexandria, [1956], and *ibid.*, 109-10.

⁷⁸ Beirut, 1958, 49-62, 65-78.

⁷⁹ *Ash'ar al-shi'r*, 3.

⁸⁰ *op. cit.*, 96. The term *al-shi'r al-mauzūn ghayr al-muqaffā* was also used by Būlus Shahādah in his article on blank verse in *al-Hilāl*, xiv, 4, 1906, 214-16.

⁸¹ See *Mukhtārāt al-Manfalūṭi*, 140.

⁸² Beirut, 1926, 41. This term was also used by Māzinī in *Ḥaṣād al-hashīm*, 34.

⁸³ P. 174.

⁸⁴ See *al-Ādāb*, II, 6, 1954, 27. It seems that by this term 'Urāyīḍ meant poetry in prose.

⁸⁵ Cairo, 1955, 19. Ibn Khaldūn in *al-Muqaddīma*, Beirut, 1900, 567, used the term *nathr mursal* to denote unrhymed prose, and defined it: *wa-huwa al-ladhi yuṣṭlaq fihī al-kalām iḥṭāqan wa-lā yuqaffā 'ajz'an bal yursal irsālan min ghayr taqyīd bi-qāfiya wa-lā ghayrihā*. It seems that the modern Arab poets used the term *shi'r mursal* under the influence of Ibn Khaldūn's term.

⁸⁶ In *Tāj al-'arūs min jawāhir al-qāmūs* by Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, Cairo, 1306-7/1889-90, VII, 344: *al-irsāl . . . (al-iḥṭāq) wa 'l-takhlīya . . . wa 'l-irsāl ayḍan (al-iḥmāl) wahuwa qarīb min al-iḥṭāq wa 'l-takhlīya*. In *Lisān al-'Arab*, by Muḥammad ibn Manẓūr, Beirut, 1956, XI, 285: *arsal al-shay'*: *aṣṭaḥahu wa-ahmalahu*; and in Leno's *Arabic-English lexicon*, London, 1867, I, 3, 1081: '*Irāl*: the act of setting loose or free'.

⁸⁷ Beside the Egyptian poets and critics whom we mentioned above see also Durrinī Khashaba's article on European blank verse in *al-Risāla*, XI, 538, 1943, 847; Muḥammad 'Aṭā, *Ra'y fi adabīnā al-mu'āṣir*, [Cairo, 1958], 29-30; 'Umar al-Dasūqī, *Fī 'l-adab al-ḥadīth*, II, 237; 'Aqqād in *al-Risāla*, XI, 538-40, 1943; 'Alī al-Ḥillī in *al-Ādāb*, II, 4, 1954, 67.

⁸⁸ See his article 'The future of Arabic literature', *Revue de l'Académie Arabe de Damas*, XXXIX, 3, 1964, 440-1.

⁸⁹ See *Madhāhib al-adab*, 19.

with poetry in prose (*shi'r manthūr*) or 'free verse' based on prose rhythm rather than metre. The use of different terms caused confusion in the minds of readers who were not able to distinguish clearly between them, especially when some critics called couplets and quatrains blank verse.⁹⁰

While blank verse in English literature is written mainly in the heroic iambic pentameter, in Arabic, the *shi'r mursal* is not confined to any special metre and it is seldom used in *ṭawīl*, the metre which is considered in Arabic as heroic, or in *rajaz*, the metre in which long scientific and historical works were written. Only *Zahāwī* used *ṭawīl* in his poems of *shi'r mursal*⁹¹ and *Ibrāhīm al-Māzīnī* (1880–1949) in translating part of *Milton's Paradise lost*.⁹² Other metres used in *shi'r mursal* are *kāmīl*, *basīṭ*, *khafīf*, *ramal*, and *mutadārak* (or *mutadārīk*).

As we have seen before, blank verse was used by these poets to translate meditative, dramatic, and narrative poetry and to write 'philosophic' and narrative poetry, where there is no need for the melody and music of rhyme. These experiments aroused tremendous opposition from the conservatives.⁹³ In defence of their method those Arab poets who practised *shi'r mursal* made use of all the arguments in the preface to *Milton's Paradise lost*. They defended their new method in Arabic poetry by arguing that fixed rhyme obliges the poet to express a full sense (grammatical form) in every individual verse by using end-rhyme in an end-stopped verse. Thus the *qaṣīda* became a collection of independent units of complete sentences without any real unity of subject, experience, and thought. Furthermore, rhyme was an obstacle to conveying the poet's thoughts and emotions freely and a great burden upon the poet especially in long poems. It dictated the thoughts and meaning and enslaved the poet. The freedom which blank verse bestowed, allowed Western poets to write great dramatic, narrative, and epic poetry, and only by adopting this type of verse, would it be possible to cope with the development of European poetry. Unlike prose, *shi'r mursal* enabled the poet to exploit the metre, which made for conciseness and elegance. It restrained the poet from prolixity while enabling him to use poetic diction, metaphor, rhetoric, and imagery. Moreover, blank verse had a new rhythm which was denied to rhymed verse and suited long narrative and dramatic poetry.⁹⁴

⁹⁰ *Jalāl al-Khayyāt*, *al-Adāb*, II, 5, 1954, 58, in a letter from Baghdad, said, hinting at this confusion of terms, and trying to give a clear definition of them:

الشعر الحر . . . المرسل . . . المنطلق . . . المنسرح . . . الفاظ وتمايز تناولتها المجالات الادبية في الاونة الاخيرة ورددتها الادباء في مقالات وتعليقات ومناقشات نشرت في مجلات مختلفة ولكن القارئ العربي لا يزال في حيرة، يود ان يعرف الشيء الكثير عن هذه النعمة الجديدة التي اخذت معازف الادباء والشعراء ترددها بكثرة

⁹¹ See his poem cited p. 491, n. 48 above, and *Ba'd alf 'ām in al-Hilāl*, xxxv, 8, 1927, 913–17.

⁹² *Diwān al-Māzīnī*, Cairo, 1917, II, 170–2.

⁹³ See for instance p. 494, n. 58 above.

⁹⁴ See *Diwān al-Zahāwī*, p. b; *Abū Ḥadīd in al-Risāla*, I, 9, 1933, 10; 'Aqqād, preface to *Diwān al-Māzīnī*, p. m; *Sahartī, al-Shi'r al-mu'āṣir*, 122.

Zahāwī,⁹⁵ 'Aqqād,⁹⁶ Abū Ḥadīd,⁹⁷ Suhayr Qalamāwī,⁹⁸ and Abū Shādī⁹⁹ admitted that the Arab ear and taste were not used to unrhymed verse and that whether one liked it or not was a personal matter. They expressed their hope that in time the Arab readers would get used to unrhymed verse and its music. The first two poets mentioned above, suggested that the first step must be to experiment with strophic verse or to change rhyme and metre whenever the poet felt it was necessary, in order to educate the readers' taste to accept blank verse.¹⁰⁰

The critics who opposed Arabic blank verse—many of them were of Azharī or conventional education—argued that rhyme is essential in Arabic poetry and that one of the fundamentals of Arabic prosody is rhyme with its comprehensive and developed art called '*ilm al-qawāfī*'. Tradition, taste, custom, the nature and wealth of the Arabic language all show that there is no need or place for blank verse.¹⁰¹ In the same vein, it has been argued that the absence of rhyme disappoints the reader's anticipation. It corrupts the melody and distorts the parallelism and balance of the verses. It leads to prolixity and connects the verses in one chain of loose units in which rhyme is expected to be a natural pause, reinforcing the poetic expression.¹⁰² For these reasons, the Arabs do not need to copy Western blank verse, which is a necessity in the European languages, because they are poor in rhyme, while the Arabic language is the richest.¹⁰³

They also maintained that though it is true that some examples of unrhymed verse were preserved in works of Arabic classical criticism, yet this kind of rhyming was considered a grave defect termed *ikfā'* and *ijāza*.¹⁰⁴ Besides, there is no rhymeless verse of high quality in old Arabic poetry, and what was preserved in critical works were only examples of grave errors in rhyming which poets had been avoiding through the entire history of Arabic poetry. It was very bad sense, to set up errors as examples to be followed.¹⁰⁵

The weakness in the arguments of the conservatives is that they did not allow any new experiment on new poetic forms. However, while Khafājī suggested a return to the *urjūza muzdawīja*,¹⁰⁶ 'Abd Allāh al-Ṭayyib rejected any other form than the monorhyme *qaṣīda* in monometre.¹⁰⁷

In fact both sides argued from the viewpoint of taste and custom and failed to note the different techniques of blank verse and the monorhyme poem.

⁹⁵ See *Shu'arā' al-'aṣr*, II, 11; *al-Siyāsa al-Uṣbū'iyya*, II, 78, 1927; *Sībr al-shi'r*, 57.

⁹⁶ *Yas'alūnak*, 65.

⁹⁷ *al-Risāla*, I, 9, 1933, 10.

⁹⁸ *al-Risāla*, I, 17, 1933, 11-12.

⁹⁹ *Apollo*, I, 8, 1933, 847.

¹⁰⁰ See Zahāwī, *Sībr al-shi'r*, 57: *على أني أرى أن الذوق العربي يستفتح اليوم تعطيل أرجل . . . غانية الشعر من خلاخيل القافية مرة واحدة وقد ألفها أكثر من ألف وخمس مائة سنة.* See 'Aqqād, *Yas'alūnak*, 64-5. Cf. also Bākathīr, *Muḥāḍarāt fī fann al-masrahīyya*, 9-10.

¹⁰¹ Khafājī, op. cit., 43; 'Abd Allāh al-Ṭayyib, *al-Murshid ilā fahm ash'ar al-'Arab wa-ṣinā'atihā*, Cairo, [1955], I, 25; Muḥammad 'Awad Muḥammad, *al-Risāla*, I, 5, 1933, 10.

¹⁰² Ṭayyib, loc. cit.

¹⁰³ Ṭayyib, op. cit., I, 7-8, 25; Khafājī, op. cit., 50.

¹⁰⁴ Ṭayyib, op. cit., I, 23; Khafājī, op. cit., 46.

¹⁰⁵ Ṭayyib, loc. cit.; Khafājī, op. cit., 45.

¹⁰⁶ Khafājī, op. cit., 49-50.

¹⁰⁷ Ṭayyib, op. cit., I, 25-6.

Although Abū Shādī understood the relation between form and matter, yet, like all the other poets, he failed to put his ideas into practice. Moreover, the *shi'r mursal* poets were not able to give up the habit of stating their poetic experience, and to use instead symbols, images, and dramatic elements to convey it, and to justify the use of the new form. They were not able even to subdue the external music of metre and to depend upon the internal music of the internal structure of the poem and its diction instead of depending only on the external music and declamatory tone of conventional poetry. Had the poets who experimented with *shi'r mursal* been able to do so and to develop a new style which resembles the actual speech, blank verse would not seem an abortive illegitimate child in Arabic poetry.

In fact, no Arab poet in the first half of the twentieth century was able to write such a poem or drama in *shi'r mursal* that its theme, diction, techniques, and other musical devices could be claimed to have taken successfully the place of the monorhyme *qaṣīda*. This failure to find the right techniques for Arabic blank verse led many poets to stop experimenting with blank verse. Even 'Aqqād, who encouraged Shukrī in his experiments and expressed his optimism in 1913, about the future of Arabic blank verse, that it would replace fixed rhyme and strophic verse in long poems of various subjects,¹⁰⁸ expressed his disappointment with blank verse in 1943. He found that during the 30 years since 1913 he was not able to enjoy Arabic blank verse or to accustom his ear to it.¹⁰⁹ He even used the arguments of the opponents of blank verse to explain its failure in Arabic. He was astonished to notice that he enjoyed reading English blank verse and that he did not miss the delight of rhyme, while he was unable to enjoy Arabic blank verse at all. He tried to explain this as follows: ¹¹⁰ 'Whether we attribute this [fact] to the unity of the poem in our poetry or in theirs or to the origin of the chanting of the caravan leader (*hudā'*) in our language and to the origin of singing in theirs, or to the domination of the sentiments (*hissiyya*) in the nature of the Semitic people and the domination of fancy and imagination in the nature of the Western people, the fact remains that we Eastern people enjoy their blank verse and we do not feel the lack of rhyme in it while we do not tolerate the absence of rhyme in our poetry. We are now taking a middle-of-the-way course, neither sticking to it unreservedly, nor abandoning it entirely. We are not under obligation to adopt their ways, as they are not bound to follow ours'.

The explanation of 'Aqqād failed to trace the main reason for the failure of Arabic blank verse. This failure of Arabic blank verse was a symptom of the

¹⁰⁸ *Dīwān al-Mazīnī*, p. m, and *Sifr al-shi'r*, 65.

¹⁰⁹ *Yas'alūnak*, 65.

¹¹⁰ loc. cit. However, Bākathīr gave up using *shi'r mursal* in drama because he found that prose is more suitable and sounds 'more realistic'. (See *Muhādarāt fī fann al-masrahīyya*, 8.) This is mainly due to the fact that Arab poets, unlike prose writers in their own field, were not able to develop a new poetic diction which resembles everyday speech. On this problem see Ṭaha Ḥusayn's article in *al-Siyāsa al-Uṣbū'iyya*, II, 74, 1927, 10-11, and that of Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ḥaykal, *ibid.*, II, 75, 1927, 10-11.

critical stage through which Arabic poetry was passing in the early years of the twentieth century. *Shi'r mursal* was introduced into Arabic poetry in a period when the young poets were revolting against any rhetorical and musical devices of the post-classical period of Arabic poetry. Therefore, they were not able to find a substitute for the music of the rhyme. Those revolutionary poets who tried to introduce blank verse into Arabic were in a stage of trial and error, attempting to find new form, music, style, and metaphors which could suit the new themes and thoughts they borrowed from the West. They tried to write in a simple and direct style and to concentrate mainly on ideas and thoughts and to neglect classical rhetoric, puns, and musical devices which could take the place of the rhyme. They were not successful in this because they were not able to find a substitute for the classical Arabic poetic diction. For the Mahjari poets it was easier. They could find a substitute for this diction in the Biblical, Christian liturgical style which they absorbed and refined in the course of the nineteenth century, in the vernacular songs, and the conventional poetic diction. The Egyptian and Iraqi poets who experimented with *shi'r mursal*, had no other sources of a different diction and themes which they could develop as was the case with the Mahjaris. They could not help but continue with the neo-classical poetic diction and style of the 'Abbāsīd period with its classical technique of stating poetic experience simply in sonorous long metres, and an oratorical style of which the fixed rhyme became an essential component through the long history of Arabic poetry. By using these techniques, metres, and diction even in rhymeless verse they provoked association and comparison with the monorhymed *qaṣīda* and caused blank verse to be judged according to the criteria of the *qaṣīda* and not according to its own criteria. Thus rhyme was so necessary, and its absence so striking that it corrupted the external music of the poem and rendered it prosaic and dull, as most of the critics rightly observed, and their experiments were doomed to failure.

The defendants of Arabic blank verse claimed rightly that Milton criticized rhyme as 'being no necessary adjunct or true ornament of poem or good verse, in longer works especially, but the invention of a barbarous age, to set off wretched matter and lame metre . . .'.¹¹¹ But those critics forgot that Milton and other masters of English blank verse used other techniques which they substituted for the melody of the rhyme. The English poets who composed poetry in blank verse used the verse paragraph in order not to fall into the great faults of the Arabic fixed rhyme and the crude type of English blank verse where one verse contains a complete unit of sense in stiff and formal form, or being formless when the rhythm and sense are carried over to the following lines. What the Arab poets struggled to get rid of, i.e. the unity of sense in the Arabic individual verse, seems to return in a new, dull, and chaotic type of end-stopped verse independent in sense and structure, in which the sense and metre end together.

However, the English poets who practised blank verse depended upon

¹¹¹ See *Paradise lost*, ed. A. W. Verity, Cambridge, 1952, 4.

common speech and exploited the freedom and techniques of this type of verse. They compensated for the loss of the rhyme by using flexible combinations of verses which depend upon the meaning by reaching perfection in the elaborate harmonies of the overflowing. In other words English poets were capable of numerous varieties of subtle and effective modulation and enjambement; for example, ending the sense not at the end of the single verse where the rhyme would serve as a pause or full stop but within the line. In this way the unit of rhythm became the phrase. Besides this, there were the variations in the position of the caesura, their use of alliteration, assonance, and other onomatopoeic effects which compensate for the loss of the rhymes' music.

Moreover, in English poetry, most of its great masters used blank verse as their medium. There was a steady advance through experiments towards full accomplishment and elaborate technique capable of embodying the richest fruits of human experience and imagination.¹¹²

Only the young Arab poets of to-day, after adopting *vers irrégulier*¹¹³ and terming it *shi'r hurr* were able to produce agreeable rhymeless poems. The *shi'r hurr* contains a number of stanzas in which the number of verses, the number of feet (*taf'īla*) in each line, and the rhyme scheme are irregular. Before adopting this new form, it was not open to them to use the poetic techniques of Western poetry, such as the running on, or the overflow of the lines, the use of music of imagery and ideas, alliteration, assonance, and the onomatopoeic effects of words, the music of sound derived from the use of parallelism and reiteration of verse, words, and sense in a different combination.

These young poets who began their poetic career at the close of the 1940's were greatly helped in their task by the pioneering efforts of the former generation who did much to develop a new poetic diction, and to make a loose way of rhyming more acceptable. Of great help for the new *shi'r mursal* and 'free verse' (*shi'r hurr*), was the flexible form of the new genre in which the *taf'īla* (foot) is used as the unit instead of the hemistich (*sha'r*). This device enabled them to practise 'enjambement' easily in their poetry, and in an effective way.

A good example of modern Arabic unrhymed *shi'r hurr* is the poem by the Egyptian poet Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ṣabūr (1932-) entitled *Abī* 'My father':¹¹⁴

وتسلل	. . . وأتى نعي أبي هذا الصباح
من ضياء الشمس موعده	نام في الميدان مشجوج الجبين
فتفاء لنا وحيينا الصباح	حوله الذؤبان تعوى والرياح
وباقدام تجر الأحذية	ورفاق قبلوه خاشعين

¹¹² See Hamer, *The metres of English poetry*, 67-8.

¹¹³ *Vers irrégulier* stemmed from the Cowleyan ode named after Abraham Cowley (1618-67); see J. T. Shipley (ed.), *Dictionary of world literature. New revised ed.*, Paterson, N.J., 1960, 290. For this reason the Arabic *shi'r hurr* has a completely different characteristic from Western free verse or *vers libre* which is generally unrhymed verse without the conventional metrical pattern.

¹¹⁴ See his anthology *al-Nās fi bilādī*, Beirut, [1957], 55-8.

وتدق الأرض في وقع منقر	وباقدام تجر الأحذية
طرقوا الباب علينا	وتدق الارض في وقع منقر
وأتى نعي ابي . . .	طرقوا الباب علينا
	وأتى نعي ابي
جنت الريح على نافذتي	كان فجرا موغلا في وحشته
في مسائي	مطر يهمني وبرد وضباب
فتذكرت ابي	ورعود قاصفة
وشكت أمي من علتها	قطة تصرخ من هول المطر
ذات فجر	وكلاب تتعاوى
فتذكرت ابي	مطر يهمني وبرد وضباب
عقر الكلب اخي	واتينا بوعاء حجري
وهو في الحقل يقود الماشية	وملأناه ترابا وخشب
فبكينا	وجلسنا
حين نادى	نأكل الخبز المقدد
يا أباي ! ! . . .	وضحكنا لفكاهة
. . . كان فجراً موغلا في وحشته	قالها جدى العجوز
وأتى نعي ابي	
مات في الميدان مشجوج الجبين . . .	

Only the first four verses rhyme alternately. In the other verses, rhyme is absolutely neglected and the reiteration of some verses, words, and ideas and the onomatopoeic effects take its place. Moreover, the emotional tension and the melodious and melancholic tone of the poem, the simple images derived from daily peasant life in Egypt, which the poet succeeded in using genuinely in order to convey the milieu and the setting of his poetic experience, enabled him to dispense with the rhyme. Hence, the *shi'r hurr* in modern Arabic literature enabled the poet to exploit and absorb all the former experiments of the past generation of poets in an agreeable way.

The development of *shi'r mursal* in Arabic poetry was only one aspect of the long struggle of the Arab poets to find a new form which could convey their poetic experience according to their new understanding of poetry influenced by the West ; their new simple diction ; their new themes, thoughts, and metaphor.

To sum up, we find that in modern Arabic poetry there are two types of poetry both called *shi'r mursal* in an attempt to copy English blank verse. The first type is the *muzdawija*, i.e. a poem in which the two hemistichs in each line of verse, rhyme, or in which a pair of lines rhyme together expressing a complete and independent unit of sense. The second type is the rhymeless poem of either

end-stopped lines, in which the sense-pause and metre coincide, or where the sense is carried to the following line or lines.

The followers of the *shi'r mursal* movement failed to achieve their aims of writing dramatic, epic, and narrative poetry, and of injecting new blood into modern Arabic poetry. What they were able to achieve was to translate some of Shakespeare's dramas in unrhymed verse and to write some narrative poems whose only reason for existence nowadays is their historic value as an example of this type of versification. Yet the main, positive side of these efforts is that they encouraged other poets to carry on new experiments and that they led to the use of irregular numbers of *taf'īlāt* in the lines, a device which was capable of producing new music and was exploited and developed by other poets, at a later date.

THE SUDHANA POEM OF RDDHIPRABHĀVA

By H. W. BAILEY

In the Saka language of Gostana (Khotan) three manuscripts contain a metrical version of the Buddhist avadāna of Sudhana. These texts were printed in my *Khotanese Buddhist texts* (1951). Two, Ch. 00266 and P 2025 (with P 4089a), are two copies of one text. The third text, P 2957, differs markedly in phrases, in additional verses, and in orthography; it is in a less developed form of the language.

At the end of P 2957 there is a brief colophon giving the name of the poet Rddhiprabhāva, who states that he had taken the tale from an ancient śāstra.

Here a translation is offered as far as it can yet be interpreted. The brief commentary indicates what is still conjectural.

Sigla have been adopted: C = Ch. 00266, P = P 2025, B = P 4089a, A = P 2957. Titles of texts are: *Bhcd.* = *Bhadracaryādeśanā*, *KT*, I, 222-30, ed. J. P. Asmussen, *The Khotanese Bhadracaryādeśanā*, 1961; Edg. D = F. Edgerton, *Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit dictionary*; *JātS* = *Jātakastava*, *KT*, I, 198-219, M. J. Dresden, *The Jātakastava*, 1955; *JivP* = *Jivakapustaka*, *KT*, I, 136-95, ed. Sten Konow, *A medical text in Khotanese*, 1941; *Manj.* = P 4099, *KBT*, 113-35; *Si.* = *Siddhasāra*, *KT*, I, 2-134; O = BM Or. 8212.162, *KT*, II, 1-10; C *Vajr.* = Ch. 1.0021 b, *KBT*, 149-56.

Sudhana and Manoharā

- C 44 I go with reverence to the buddhas' *dharma-ratna*,¹ the ocean of the practice of the three vehicles, in the eighteen schools, excellent, wise, meritorious,² the eightfold buddhas' path which they protect, the *caryā* is called right *saṃvṛti* truth. As a lion king,³ while a *pṛthagjana*, by help of *vīrya* (boldness), truth, *kṛtajñātā* (kindness), firmness, he drew hearts to him and always with delight (*sukha*).⁴ When now he has passed over (triumphed), being on the *vajrāsana* (diamond throne), his fourfold thought (of *maṅṅrī*, *karuṇā*, *mudita*, and *upekṣā*) is always on the *triloka*. He approached Kapilavastu; the king Śuddhodana. For the sake of *bodhi*-vision he C 50 scattered⁵ all these *dharma-ratna*. Thus twenty thousand Śākyas he brought over to the *śāsana*. For Yaśodharā's sake he there narrated a tale in illustration; he related his *pūrvayoga* (earlier exploits). So he spoke, listen to it.

In the city of Hastināpura, O *śramaṇas*, there was then a king by name Dada⁶ as a *cakravartin*, imperious; eighty thousand *koṭṭarāja* kings were under the king, who did his command.⁷ The *devī* queen was by name Sūryaprabhā, a *janapada-kalyāṇī* created from *rasāyana*. To him such a

¹ P 2896.2, *KBT*, 11, the *dharma-rājā*.

² P 83, king of beasts.

³ P 88, he distributed.

⁴ P 94, 400,000 equipped men; P 2896.10, *pīrma tcaihaisa yeāra*, *koṭi* four hundred thousand.

⁵ P 82, pre-eminent.

⁶ P 2896.5, *dāna*, with the *dharma*.

⁷ P 92, *Dana*; A 28, *Dhana*.

king's son was born upon the *rājāsana* (royal throne) like the star Aruṇa in the *vimāna* (abode) of Śakra.⁸ At the time of the *jātimaha* (birth feast) the name Sudhana was given him. All sixteen parts of Jambudvīpa⁹ asked after him. Thus he grew adorned with good qualities, with *tejas* (splendour), as the golden lotus in lake Mandākinī. With royal *guṇas* equipped, he studied *śāstras*, and archery, he learned excellent sciences (*vidyā-sthāna*). He surpassed all in the land.¹⁰ His senses (*indriyas*) were like Paraśu-rāma's, a cause of prosperity in this meritorious land. A meritorious *nāgarāja* by name Citra dwelt where in the ground at all times the seeds ripen.¹¹ The land became such as Uttarakuru appears. In his vicinity there was a *nāga-bhavana* (abode of *nāgas*) a wood, excellent with many flowering trees, rich in fruits, birds, geese, *jīvanjīvakas*, birds of the plain, jays, where they sported in a place thick with trees. A *ṛṣi* dwelt there vowed to acquirement of *bodhi*, happy with the four *apramāṇa* (the infinitudes, *maṅgla*, *karuṇā*, *mudita*, *upekṣā*) in that wood, to whom many *devas*, men, *devatās* did honour; he was a *kalyāṇamitra* advanced in a state of indifference (*samatā*).

C 65 The king Dada—as a frontier king lived king Mahendrasena, who was on his part fierce, evil, hostile, harsh, irreligious, sharp, perverse, irascible. He held the beings of his whole land in oppression. He dispossessed the distressed pitiful beings.¹² The many¹³ unprotected (*anāṭha*) beings went to Hastināpura, wherefor famine occurred there and the harvest failed.¹⁴ Because of his irreligion, which the king did not admit, many were the villages¹⁵ and hamlets which lay empty. The roads were overgrown; at their pleasure the beasts were there in their haunts. At another time the king looked at the country, he saw empty houses, tracts, without *tejas* the plains. He asked his intimates (*amātyas*), To what land have the men gone? The houses are empty, dark where here are no men. So they said, O king, they¹⁶ are greatly oppressed, for their livelihood the many beings are distressed, no food is got from the harvests; clothes, food and nutriment are lacking.¹⁷ An intolerable lot is theirs, extreme. O king, secretly one by one they have fled from here; they have gone away, O king, to the city Hastināpura.

C 75 In king Dana's land¹⁸ there was a *nāgarāja*, such a one as makes prosper the livelihood (*upajīva*) of beings.¹⁹ For a time, for months, for years he leads to increase after increase. King Dana is very religious, he does no irreligious act; he cares for the beings of the whole land as for his own son. His country is as Jambudvīpa in the time of Haricandra in former times, O king.

⁸ P 2896.12, the shining *deva vimāna*.

⁹ P 99, the land.

¹⁰ P 14, Jambudvīpa.

¹¹ P 106, where the good seed now always flourished.

¹² P 116, A 23 add: many of whom left the land.

¹³ A 23, the many thousand.

¹⁴ P 117, most intolerable.

¹⁵ P 117 adds *deśa*, places.

¹⁶ P 121, *sattva*, your subjects.

¹⁷ P 123, A 28-7 add: there are beggings for food, many taxes.

¹⁸ P 125, Dada; A 28, Dhana.

¹⁹ A 28, of the whole land.

Mahendrasena felt shame, as he issued a command, Let the people be free, remit all taxes. Is there anyone who could draw that *nāgarāja* here? He shall rule over the land. There was there one sorcerer *amātya* who could prepare the *kalpa* (ritual) of an ancient *mantra* (spell), so that pain at once descended upon the person affected by *śraddhā*.²⁰ When he came to the *nāga-bhavana* (*nāga*'s abode) on the bank in the wood, there he made a *kārṣī* (circle) secretly according to the circular form.²¹ He bound up the whole *sīmā* (limit) with a *mantra*. Pain seized the head of the *nāgarāja*. He knew, I have no other saviour but in human form to seek in the wood the hunter.²² He so met the hunter Padamaka, he asked him, Do you know, or not, the luck C 85 (*padamja* = *dharmatā*) of this land? Citra so spoke, It is from favour and likewise from the king. Therefore he began to weep to him, the hunter arose. You so are very good who recognize my power. Now he has come against my life. He is here.²³ The king Mahendrasena has sent a killer. Do you for me now take on yourself one sin, do a violence for me, it will be good for the land. C 90 Treat him however with respect for fear you may be overthrown by him.²⁴ He so said, Dismiss your anxiety, I will surely protect your life, in that I shall prepare a *mantra-sādhana* (a rite according to a spell).²⁵ He drew that *nāgarāja* right into the *maṇḍala*. In front of him there the hunter placed himself in the thicket. With poison-covered arrow he shot him through the heart, he struck him with a sharp knife. The *sādhanaka* (officiant) became still, the *nāga* escaped. Then he took him thence down to the *nāga-bhavana*. C 95 He did him royal honour, presented wealth to him. He for his part asked them for the *amogha-pāśa* (unfailing noose). The agitated *nāga* made an *adhiṣṭhāna* (favourable act, blessing), saying, Take care in this matter.²⁶ When he passed away, after the son carried on, Utpalaka by name; the noose descended to him.

The hunter then in that wood found a person,²⁷ he served him because of kindness to his father.²⁸ Upon the mountain Gandhamāyana in Kinnaradvīpa Druma the *kinnara* king had five hundred daughters. Since the *ṛṣi* had dwelt C 100 there for a long time, he was well used to them, they came there frequently. He revealed secrets²⁹ about them; they were wont to make sport in the lotus pool.³⁰ When he heard that report the hunter took the noose and placed himself in the thicket.³¹ The five hundred brilliant quivering ones came

²⁰ A 34, pain at once seized upon the person affected by the *śraddhā* of the enchanter.

²¹ A 35, circular place. A adds: When he came to the *nāga* on the bank he made a circular place. From there they went to the *nāga-bhavana*.

²² A 36, by name Padimaka.

²³ A 39 adds: where he is present.

²⁴ A 41 adds: this *mantra* of his is very strong.

²⁵ A 42, in that he inspected the *sādhana* of the enchanter's *mantra*.

²⁶ A 47, he gave it, again did him honour from them. P 153, A 47-8 add: the hunter put the noose in his house with honour.

²⁷ A 49, went there into the wood.

²⁸ A 49, the *ṛṣi*.

²⁹ A 51, many secrets.

³⁰ A 51, in pools, in streams.

³¹ A 53, descended into.

C 105 there.³² He threw towards them the noose and drew one towards him. She, by name Manoharā, stood there bound, filled with tears, with weeping throat. They cried out loudly, they lamented their sister. She said, My sisters, of one birth with me, forgive me, go, so that you may not be bound next.³³ The hunter drew towards him the unhappy Manoharā. She said, Touch me not, lest I die. Seek a man equal in rank to me, there sell me. Be pleased not to
 C 110 bind me, have pity, good man. Her brilliant *ratna* (jewel) and robe by use of which she could fly away, she gave to him.³⁴ Manoharā following the hunter lamented loudly.³⁵

Sudhana the king's son went out hunting with a retinue.³⁶ He heard the noise of an unhappy woman. His heart was turned, he asked, Who is crying out? When they saw her the *śreṣṭhins* explained to him, they said to him,
 C 115 O king, so she is in the hunter's hand. This young ignorant³⁷ girl is like a *devī*³⁸ which they have created out of *rasāyana* (elixir).³⁹

When the prince saw the woman before his eyes, every pore expanded with joy of mind, his limbs quivered. Much wealth, many *koṭi* (millions) he gave to the hunter. On the brilliant chariot, adorned with jewels, there he placed her, he took her away to the *udyāna* (garden).⁴⁰ The prince sent a heart-felt message to his father, I have found myself a wife.⁴¹ Do not be angry, O king; though born among *kinmaras*, I have her in my power. This message arrived at a time of festivity. As soon as the king had heard he deigned to
 C 120 issue a command, As many as are my *śreṣṭhins* and *amātyas*,⁴² I invite here all without exception. The king mounted, he went out with royal retinue. The crowd of people was a thousand *koṭis*. The country, the city, they adorned finely.⁴³ They beat a thousand huge drums, accompanied by seven hundred stringed instruments. Well-groomed riding animals were there, horses, elephants, buffaloes. The *kalyāṇamātras* were brilliant in form. When Sudhana the prince went out,⁴⁴ he had such beauty as the autumn moon, as
 C 125 the sun when it issues on the Udaya-giri (eastern mountain), or as lightning

³² A 53 adds: when he threw the noose into the air, it ever rose upwards.

³³ A 56 adds: their heart began to throb by reason of the separation, they went empty-hearted to Kinnaradvīpa.

³⁴ A 59, He said, Suddenly you will flee again by way of the air. Where can I reach you? How shall I seize you? She stood bowed down, she gave him that jewel and likewise the robe, by means of which she went in the *ākāśa* flying.

³⁵ A 61, She said to him, Do not lead me bound, (but) on foot, free.

³⁶ A 62 adds: His heart auspicious, on his brilliant chariot.

³⁷ A 64, unawakened.

³⁸ P 177, with (all) the senses.

³⁹ A 65 adds: With (all) senses as the Sujā of Śakra. When the hunter came before the prince, bowing low he placed her there, he said, I have captured the very daughter of Druma the *kinmara* king, by name Manoharā. I have brought down the one by force of the *amogha* noose, worthy of a king. Deign to accept her.

⁴⁰ A 68 adds: in sport, amusement, play, and jests they flooded the roots of their hearts.

⁴¹ A 69, worthy of a king.

⁴² A 71 adds: under me the most excellent kings living by fighting.

⁴³ A 73 adds: they set up around *cāmaris*, *patākās*, and banners.

⁴⁴ P 191, into the city.

in clouds with network of jewels. Fire-coloured surrounding rays mount up.⁴⁵ They adorned Manoharā also altogether excellently, she possessed the senses like Sujā of Śakra.⁴⁶ The whole people honoured her nobly as she sat there in her excellence. For three months they drank in a great carousal. In sporting, amusement, play, and jests, they flooded the roots of their hearts. They became amorous,⁴⁷ bound to one another as are the *calravākas* (ducks), for a thousand births ever in the same birth.⁴⁸

C 130 At that time two *brāhmaṇas*, *purohitas* came. One became the king's *kalyāṇamitra*, the second the prince's. Then the *brāhmaṇa* of the prince Sudhana began to contemn the king's *brāhmaṇa*. When the king's *brāhmaṇa* understood the matter, he thought, He shows discourtesy because of the prince's powers, he shows his contempt and savagery and discourtesy. He C 135 planned to ruin the prince.

When enemies dwelling in the mountains rose up,⁴⁹ they so spoke⁵⁰ to the prince, Lead the army. He took his wife to the chief queen for her to be in her care, saying, Deign to protect her here. If trouble and hindrance should come to her here, or if her life is threatened so that you cannot protect her, give back to her that brilliant jewel and robe. My mother, be pleased not to withhold it.

C 140 He led out that unbroken⁵¹ army, all-conquering. The enemies came into his power, he triumphed. Accompanied by his four-membered army he went out invincible as Nārāyaṇa *deva*.

That night king Dada⁵² saw a dream that all his enemies had surrounded the city, they had burst open his belly, drawn out the intestines, had three times fastened it around the city. He related the dream early in the morning before the *purohita*. The *purohita* gave him a false interpretation⁵³ (*nirdeśa* ; A 88, *ādeśa*) He so said, O king, it is a very great fault. An *ariṣṭādyañjuh-pratipakṣa* (a protection for life against the *ariṣṭa*, signs of death, and the rest) is necessary. A propitiatory rite (*śāntikara*) must here be carried out, C 145 a *bali*-offering, and likewise a sacrifice must be offered.⁵⁴ A *brāhmaṇa*'s great *pancavārṣika* assembly must be held at which gold must be given, jewels, milch cows. As many kinds as there are of *tiryagyoni* beings, their veins must be opened, a pool (*tcā*) of blood must be prepared. It must be made overflowing. There you must bathe. The calamity will half vanish. Then with

⁴⁵ A 77, a gold-coloured surrounding ray shines.

⁴⁶ A 78 adds: they gave jewels, garlands of pearls, groomed riding animals, horses, elephants, buffaloes. Sūryaprabhā the queen began to scatter gold.

⁴⁷ P 199, sharp.

⁴⁸ A 80 adds: Here the men increased their pleasure more and more.

⁴⁹ A 85, at another time in one city built on a mountain they rejected the (royal) command.

⁵⁰ A 85 adds: they appointed the prince.

⁵¹ P 212, greatly feared(?).

⁵² A 86, *dhanā*.

⁵³ A 88 adds: for his escape.

⁵⁴ A 90, we shall pour a libation into the fire, of as many as there are of *tiryagyoni* and wild animals.

- kinnara* fat a *havya*-offering must be burnt. All calamities will vanish. The king said, All things are to hand, where then can I get the *kinnara* fat ?
- C 150 The *purohita* spoke to satisfy his hostility. He so said, O king, this matter is settled. In the palace lives this pure *kinnari*. Melt but that, all calamities will disperse.⁵⁵ At that time stiffness seized the king's limbs. He said, Put far away this thought of yours. This woman is surely the vital basis of my son's life. If he loses her how for his part will his life continue ? He said to
- C 155 him, O king, the human heart is tough.⁵⁶ This seven thousand *yojana* Jambudvīpa must be renounced in your own favour. Do not obstruct this project.⁵⁷ When the day arrived they now kindled the fire.⁵⁸ All the people of the whole land feel sorrow for her. The women in the *antahpura* of the whole palace cried out loudly, in the inner chambers secretly,⁵⁹ Now how will the prince's life continue ?⁶⁰ When the day arrived, they now kindled it.⁶¹
- C 160 When the queen Sūryaprabhā knew the circumstance she gave the brilliant jewel and likewise the robe to her. She so said to her, Please to accept this back from me, my daughter. Manoharā, prostrate on her breast, cried out aloud. When she came forth into the *mandala-vāla-grāma* (gathering of the circular sacrificial enclosure) she three times incanted, she rose into the air. Afterwards she said, Take leave of Sudhana for me. Let him take the daughter of the Pancāla king, full of good qualities, worthy of a king, so that he does not remain sad, nor suffer greatly and lose life untimely. She went by way of the air from Hastināpura.⁶² Being a lover, as a visitor to the ṛṣi there, she said to him, Truly I am going to Kinnaradvīpa, I shall no more
- C 165 return. I have left a message for Sudhana in his sorrow. If he comes for me, tell him my counsel, if he does not regard it but follows me. I think in my heart, I am important for him. At heart I was dear, and he was happy and beloved. In the sixteen parts (= all) he was most dear to me. So let him come alone to Avala-dīmana (Alakā abode ?) where there is no place for human kind, dangerous with *yakṣas* and *nāgas*, terrifying, distressful ; mountain clefts infested with *rākṣasas*, sheer ; rivers, forests, alkali streams. If he should not take the advice but follow, let him go to the Himavant mountain. There exists a medicinal herb.⁶³ Let him cook a *rasāyana abhaya-*
- C 170 *kāraka* (elixir giving safety) and let him eat a piece of it. Twelve years he will go, but hunger and thirst⁶⁴ he will not feel ; new power of endurance is produced in his limbs.⁶⁵ He should carry a sword, bow, arrow, the *vīṇā* musical

⁵⁵ A 96, all deeds will succeed.

⁵⁶ A 99 adds : I have not heard that a man has died of love.

⁵⁷ A 101 adds : when they had spoke so to him, then on his part the king did not speak. But at once they created a huge *mandala*, for Manoharā they placed a huge pit.

⁵⁸ A 101 adds : now they will kill her.

⁵⁹ A 102 adds : they so spoke to one another.

⁶⁰ A 103 adds : without his wife.

⁶¹ A 104 adds : They all, to the utmost of their power, decorated her finely.

⁶² A 107, she departed into the wood (without Hastināpura).

⁶³ A 111 adds : called *sudhana*.

⁶⁴ A 112 adds : cold and heat.

⁶⁵ A 113 adds : two axes he will carry formed like the shoulder-blade, by which he crosses peaks (read *g(ar)ṣi*), rocks, and mountain tops.

instrument, hammer, spear.⁶⁶ In a northerly direction he must set out alone. He will come seven hundred *yojanas* ; mountains stand there, of the twelve kinds these he must climb. He will come to the Black Mountains called Kaukūlaka. There lives a king of monkeys, huge in limb. To him food is to be given, and he will take him on his back. He will carry him away upwards seven hundred *yojanas*.⁶⁷ He will come to the Ajapatta mountain, there
 C 175 dwells an *ajagara* (goat-swallower snake). He must shoot at it with a *vajra*-shaft arrow. He will rise up on it, will come to the *kāmarūpins*.⁶⁸ In that place one amorous *rākṣasī* lives who through passion entices beings, at the last destroys them. For him she put on a newly-flayed skin coat. The *rākṣasī* carries him off, mounts him on the mountain peak. There he must promptly slay her with his sword. Afterwards he will come to the mountain
 C 180 by name Ekadhvaja. There dwells a vulture-shaped *rākṣasī*. For her let him touch the *vīṇā* and surely he will escape without danger. Seven hundred *yojanas* he will proceed ; there stand mountains made of *vajra*, firm, below ponds.⁶⁹ There is found one bridge.⁷⁰ The road is difficult, there are forty rivers, alkaline, rushing. There he must bathe. A wound in his limbs will be closed so that he escapes without danger.⁷¹ When he comes near to Kin-
 C 185 naradvīpa,⁷² there are five hundred *yakṣas* appointed.⁷³ When he comes there, then will he find me ? My father there is fierce likewise my mother.⁷⁴ The ring she gave him in case he should ask.

When the prince came he understood the case.⁷⁵ They all asked him ⁷⁶ in full how it was. Those who tried to please him, made a request, Endure. He stayed no longer, he followed,⁷⁷ he set out alone from the city. Whatever came before him, *tiryagyonī* and all the wild beasts, bowing down he asked
 C 190 from the heart, Have you seen Manoharā ⁷⁸ or not, where she has gone ? When he came to the wood he found the *ṛṣi*. There the *brāhmaṇa* prospered, skilful man.⁷⁹ He gave him his wife's ring. During this interval twelve years
 C 195 had passed.⁸⁰ Alone there Sudhana sat beside the pool.⁸¹ When there came

⁶⁶ A 114, in his hand, in place of spear.

⁶⁷ A 116 adds : eight hundred *yojanas*, there is a mountain by name Vajraka. It is as smooth as a mirror appears.

⁶⁸ A 119, just when he escapes he comes to the *kāmarūpins*.

⁶⁹ B 6 adds : smooth as a mirror appears.

⁷⁰ B 7, a bridge is built there at the river.

⁷¹ B 9 adds : with medicament. A 124 adds : there are many mountains made of the seven precious stones.

⁷² A 125 adds : with labours and travails.

⁷³ A 125, as guardsmen five hundred *yakṣas* are appointed. The city appears made of jewels, towers and likewise palaces, enclosures, ponds, lotus-pools.

⁷⁴ A 126, B 12, my father fierce, my mother rough. A 127 adds : he will not know how it will be for him, by what path.

⁷⁵ A 128 adds : there in the land.

⁷⁶ A 128, he went out thence from the city.

⁷⁷ C *ṇaimasta* from older *nimalsta* 'rubbed, followed' ; B 16, *ṇahasta* 'passed over'. A 129 adds : that troublesome path.

⁷⁸ B 19 adds : my own.

⁷⁹ A 131, of excellent origin.

⁸⁰ A 132 adds : when he came to Kinnaradvīpa with labours and travails.

⁸¹ A 132, in the wood of the palace there near the pool.

- five hundred ⁸² *kinnarīs* they were carrying jewelled jars for water.⁸³ They lifted the jars to carry to the palace. One remained there, an aged woman, old, she could not lift the jar upon her shoulders.⁸⁴ Alone there sat Sudhana. He went to her, he asked, Mother, where is the water carried? She so said,
- C 200 Druma the *kinnara* king has five hundred daughters. At that time they went away. One ⁸⁵ the men of Jambudvīpa seized. It is the twelfth year since she returned here. For this it is she bathes three times ⁸⁶ so that the smell of man upon her may vanish and she be clean. Sudhana humbly placed the great jar upon her shoulders. Secretly he threw that ring into the jar. When the old woman came ⁸⁷ to the palace, at the time she poured out the water on her limbs. When she saw the ring and she had become stiff with
- C 205 fear, she hid it secretly. Her heart began to tremble. At last she asked her,⁸⁸ Have you seen anyone? What you have not yet told, tell it me straight. She told all, A man ⁸⁹ I saw, such a one as a *devaputra* perfect in (all) the senses. When he saw me his eyes filled with tears. All those who (each one) is her sister they all learnt the secret. Before her ⁹⁰ she told the course of the
- C 210 affair. When they had heard of Sudhana's good qualities, honourable ones, in detail, she revealed all. They agreed with her thought, they brought him into the palace. They searched out a place, all were in the secret. There they placed him so that no rumour got abroad. For many days they well honoured him. The *kinnarīs* secretly at night used to fetch him. Though all the sisters were quietly held back, before the mother they revealed all that was in the
- C 215 secret,⁹¹ Manoharā's husband has come, Sudhana the prince, like Nārāyaṇa deva. Mother, may you deign not to be angry with me. Without any subterfuge I will bring him before you. That he has come here from so far should be sufficient punishment for his fault, for him who for twelve years has travelled over the mountain clefts. The queen so ordered, Bring him before me. Her mind was quite cleared at the mere sight of him. To him she
- C 220 said, Son, at present the *kinnara* king Druma threatens violently. He said to her, Queen, may you be able to endure, content, honoured. Even if they should break my life into one hundred pieces,⁹² it would be right that milk here should issue. When the queen had had the interview with them and his wife ⁹³ (lacuna, see A). When Druma the *kinnara* king had heard,⁹⁴ he imposed upon him unlimited punishment, harsh threats, abusive speech.
- A 151 All that the *kinnara* king asked him the prince made known to him. He went out invincible as a *kesarin* lion. He so said to him, Son, on your part

⁸² A 133 adds : youthful.⁸³ A 133 adds : all, in their hands.⁸⁴ A 135 adds : he fell upon the ground, he uttered blessing, in love, towards the aged one.⁸⁵ A 136 adds : Manoharā.⁸⁶ A 138 adds : a day always.⁸⁷ A 139 adds : far.⁸⁸ A 140, the aged woman.⁸⁹ A 141 adds : lordly.⁸⁹ A 143, them.⁹⁰ A 146, the nature of the secret.⁹¹ A 149, He said to her if he should make my life into two pieces.⁹² A 150 adds : then the mother told the king, Manoharā's husband has come.⁹³ A 152, asked.

A 155 remain now here. All pleasures of men and *devas* are here. So long he stayed and instructed them. They gave him liberty. He rose with his wife by way of the sky, he went to Hastināpura. For a time and period he rode, he came in the evening. When he had come to his own land, then he made a royal brilliant *pūjā-karma* (worship), abundant, to Śakra and the other *devas*, Sendra and Upendra. From them he received sovereignty, he held the four *dvīpas*.

How does it seem to you, *śramaṇas*? Now in former time Sudhana the prince—I make him known to have been myself; Sūryaprabhā the queen, Dhana, king of kings—I make known to have been Mahāmāyā and Śuddhodana the king.

A 160 This much has been told in an ancient *sāstra* (treatise). Some little merit there may be for me the humble Rddhiprabhāva in that I have committed no fault nor great sin.

COMMENTARY

C 44 *vyasthaunva*, A 164 *vyasthānva*, P 2784.2, *KBT*, 13 *vyasthānva*, A 167 *vyasthenva* adj. from BS *vyavasthāna*- practice, but P 2896.2, *KBT*, 11 *vyasthye tsūka* from *vyavasthita*-. The suffix *-va* replaces older *-ika*- as in S 2741.254, *KBT*, 99 *nivāyva* from *naivāsika*-. The noun in P 2787.147, *KT*, II, 107 *rāja-sāstra-vyasthā*, O 21 *rāja-vyastām*.

45a *haṣṭāśv(ā) pakṣv(ā)*, loc. pl. in the eighteen schools, with variants. See A. Bareaux, *Les sectes bouddhiques du petit véhicule*, 15 ff., names of 19 schools in inscriptions and literary texts. Tib. *sde* and Chin. 卅 *pu* (*Mahāvī*. 9076).

45b *pūñūda punyavant-*, meritorious, holy, but the other texts here have A 165 *pradhānā*, P 2896.3, *KBT*, 11 *pradhāna*, P 82 *padauna*, P 2784.3, *KBT*, 13 *padāna*, BS *pradhāna*- pre-eminent, dominant.

45c *haṣṭa-padya beysūña pade*, BS *aṣṭāṅga mārga* of the eight parts, in Pali *sammā* right with *diṭṭhi*, *saṃkappa*, *vācā*, *kammanta*, *ājīva*, *vāyāma*, *sati*, *samādhi*. Here Khot. adds *beysūña* of the buddhas. A 165 and P 2896.3 have the unexplained variant *pajsa-padya* five-fold.

46a *savya hakṣa*, P 83 *savara hḡkṣa*, P 2896.4 *savrra hakṣa*, A 166 *sarva hakṣa*, P 2784.5 *savara hakṣa*. The variants point to BS *saṃvṛti*- convention (form as in *Manj.* 132 *saskrre*, 382 *asaskrre* from BS *saṃskṛta*- and *asaṃskṛta*). Also *Manj.* 143, 148 *savrra hakṣa* and C *Vajr.* b 7 *savrrini* inst. sg. *Mahāvī*. 1368 *saṃvṛti-satya*; Edg. D *saṃvṛti*-, Pali *sammuti*- limited truth.

The word *hakṣa* is older *haṭṭha* truth, with *kṣ* for older *ṭh* as often in later Khot. Note in Tib. script *thr* for Khot. *kṣ* in *KT*, v, 382.

46b P 2784.5 *sarrau sāyāna re*, P 84 *sarrau* <*sā*>*yām rre*; elsewhere here the phrase is incomplete C *sarā rr(e)*, P 2896.4 *sarau sāyāna (rre)*, A *sarau sāyayana (rre)* lion, king of beasts; the BS phrase (*Kāśyapa-parivarta*, p. 65) *mṛgarājā keśarī*, Pali *sīho mīgarājā*. Then *sāya*- is NWPKt. **sāvaya*- as AMg. *sāvaya*-, older Pali *sāpada*-, BS *svāpada*-, Vedic AV *svāpad*-, RV *svāpada*- beast of prey. From this Pkt. form comes also E 12.43 *śsaruggī* from **sāvayaḡiga*-

older **svāpadakika-*. Note *cu śśauḡḡi cu tārśasūni* beside C 190 *ttriśvaunya tti jsā dava* the *tiryagyonī* and likewise the wild beasts, and *JātS* 25 v 1 *sarrau datā rre*. *Infra* 50 *śāya-* is the different word *Śākya-*.

46c *prahūja pṛthagjana*, layman, with many forms in Khot. : *Manj.* 54 *prrahūja*, 146 *prrahūjana*, P 2787.118, *KT*, III, 105 *prrahajana*, P 2790.138, *KT*, II, 63 *prrahijam*, P 84 *prruhūja*, P 2784.6, *KBT*, 13 *brrvuhūja*, E *prahujana*, P 2781.4, *KT*, III, 68 *prrahajanaustā*. *NWPkt.* *Dhp.* 66 *prudhajana*, 304 *prudhijane*, Pali *puhujjana-*, BS *pṛthagjana-*.

47a *tā* is related to *tāṣṭa* as *hā* to E *hālsto*, *hāṣṭo*, later *hāṣṭa*, *vā* to E *vālsto*, *vāṣṭo*, later *vāṣṭa* and *cā* to E *cālsto*, later *cāṣṭa*. All these are directional adverbs : *hā* to that place, *vā* to this place near the speaker, *tā* to that place near the person spoken to, *cā* to what place. The earlier translation of *tā* by therefore was an error. Note that two forms may occur in one phrase C 186 *hā hūde hāṣṭa*, P 2781.74, *KT*, III, 71 *vā vāṣṭā*. For *tā* note A 70–1 *hamya haṣḍa ttiṣṭā* beside C 119 *hamya ṣg tā haṣḍa*. For *cā* A 135, = C 198 *kūṣṭa*, Ch. 00277, 3 r 1, C 191, *Manj.* 119 *cāṣṭa*.

47b Read *va thūye* as two words ; intervocalic *-th-* was replaced by *-h-*.

47c *nehvasta* crossed, passed over, as BS *atikeram-*, from **niž-hvah-*, pres. *Manj.* 169 *nehvaitta*, ptc. older E 12.3 *nehvastu*.

47d *vajarāyasaṇa* on the diamond seat, P 2787.70, *KT*, II, 104 *vajrāyasa* ; Toch. A 297 b 2 *waśirṣim āsāna lmo* seated on the *vajrāsana*, Uigur *wačraz-an örgim özä* (cited *BSOAS*, XIII, 2, 1950, 403) ; Tib. *rdo-rje gdan*, Jap. *kongauza* 金剛座.

48 P 2896.104 *anāstrreva*, BS *anāsrava-* uninfluenced.

49a *usahya-* renders BS *upasaṃkram-* to approach, as *Bhcd.* 52 r 1 *usahīme*, BS *upasaṃkrami*.

49b *śaudūva re*, king Śuddhodana, A 159 *śaudūvam*, P 2896.6 *sāmdhūva*, E 2.22 *śśādūvani*, 6.19 *śśādūtari*, 6.22 *śśādūtani*, Uigur T II D 173e, 12 *satudan zan*, Sogd. Bud. *VJ* 1505 *šni'wδn*, Chin. 屑頭邪 *sie-t'ou-ye* (*AM*, NS, IX, 2, 1963, 221).

49c *gujsabrriya* scattered, from *gu-*, older *vi*, and *tcabalj-* : *tcabrīta-* (Bal. 0152 b 2, *KT*, III, 131). Here the variants are P 88 *gvāḍai*, and P 2896.6, *KBT*, 12 *gvāḍe* from **vi-vār-* distribute, Oss. Dig. *iuārun*, *jurst*, Iron *uārym*, *bājuārym*, *uārst*, *bājuārst* distribute, divide, Dig. *lāuārun*, Iron *luārym*, *luorston* to sift from **fra-vār-*. On Khot. *vāra-* share, see *KT*, IV, 61.

50a *śāya-* from the *NWPkt.* to BS *śākya-*, E *śśāya-*. BS also *śākīya-*, Pali *sākīya-*. Ch. c. 001, 1042, *KBT*, 142 *śāyā riṣgyā*, Toch. A *śākki*, Toch. B gen. pl. *śakkets*, adj. *śakkeññe*, Tumšūq *Karmavācanā* 13 gen. pl. *śakyanā*, see *BSOAS*, XIII, 3, 1950, 656.

50b *yaśaudara*, BS *yaśodharā*, P 2896.7, *KBT*, 12 *yaśādara*, Sogd. Bud. *VJ* 1508 *yš'wδrh*, Uigur *y'šwt'ry* (W. Radloff, *Ṭiśastvustik*, p. 10, 25 b 5) with Brāhmī gloss *yaśudari*.

50c *najsada* illustration, freq. in *ttu nijsadu*, BS *evam eva* (*Samghāṭa-sūtra*, Gilgit MS 37, 12 b 5 et al.) ; older *nijsada-*.

51 *pūravayaruḡa*, P 90 *pūravayāṃḡa*, P 2896.8, *KBT*, 12 *pūravayūḡa*, P 2782.48, *KT*, III, 61 *pūrvayauḡā* former achievements. Edg. D proposed previous lives, but J. Filliozat, *JA*, CCLI, 1, 1963, p. 47 n. 9, urged for *yoga* here 'maîtresse de discipline'.

52a *dada naruma* Dhana by name, P 2896.9 *dana*, A 28 *dhana*; *Divy.* 435.5 *mahādhana-*. Here the *-n-* has been treated like *-nn-* and replaced by *-nd-*, whence *-d-*. Below *kinnara-* has given A 50 *kaidhara-*, B 10 *kedara-*, C 99 *kaidara-*.

52b *parauyai* in authority, adj. to *parau* command.

52c *kauṭarrauja* BS *koṭṭarājan-*, as *Gilgit MSS*, III, 1, 100.13 *pratisīma-koṭṭarājānah*, P 2896.10, *KBT*, 12 *kāṭarāja*, P 9 *kauṇḡa rrauda*.

52d *dāna* under, subordinate, from which *infra* B 6 *ḡija*, C 181 *ḡijanāṣṭa* downwards, below.

52e P 2896.10, *KBT*, 12 *pīrma tcahaisa ysāra koṭi* 400,000, C 53 omits, P 94 only 400. For *pīrma* = *koṭi*, note P 3513, 3 v 4-4 r 1, *KT*, III, 113 *tcahause kūla pīrma haṣṭūsa lakṣa byūrā hauda ysāri haṣṭase* with dyadic *kūla pīrma* (the same phrase also Ch. c. 001, 775, *KT*, v, 250, Ch. 00268.35, *KBT*, 101; *pīrma* also *JātS* 4 v 4).

53a *sūryaprraba* Sūryaprabhā, mother of Sudhana. *Divy.* 449.9 has *jananī* without name.

53b *jaśca ya rīna* was *devī* queen, with dyadic *jaśca* fem. queen, and *devī*, so below freq. *deva* rendered by *jasta-* is king or *deva*.

53c *janava-kaḡāna* BS, Pali *janapada-kalyānī* the beauty of the land, with *ḡ* for older *-ly-*, and transfer to the *-ā* inflexion.

54a *raysāya*, BS *rasāyana-* elixir. Also *Bhcd.* 45 v 2 *raysāyana*, P 2783.62, 65, *KT*, III, 75 *raysāyaṃ*, *Si.* 2 r 4 *riysāyenāṃ*, OKhot. Kha. i.58a, 1 a 1, *KT*, v, 132 *raysāyanna* inst. sg. and *raysāyanā* nom. sg. Uigur (*TTT*, VII, 72) *noṣ rasayan*, Mong. *arasīyan*, *rasīyan*, *aršan*.

54b *rāysāya*, BS *rājāsana-* royal seat, modified in Khot. by association with Iran. Khot. *rrāys-* in *rrāyse* ruler, and adj. *rrāysanonda-* ruling. Fuller form in P 2958.122, *KT*, II, 117 *rāysāyaṃ bīṃdā*, *JātS* 18 v 2 *rāysāyīṇa* loc. sg.

54c *arāṇa stāraṣi* the star Aruṇa, P 98 *arūṇa*. Pali *aruṇa* sun, BS *aruṇod-ghāta-* break of dawn, Hindu Skt. *aruṇodaya-*.

55a P 2896.12, *KBT*, 12 *cada jasta vamāṇa* with *cada* from **candana*-brilliant, see *infra* 117 *cadana*; here *cada* replaces *śakorra* of C 55.

55b C, P 98 *jauttamaka* birth feast, also P 2928.12, *KT*, III, 105; but P 2798.141, *KBT*, 43 *jāttamahā*, *Divy.* 515.18 *jātamaha-*, Edg. D *jātmaha-*, *jāṭmahī*, *jātamaha-*. Here *-h-* has given *-kh-* and then *-k-*, cf. *-k-* for *-kh-* in *JRAS*, 1955, 18, and note also *-kh-* for *-h-* in BS Ch. c. 001, 898, *KBT*, 137 *makhīśvari*, for *maheśvara-*. In Tib. F. W. Thomas, *TLT*, I, 316 *hdra-dha-mu-ka* is for *ḡḡḡhamukha*.

55c The name *sudhana-* has the forms here C *svadana*, 112 *sūdana*, P 98 *sūdena*, A 61 *sūdhana*, *Mahāvastu sudhanu-*, *Divy.* *sudhana-*, as *Gilgit MSS*, III, 1 *sudhana*.

55d *kṣasa kala* sixteen parts, making a whole, *infra* 166 *kṣasa bāga*, also Ch. 00267.16, *KBT*, 147 *kṣṣa kala*, similar in Pali *kalā*.

57a *madāhaṇa khyehg*, P 98 *māde<ha>ṇa khyehg*, P 2896.13, *KBT*, 12 *madāhaṇa khyiḥa* also P 3513, 80 r 1, *KBT*, 64 *madākaṇa khyeha* in lake Mandākinī. Pali *mandākinī* a lake in the *Himavanta-padesa*- A 4.101 called *saro*, BS *saras*, and *Divy.* 194 *Mandākinī puṣkarinī*. The *khyeha* is loc. sg. to E *khāhā*-, Sogd. *γ'gh*, Yazgulāmī *xēx* (*ē* from *ā*), West Iran. Zor: Pahl. *xān*. P 3515, 72 r 2 *Suv. khāhi āsaiji viysāmji*, BS 3.84 *utsāh sarāh puṣkarinī tadāgāh*.

57b *samattara* equipped with, P 101 *samattama*, P 2896.13, *KBT*, 12 *samayattara*, compared with P 94 *samatta*, C omits, P 2896.10 *samartha*. *Infra* 123, 184 *samautta* from the Pkt. to BS *samarpita*-. Possibly contaminated *samartha* and *samarpita*.

57c, P 102 *uṣastrrī* archery, which is to trace here older **iṣu*-*astrika*- with Pkt. **uṣu*- from *iṣu*- arrow, Pali *usu*-. In *uṣta*- for older *-ṣva*- possibly graphic confusion has occurred, the subscript *-ṭ-* being like *-v-*, or *-ṣv-* was replaced by *-ṣṭv-* and *-v-* lost. Older Khot. has E 25.241 *iṣvastu*. Khowar has kept the word in *veṣū* arrow (G. Morgenstierne, *Report on a linguistic mission to Afghanistan*, 72). Pali has *issattham*, AMg. *īsattha*- with *i*-.

58a *audrā* for *aidrā* as P 103 *aidrā* gen. pl. senses, *indriyas*. In P 2896.14 possibly *ttī* *īdri* should be read, the signs are not fully clear.

58b *paraśu-rāma* is introduced also into the Rāma story (*BSOAS*, x, 3, 1940, 559–60; *KT*, III, 67).

58c *samattakara* causing prosperity, from *saṃpattikara*- as in P 2896.14, *KBT*, 12 *sapattakari*. Hence *sampa*- passed to *samba*- (Khot. *sambaj*-, *sabaj*- to prosper) and thence to *sama*- here.

59 *caitta*. P 104 *cai<tra>*, P 2896.15 *caitrtra*, the name of the *nāga*, *Divy.* 435.11 *janmacitra*.

60a *dajīra* the seeds (*t(i)maṇa*) ripen. For the blurred akṣara *ba* and *baḍa* read *ham* *b(ā)ḍa* at all times. P 106 has *raṣṭa* right through for usual *ham-raṣṭa* always, hence *raṣṭa vīstāve* the seeds (*tīma<ṇa>*) continued always. The BS equivalent has *akāle* out of season.

61a *uttarū*, P 106 *utta<rū>* from the Pkt. of *uttarakuru*-. Older E 17.38 and folio y, p. 353, 328 *uttarūvā*, 14.108 adj. *uttarūvī hvanḍā* gen. sg. Hence *uttarūva*- from **uttarauru*- by *-r . . r-* becoming *-r . . v-*. The Chin. 鬱單越 K 555, 968, 1348 *ūtanie* from *īust-tan-jivot*, that is, **uttarūḍ*, Jap. *uttanetsu*. From this came Sogd. Bud. (*Soghd. Texte*, II, 10.51) 'wt'nwr, but BS *uttarakuru*- in Sogd. *Dhyāna*. 117 'utrkrv 'rḍ'r. For *Uttarakuru*, Greek 'Ορροποκoppai, Lat. *attacori*, see W. Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder*, 183; A. Herrmann, Pauly-Wissowa, *Reallexikon*, xxxvi, 1888; *Divy.* 215.20; S. Lévi, *JA*, Sér. xi, Tom. xi, 1, 1918, 134; G. Tucci, *Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques*, ix, 1948–51, 197; Vasubandhu, *Abhidharmakośa* III, 146 ff. For the adj. note H. Hoffmann, *Ājñānāṭika-sūtra*, text 47 (tr. 83) *uttarakauravā manusyāh*.

61b *nā-bava*, 81 loc. sg. *nāva-bhavaṇa*, BS *nāga-bhavana*. In *Gilgit MSS*, III, 1, *nāga-bhuvana* is printed.

62a *sye mvara jīvajīvā ra(vīnā) cāṣg* birds geese, *jīvanjīvaka*, birds of the plains, jays. OKhot. *siya-* renders *hamsa-* (Kha. i.13, 142 v 1, *KBT*, 5). In P 109 *ravīnā* is taken as adj. to *rrai* plain, another adj. in *rājā namva* salt of the plain, and a third in E 20.7 *ravye* (not *-c-*). For *rrai* plain, note also Sogd. Bud. P 2.810 *r'γyh*, Chr. *r'γ πεδιον*, Man. *r'γ*, pl. *r'γt*, Zor. Pahl. *Ind. Bd.* (ed. Justi, 29.5) *l'g *rāy*, NPers. *rāy*, Pašto *rāya*.

62b *kīseja* from older E *kīssāna-* thick, luxuriant, *ākīrna*, with Sogd. Bud. (P 2.811, *Dhuta* 257, *Vim.* 31) *kysn'k*, cognate with Lit. *kīeša*, *kīšyina* thickly overgrown place, *kīšti* grow thickly.

63a *lābrrī-vrata[sta]stha*, P <[lā]bī-*vrastha* from BS **lābhya-vratastha-* standing on a vow to obtain (*bodhi*).

63b *apramāṇau jsa* the four *apramāṇa*, infinitudes of *maītrī*, *karuṇā*, *mudita*, *upekṣā*, with short *-a-* in A 16 *apprimanyau jsi*.

64a *samahvā*, P 112 *samatta*, A 17 *samī* (for *samattī* ?) has been taken as Pkt. to BS, Pali *samatā* indifference, but with *-aha-* from *-atha-*.

64b *bāysaṇa rr(e)*, P 112 *bīysanūe (rre)*, A 21 *ḥaysaṇ rre*, older *balysana-* in *Suvarṇabhāsa-sūtra* 31 b 7, *KT*, v, 109 *balysanī sānā*, BS *sāmantakaḥ*. P 2893.14, *KT*, III, 83 has *ḥaysna kṣīra* frontier land. Pali *sāmanta*, Edg. D *sāmantaka-* near, bordering, *sāmantakaḥ pratisatru-rājā* (*Suv.* 71.10). Also Hedin A v 3, *KT*, III, 16 *balysaṇānu rrundīnu rakṣa*. The word *balysana-* belongs with Av. *vərəzēna-* enclosure, OPers. *vardana-*, Zor. Pahl. *vālan*, NPers. *barzan*. Ossetic has *āruāz* herd (Miller-Freiman, *Wörterbuch*, I, 598, Pam. 2.123.36 *sāgti ārudz* herd of deer, see also E. Benveniste, *Études sur la langue ossète*, 35). Outside Iranian OInd. has *vṛjāna-* and *vrajā-*, Lit. *veržti* to press together.

65a *caḍra* fierce, P 113 *caṇḍa*, A 21 *caṇḍi*, and *infra* 186, *Divy.* 435.16 *caṇḍa-* harsh, from Pkt. **candra-* or **caṇḍa-* with either primary or secondary *-ṇḍ-*. See *JRAS*, 1949, 2-4.

65b *skarba* rough, harsh, *Divy.* 435.16 *karkaṣa* to Wakhī *skurf* (G. Morgenstierne, *IIFL*, II, 474), possibly Sogd. Chr (*Soghd. Texte*, II, 6.39) *sqr̄b*. *Infra* also B 12 *skaraba*, *JātS* 33 r 2 *skarbe*.

65c *pyāḍa-v(ā)ḍī* perverse, *Sī.* 103 v 1 *pyāḍa-tsūka*, BS *unmārgī*, Tib. *log-par soṅ-ba* go back, Ch. c. 001, 866, *KBT*, 136 *harbiṣau pyāḍamgāryau sānyau*, Tib. *dgra thams-cad-kyis gnod-pa bgyi-ba*, older E 18.19 *pyāḍa*. The source will be **apa-tar-* turn off or **pa-tar-* turn back. The *-vāḍī* is uncertain: either Ind. *vāḍika-* speaking, or some unidentified Iranian noun.

66a, P 115 *hatharaka*, A *hamtharkye* oppressed or in oppression, from *ham-θrang* press together. Av. has only *θracta-*. The *-th* indicates an older *ham-θ-* not *fra-θ-*.

66b *grraysya*, P 115 *grraysye*, A 22 *graysye*, *infra* 167 *graysa-*, *Divy.* 450.29 *samākula-* swarming, infested, from a base *graz-* or *garz-*, or possibly *xraz-*, not identified. If *karz-* alternating with *xraz-*, possibly Oss. Dig., Iron *kārz* strong might connect.

66c, P 115 *harahausta*, A 23 *harahausti* he dispossessed from **fra-frausta-*.

68a *parama*, P 118 *paramai*, A 24 *parmahe* village, P 2787.167, *KT*, II, 107

gaudāra parmahai vīra in a village of Gāndhāra, *Suv.* 55 v 2, *KT*, I, 239 *parmiho*, BS *nigame*.

68b *hārasta maśapa*, only C, older *maśpa* road (uncertain etymology in *BSOAS*, XXI, 1, 1958, 46). Here *hārasta-* will be older E *hārsta-* overgrown from **frā-rusta-*. No suitable meaning can be got from *rand-* to scrape, in pres. *ran-* : *rasta-*.

68c *gumai* at will, according to one's pleasure, from the contexts. E 4.61 *ggumai barīndā buśśānā grauṇe pharu* they wear for pleasure many perfumed garlands. The base may mean be happy, attested in Av. *māyā-* pleasure, or direct from the *may-*, *mā-* attested in MPaT *um'dn* suffer, if specialized as pleasant experience. The form *ggumai* may be gen. sg. beside **ggumāyā* as E *hārštai* beside *hārštāyā* really.

69 *hāsara*, only C, loc. sg. to *hajsara-* range, scope, sphere, from **fra-čara-* and **ham-čara-*, with umlaut crossing the second syllable, as in *ysirra-*, *hāsana-*, *infra* 166c *dīmana*. *Suv.* 5 r 2, *KT*, I, 233 *hajsaro*, BS *gocara-*, also 24 r 2 *hamj sare*, BS *gocara-*. *Infra* C 167 (and C 378, *KBT*, 112).

70a *tcairama* for *tcārīma*, as P 119, A 25, renders BS *kṣetra*, Tib. *zin*.

70b *gapha* open space, plains, older *ggampha-*, frequently to render BS *yojana-*. If it is from *gambh-* it will belong with Av. *ṣaiwi-*, *ṣajra-* and OInd. *gambhīra-* but with reference to extension over, not to depth.

70c *aumāca* intimate, counsellor, *amātya*, older Khot. *āmāca-*, *āmākya-* BS *āmātya-*, see other forms *KT*, IV, 62. Tib. *'amačag* indicates a form with *-aka-* not so far found in Khot. The *āmāca-* is closely associated in tales with the *hārva*, *śreṣṭhins*.

71a *thaurasā*, P 121 *thausāva*, A omits, oppressed from older *thurs-*, pres. opt. P 2787.87, *KT*, II, 104 *thūrsī* be persecuted, pret. H 143 NSB 13 r 7, *KT*, V, 96, N 130.11 *thursātānda*, see *AM*, NS, VII, 1-2, 1959, 16. Possibly from **thrus-* from **thurs-* to cut.

71b *ājūā* livelihood, P 121 *jvauma*, from *juw-* to live, P 3513, 23 r 4, *KBT*, 57 *ājuva*, 23 v 1 *ājūva*, BS *ājūva-*. Note also *Si.* 15 v 1 *jūva* life.

72a *baḍajataca*, P *baraijaja*, adj. to *barīja-* harvest, crop, from *bara-* harvest. Variation of *-d-* and *-r-* is rare, but BS *tiraskāra-* is written P 5538 b 65, *KT*, III, 123 *tīḍaskara*.

72b *pamvaha*, P *pamuhg* clothing, garment, frequent, see *KT*, IV, 162. It occurs in an unpublished OKhot. text. Base *pati-mauk-* in pres. *pamjs-*, pret. *pamāta-*.

72c P 123 *rūkīja*, C omits, A 26 *rrūkīji*, here only; possibly **rauuka-* with *-inaa-* for food, adj. to *pajāme* begging.

72d A 27 *pajāme*, P *paj(ā)mi* from pres. *pajya-*, pret. *pajista-*, pres. ptc. *pajyandaa-*, base *gad-*, OPers. *ḥadiya-*.

72e P 123 *thaga*, exaction, tax, *infra* 78, P 131 *thaga*, A 32 *thamgi* Ch. 0048.39, *KBT*, 73 *thagāja kṣīraṇa* from *thang-* draw, stretch.

72f *avataca vī*, P 117, 123 *avyaucha*, A 27 *avyaucā* surely. In *Si.* 12 r 5 *avyaucā* renders Tib. *mi bzad-pa* intolerable, *dārūna*. From *a-* not, with

either P 2790.134, *KT*, III, 63 *pyauca* help, or O 19, *KT*, II, 2 *vyauca*-hindrance.

73a *sk(au)daka* secretly, *infra* 213 *skauda*, 202 *sk(au)daka*, P 145, A 102 *skauda*, E 2.30 *skodi*. Compared with *hauda* seven, from **hafta*, and *tauda*, E 23.294 *ustoda*- from **tafta*-, this *skoda*-, *skauda*- indicates older **skafta*- as in Av. *skapta*-, only *Frahang* ̄ *oim* 12, glossed *škaft*, NPers. *šiguft* wonderful. Outside Iranian Greek σκέπω conceal, Lit. *kepüré* hat give a good contact.

73b *pahaiya* fled, older E *pahīya*-, to pres. *pahāj*-, incoh. *pahais*-; P 5538 b 73, *KT*, III, 124, *BSOS*, IX, 3, 1938, 535 *pahai*, BS *prapalāna*-.

76a *kāda*, older *kāde* very, A 29 *kari*.

76b *thy(au)ttā*, P 129 *thyautta* formerly, but A 30 *haitti bādi* former time, see A 158 *infra*.

77 *haracadra*, P 129 *haracanada*, A 30 *haracamñā*, Tib. (J. Hackin, *Formulaire sanscrit-tibétain*, p. 17, l. 63) *ha-ra-can-tra namyi raja*, Uigur (F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica*, III, 4) *γaričantri*. This is the Hindu Skt., *Aitareya Brāhmana*, *Hariścandra*, the pious, just, liberal king (with aerial city).

78a *mahaidrasai(na)*, P 130 *mahaidrrasaina*, *infra* 87 *mah(ai)drasaina*, P 143 *mahaidrrasaina*, A 39 *mahaidrasai(nā)*, that is, *Mahendrasena*. *Divy.* 435.5 only *dakṣiṇapāncāla*-king. Toch. A 66 b 2 *mahendrasene*.

79 *sāda-prraipati āmā(ca)*, P 132 *saidrra-prrāpattai aumāca*, A 33 *saidra-prrāttai aumāca* an *amātya* with *siddhi*, magic powers, hence a compound BS *siddhi-prāpta*.

80a *madrā sāhya*, P 133 *madrā sāhye*, A 33 *mamdri sāhye* he prepared a *mantra*-spell; similar Jaina Pkt. *mantam sāhe* (H. Jacobi, *Māhārāṣṭri Erzählungen*, 52.17); BS *sādhayati*, Pali *sādheti*. *Infra* 93 *sādaka* preparer, sorcerer, P 150 *sādaka*, A 45 *sādhaka*, Jaina Pkt. *sāhaga* conjurer (N. Brown, *The tale of Kālaka*, 42.18). The *sādhaka* is an important officiant in *maṇḍala*-texts, see E. Haahr, *Acta Or.*, XXIII, 1-2, 1958, 62.

80b and 91b, A 34, 42 *kauvāle* incantator from the contexts. The word is only in A. It is possible to divide the syllables *kau vā le* or *karvā le* or *kau vāle* or as one word *kauvāle*. In adopting *kauvāle* it is proposed to trace the word to an older Pkt. **kāvva-vāлага*-, keeper of the **kāvva*-, with *-vāлага*- as in Khot. *mātrvālai*, BS *devapālaka*-, Tib. *lha bon-po* in *Samghāta-sūtra*, Reuter 1 r 5, *KT*, v, 394, ed. Konow 78 b 5, facsimile *J. Soc. Finno-Ougrienne*, xxx, 1913-18, plate VIII; BS Gilgit MS 37, 73 b 6. For **kāvva*- from *kāvya*-, note also Khot. *hava infra* 148b for Pkt. **hava*- from older BS, Pali *havya*- offering. In Buddhist texts the *kavi*-, and his *kāvya*- are deprecated as Pali, *Dīgha-nikāya* 1.11; the *kāvya*- poem is in *Jātaka* 6.213, 24 and *kabba-karaṇa*- occurs in the commentary to the *Dīgha-nikāya*. BS has *Aṣṭādaśa-prajñāpāramitā* 69.17.23 *kavitāḥ kāveyās ca* fanciful and invented by poets (cited Edg. D s.v. *kavita*-). The word *kāvya*-occurs also in Krorain Pkt. 514 rev. 3 *kāvya-karane* in a list of studies. It is also in Uigur *kavi* (A. von Gabain, *Die uig. Übersetzung der Biographie Hüentšangs*, p. 8, l. 4). It is, however, a conjecture to assume that *kāvya*- had developed the further special meaning incantation. *Mahāvṛyutpatti* has 6421

kaviḥ Tib. *sñan-ñag-mkhan* master of poetical expressions, and 6422 *kāvyaṃ sñan-dnags*, purely therefore the poet. (*Mahāvya*. 6848 *kavya-* offering to the manes, seems not to be useful here.)

81, P 135 *kāṣa*, older P 1311 b 5, *KT*, III, 42 *saṃvīja kārṣa* circle of cowdung, *Av.-dh.* 9 r 3, 4 *kārṣa*, *Suv.* 54 v 4, *KT*, I, 238 *kārṣa*, BS *maṇḍalakam*, variant Kha. 0012 b 2, *KT*, I, 255 *kārṣa*, and loc. sg. *Av.-dh.* 9 v 5 *kerṣa*, *Divy.* 306, 23 ; 369.7 *gomaya-kārṣi*, see *JRAS*, 1955, 17.

82 *sīma karavī baste*, P 136 *sīma karvīnā baste*, A 35 <si>*ma karī baste* he bound in the boundary, that is the act of BS *sīmābandha-* making a magic circle, see P 2958.147, *KT*, II, 118, Ch. c 001, 980, *KBT*, 140 *sīmābandhanī yanumā*, S 2529.123, *KT*, v, 366, *Divy.* 150.21. Tib. renders by *mchams bcad-pa*. The word came also into Sogd. *sym'βntt* (W. B. Henning, *Sogdica*, 60-1) and Perso-Arabic *sīmābandāt* (V. Minorsky, *Marvazī*, p. 124).

83, P 138 *lāḍrrai* hunter, A 36 *lāmḍrrai*, older *JātS* 5 r 4 *ludrrai*, *infra* P 173 *lodrrē*, A 65 *laudrai* from Pkt. **ludraga-*, Pali *ludra-*, *ludda-*, *rudda-*, *rōḷa-*, see H. Lüders, *Philologica indica* 43-4. From Pkt. *ludra-* BS and Hindu Skt. made *lubdhaka-* as from *lobh-* when the hunter's activities were disparaged. Pkt. *-udr-* can have replaced either older *-udr-* or *-audr-* (vr̥ddhi) since the vr̥ddhi *au* may be reduced to *u*. Related are OInd. *rudra-*, adj. *raudra-* (Jaina Pkt. *rodda-*, *ra'udda-*, BS *rudrra-*). The god *Rudra* is *JātS* 20 v 3 *raudrra* (*-au-* as often in later Khot. for *-u-*). The R̥gveda *rudrā-* is the hunter as god (earlier J. Charpentier, *WZKM*, xxiii, 1909, 167) named as the ranger, wanderer in the mountains or on the plains (the hunter is *anuvicaran* in *Divy.* 442.16). The base *rod-*: *rud-* to range, be extended gave the adj. *rudrā-* (used of the wide-travelling *Aśvinā* in RV 8.22.14 *rudrāv*). It occurs in this primary meaning in RV 1.3.3 et al. *rudrā-vartani-* wide-ranging, epithet of the *Aśvinā*. RV 1.180.8 has *virudra-* of the stream of soma *prasrāvana-* (where Śāyana proposed *drāvana-* liquid, or with *rav-* roar, *rorūyamāna-dravana-* with roaring liquid). The frequent RV *ródas-* in *ródasi* the two wide (*urvī* 7.86.1) surfaces, equivalent to the two *pājasī* of the two surfaces of the earth and the sky, belongs with *Av. raodah-* surface, Sogd. *rwδ-*, Zor. Pahl. *rod* **rōδ* surface, see *BSOAS*, XII, 2, 1948, 326, not as in C. Bartholomae, *Altiran. Wb.*, with *raudh-* (naturally the OHG *luzzi*, *luzzi*, *lizzi* of *antluzzi*, from *wlit-*, in OE *andwilita*, is not comparable).

Etymologies of *rudrā-* are numerous, see recently W. Wüst, *Rudrā, m.n.pr.*, 1955, who proposed to connect Lat. *rullus, agrestis*, basing it therefore on what is clearly a secondary trait.

84, P 139 *padamaka*, name of the hunter, A 37 *padīmakā*, the second hunter *infra* 97a *utupalaka*, *Divy.* 437.12, 15 *sāraka* and *phalaka*, *halaka*, *Mahāvastu* II, 102, tr. 99 *utupalaka* and *mālaka*.

90 *ñāysai*, P 146 *ñāvysa*, A 41 *ñyāysi* be defeated, older E *nyauys-*, ptc. *nyauṣṭa-*.

91 *ñavyane*, P 147 *ñavgunai*, A 42 *ñavune* certainly, containing *ñava-* from older *Bhcd.* 54 v 3 *ñatau*, N 77.3 *nyatau*, E *nātātā*, *Samghāṭa-sūtra* 14 b 2 *nāgatā*, H 142 NS 58, 50 r 1, *KT*, v, 87 *nāgatu*, NWPkt. *nigata*, from OInd. *niyata-*

held, firm, sure. Here the *-e* is the pronoun older *te* yours, but the *-n-* is unexplained.

92, P 49 *cabvaña*, loc. sg., into the thicket, bushes, *infra* 103 *cabvaña vastā*, P 163 *cabvaña vīstā*, A 53 *cambvañā vahaiṣṭā*, corresponding to *Divy.* 443.10 *puṣpa-phala-viṭapa-gahanam āsṛtya*. The older form in E 25.420 *svānā kārindā mudā cambuve vīri* the dogs drag the corpses to the bushes. In the Rāma text we find P 2781.28, *KT*, III, 69, *bāysaṇa cambva* bushes in the wood, *JātS* 15 r 3 *baṃhya cambva ysāyasa*. If the name was given in reference to the movement of the foliage the base may be *kamp-* shake, like Khot. *cambula-* shaking; verb found in Sogd. *k'np-* with preverbs Man. "kmb-, Bud. *nk'np-*, *pk'np-*, OInd. *kampate*.

93a *bitcattai* he pierced, A *bitcatte*, but P 150 *uhyāsta* he shot. A pres. *bitcañ-* occurs in P 2893.252, *KT*, III, 93 *bitcañāñā* to be broken up. This gives a base *sčand-* break. The ptc. in *-atta-* indicates **sčandīta-*, unlike the *-st-* of *hatcasta-*, *vatcasta-*, *gatcasta-* and N 16.46 *nitcaste*.

93b P *khaudala*, A 44 *khaudala*, C omits, sharp applied to a sword, only here. *JwP* 49 r 4, *KT*, I, 141 has *hvakhāmdalaja āstai*, BS *ārūka* bone from a boar's tusk (?). A medicinal *ārūka-* could contain the word *āru-* boar (or be supposed to contain it) and *hva-* could be from the IE *su-* (for which Khot. uses *pāsa-*). That would give *khāmdala-* sharp point, and correspond here to *khaudala-*. *Divy.* 438.24 has *utkṛtta-mūlam śiraḥ kṛtvā*.

95 *aḥa* noose, *pāsa-*, older *ahva-*, BS *pāsa-*, Tib. *zags-pa*, see *BSOAS*, XXIII, 1, 1960, 16.

97a *uttapalaka*, P 155 *upattalaka*, A 48 *uttāpalakā*, the second hunter, *Divy.* *phalaka-*, *halaka-*, Gilgit MS *phalaka-*, Tib. *spañ-leb-čan* possessing a board, *spañ*, *spañ-leb* board.

97b *bahāyasa*, A 49 *byahāysi*, P *byahā<ysa>* hunter, from *byaha-* hunting with second component *-āyasa-* as in *hīnāyasa-senāpati*; Av. *navāza-*. The base is *vay-* to chase, Sogd. *w'ywōk*, MPeT *w'ywōg*, Oss. Dig. *uājūn*, Iron *uāin* to run, see W. B. Henning, *BSOAS*, XI, 3, 1945, 471, OInd. *vēti*, *vyānti*, Lit. *vejū*, *vjūti*.

98 *paśg*, P 157 *paśg*, A 49 *parśg* he served, verbal *parś-*, pres. P 3510.7.8, *KBT*, 52 *pāryasā* . . . *paṛśidā* the servants serve, beside *pāryasa-* servant.

100 P 159 *ñūve*, C 101 *ñāūve*, but A 51 *mūde* he dwelt. This meaning would support *ni-auk-* against *ni-yauk-* unless two forms *auk-* and *yauk-* are admitted: OInd. *ok-*, Av. *aoḥaya-* (?), Sogd. *ywōk*, see *Indo-Iranian Journal*, II, 2, 1958, 153. Khot. ptc. *ñūda-* in *añūta-* unaccustomed, pres. *ñūj-*, incoh. *ñūs-*, see *KT*, IV, 36 (23.15, 17).

101 *hāsarya mālakya guḍa*, P 160 *hāsarya mā<la>kye gūḍe* interpreted by A *pha rihāsakye* many secrets. In *hāsarya* could be traced *hā* with a base *śar-*, if found in *śārṣṭai*, *jāya-śāṣṭa* probably *prahāna-sālā* (see *BSOAS*, XV, 3, 1953, 532, *JRAS*, 1955, 24); and Staël-Holstein 27 *hasirma* if it means covering. That is, although with unclear *ś-*, a cognate of OInd. *śarana-*, *śarman-*, possibly *sālā*, and verbal Lat. *celo* and others. Then *hāsarya* is sb. or adj. secret.

The word *mālakya* is probably to be connected with *mālai* attested in

P 2925.9, *KT*, III, 100 *svrrai u mālai ṣṭika tī jsā jāvā tṭyau ysyai hūrāka sa khū ācārī prrabhā*. This cannot yet be fully translated: the *svrrai* and *mālai*, *ṣṭikā* (commentary) likewise prayers (to *jāpa*- prayers) giving the taste of those like Ācārya-prabha. Here *mālai* is in a list of objects of study, possibly a derivative from BS *mālya*-, *mālā* used often at the end of titles of books, as in *yoga-mālā* a medical text, *jātaka-mālā*, *ratnāvadāna-mālā*; *Si*. 1 v 5 inst. pl. *yauga-maulyo* with collections of medical courses.

110 *khāi*, P 172 *khai*, *infra* 138, 159 *khai ttuve*, P 211, 240 *khai ttuvai*. Corresponding to 159 *rana tī jsā khai ttuve* A 104 has *ramnā tī jsām vāstā* jewel and likewise robe, *Divy*. 446.28 *cūḍāmani*-, 449.13 *vastrāni*. In *khāi*, *khai* may occur **xāvya*- from *xap*- to cover in *khapa* covering, see *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1954, 146-55 from *kap*-.

A base *tau*- : *tu*- to cover is known in Khot. *tturaka*- covering of a bow, see *BSOAS*, XXIII, 1, 1960, 33; this would give *ttuvaa*- covering, hence in *khai ttuve* there is a dyadic phrase (rather than a compound).

111a *dr̥rautta hamī* can fly, A 61 *hamḍrrāysī* moving in space. The base may be the *draf*- in *Zor. Pahl. Gr. Bd.* 105.7 *drafš*-, *Bal. drafš*-, *NPers. dirafš*- to shake, with the motion specialized to fly. The Khot. present is *drāh*-.

111b P 61 *harga* free, see *AM*, NS, VII, 1-2, 1959, 17-18.

113a *parabyñūta* turned over, P 175 *parapyauutta*, A differs, to *Si*. 5 r 3 *parabyñūta*, BS *viparyasta*-, Tib. *ldog-ste* reversed: *byñh*: *byñūta*- change, transfer, translate from *abi*- or *vi*- and *yaup*- (from R. E. Emmerick) in *Sogd. ywp*-, *pšwp*- to exchange, *pšyofs*- be changed, *Matt.* xvii, 2 *μετεμορφώθη* (W. B. Henning, *Sogdian texts of Paris*, 720; *Soghd. Texte*, I, 16.7; Henning, *BBB*, p. 63).

113b, P 176 *hārrvā*, A 63 *hārva*, possibly the *-ā* is from *-ū*, suffixed *u* and, rather than a suffix *-aka*-. Similarly *infra* C 120, P 185 *hārrvā āmāca*, A 72 *hārva hvanḍi*. These are the *śreṣṭhins*, merchants, bankers.

114a *gauṣta* in hand, P 72 *dīṣtā*, OKhot. Kha. i.185 a, a 3, *KT*, III, 155 *śśā ggoṣtā phānā* a handful of dust, see *BSOAS*, XIII, 4, 1951, 931. *Infra* A 133 *pharhye gauṣtā* jars in hand, P 5538 a 64, *KT*, II, 129, *AM*, NS, XI, 1, 1964, 25 *gauṣti* in hand, P 2897.43, *KT*, II, 116 *gauṣta*, Ch. 00327.4, *KT*, II, 52 *gāmṣta* to *Wakhī gawust*, OInd. *gabhasti*-; Av. *gava*-, *Zor. Pahl. gw*' **gav* hand. Khot. *-ṣtā* from *-sti*-, as E *ggūṣtā*- flesh, *NPers. gōšt*, from **gau-sti*-.

114b *avayseda* ignorant, A 64 *abīysādi* unawakened, but here P 177 *edrrau jsa dr̥rauma*. For *avaysāmda*- note Ch. 00268.147, *KBT*, 66 *jiḍi pāci avaysāmdī ṣṭāna hajvatte prrari ni butte* then being ignorant in folly, he does not understand the nature of wisdom, *ibid.* 134 *avaysāmdī aysmū kiṇa* because of ignorant mind. For *abīysāmda*- unawakened cf. C *Vajr.* b 13 *abīysādye gāttrani* from the unawakened *gotra* (inherent buddha quality).

115 A 65 *ñāḍai* I drew down, to C *Vajr.* b 57 *nyāḍi hastamā bumi* he has secured the best *bhūmi*-stage. Possibly this is from *ni-kān*- to put down, *kan*- to throw, put; P 5538 a 46, *KT*, II, 128 *ñāḥa* plan (?), see *AM*, NS, XI, 1, 1964, 25.

116, P 180 *aga spatīra* limbs twitch, but A 67 *kaurka spatīri* where *kaurka* is from *kura-* by *-ka-* suffix, Zor. Pahl. *kēr*, Nānī *kur*, *kor*, Bīābānakī *kūr* (G. Morgenstierne, letter of 1 January, 1959).

117a *cadane raha*, P *cadana raha*, but A 67 *bveyāstye rahā: bida* on the bright chariot. See also *supra* C 55 *cada*. In *cadana-* bright can be recognized **čandana-* shining, to OInd. *candra-* with suffix variation as in Khot. *nauma-* soft, Av. *namra-*, NPers. *narm*; further to Lat. *candeo*. OIran. *ča-* is more usually Khot. *tca-*, but neither *ca-* here nor the *-nd-* in place of *-n-* from *-nd-* seems sufficient ground to claim a loan-word. See *JRAS*, 1942, 16; *ibid.*, 1949, 2-4; *BSOAS*, XIII, 4, 1951, 926-30.

117b *vare*, not *care*, as P 181 *vare*, A 68 *varai*, though the *v-* here in C approaches *c-* in form.

118a A 68 *būsā* jests, *infra* 129, P 197 *būsā*, A 68 *būsā*, older *Suv.* 65 a 5, *KT*, v, 116 nom. sg. *būsā*, BS *hāsya-*, E 24.24 pl. *būsā*, 2.91 inst. pl. *būšyau*. For a connexion with Armen. *zbōsanem* to be merry, see *Revue des Études Arméniennes*, NS, II, 2, 'Iranian in Armenian'.

118b A 69 *kę huđi* corresponds to C *hašda* (so for *haštu*) *yūde* gave a report, possibly to be compared with P 2781.73, *KT*, III, 71 *sīyem kę* I learned to think (?).

119a *būjsana baiđa*, A 70 *būjsanā bedā* at the time of festivity, where *būjs-* is to enjoy, feast, to OInd. *bhog-*.

119b A 71 only *yauđāmvaḥva* for a BS *yodhopaḥva* living by fighting.

122a *janava-kāya-* from BS *janapada-* and *kāya-* multitude of people; BS has *jana-kāya-*.

122b A 73 *dīsa peštāmdā pale* they set up around chowries and banners, from **pari-stāta-*, with *-s-* preserved as in *vistāta-*. For *dīsa* conjecturally, see *BSOAS*, x, 3, 1940, 592.

122c A 74 *daukye* banners (?), equivalent to BS *patākā-*. It may be traced to a base *dvag-*, from a variant *daug-* to flutter, in Av. *δwōž-*, OInd. noun only *dhvaja-* standard, outside Iran. in ONorse *dúkr* cloth, by a development **dāugačā-*. The base *drap-* as in Zor. Pahl. *dlpynd* **drapēnd* hardly suits, since *-r-* would remain.

123a, P 188 *ysāra kūsa* one thousand drums, A 74 *ysāra kūsa*, as in Uigur (*Uigurica*, IV, 20, 239) *ming artuq köwriklār*.

123b *tīla bīna(na)*, P 188 *tīlāe bīnauna*, A 75 *tīle bīnānā* stringed (?) instruments, by conjecture. Oss. Dig., Iron have *tel* wire. Turk Osmanli has *tāl*, *tel* thread, wire. If Ossetic *tel* belongs with Khot. *tīla* the word would be Iranian and borrowed into Turkish, as Saka *thauna-* became Turk. *ton*.

124 *rrvāna* in form, for older *rūna*, as *Bhd.* 55 r 4, P *rauna* (so probably read). For *rrvā* = *rū* note also C *Vajr.* b 49 *namadrūna* from older *nimandrūna-*.

125, P 191 *ysauna*, A 75 *ysāna* beauty, beside the adj. *ysānasta-*, *ysaunasta-* rendering BS *śobhana-*, *śobhita-*, verbal *ysānde* it shines, not he knows, which is expressed with preverb *pa-ysān-* and *ha-ysān-*.

126a, P 193 *avaśunā*, A 76 *avaśuinai* lightning, with OKhot. *Suv.* 65 a 2,

KT, v, 116 *aśunā*, BS *aśani-*, *JīvP* 47 v 2, *KT*, I, 139 *aśūna*. The form *avaśunā* may be taken as from **avāśunā* by umlaut from *aśunā*, possibly contaminated with *ava-* water, cf. *avātsare* apsarases.

126b *dā-guṇe*, P 193 *dā-gūna* flame-coloured (used also of the white umbrella of a monarch), but A 77 *ysara-gūni* yellow-coloured.

128a, P 196 *sūja*, A 77 *suja*, the name of the wife of Śakra, older E 24.106 *suse*. *Supra* A 65 *sūjā*, *JātS* 12 v 1 *sūja*. Pali similarly *sujā*, but BS *śaci*, whence Toch. A *śasi*, *śaci*, and Toch. B II 184, 230, Uigur (*Uigurica*, II, 22) *saḡi qatun*.

128b, P 196 *tāha amadai* seated fittingly, C *sa(tta) tāha auna(dai)*, A 78 *sa(tta) tta(ha) ṣṭānai*. This assumes that *tāha* from pronoun *ta-* is like *tāhirai*, *tāharai*, BS *samyak*, Tib. *yañ-dag, des-par*.

129a, P 197 *khaysana khaṣṭauda*, A 80 *khāysani khaṣṭāmdā* they drank a drinking.

129b A 78 *pyañā* inf. to scatter from **pati-kan-*, as *pārān-* from **parā-kan-*, NPers. *parāgandan*.

129c *hīyāuda ys(ī)raka hīya b(ā)ve*, P 198 *hīyāuda ysīraka hīye bāva*, A 68 *hīyāmdā ysīraki hīye bāve* they sprinkled the roots of their heart, that is, they rejoiced. *Infra* 204 3 sg. pret. fem. *hīyā utca* she poured out the water, corresponds to A 139 *nīsā tvā utci* she threw (= poured) out the water. This is then *hīya-* from *hixta-* as Av. *hixta-* to hark- to pour, OInd. *sek-* : *sikta-*. But E 5.106, 10.7 *hīyā* is dyadic with *basta-* bound from *hay-* : *hī-* to bind.

130 *tcarrāka*, lost in P, *cakravāka* duck, type of conjugal fidelity. C 32 *aṣṇai tcīrauka u tara* pigeon, duck, and partridge, *ibid.* 3 *tcīrāka*, O 123 *tcīrauka*, P 2022.14, *KT*, III, 43 *jsīrauvā*, older E 23.135 *tcīrau*, 21.16 *tcīrauka*. Zor. Pahl. *Vid.* 2.42 *Ḥhrow'k *caxravāk*; Pali *cakkavāka-*, Hindī *cakvā*, Tib. translated by *ñur-ba*.

131 P 199 *haña ā haña* ever in the same birth from older *Suv.* 24 r 6 *hamiña*, BS *eka-*, BM Or. 11344.16.3 *hamiña*, loc. sg. to *hama-* same; also Staël-Hol. 58, *KT*, II, 75 *haña ysītha*, Ch. ii 004, 4 r 2 *haña baḡḡa* at the same time. But from *handara-* other, loc. sg. *hadaña*.

133a *ñahara*, P 203 *avamauna*, A 82 *animūni*, *infra* P 205 *ñahara*, A 82 *ñahira*, indicates a hostile attitude. P 203 *avamauna* is BS *avamāna-* contempt; A *animūni* has replaced *ava-* by *ani-* possibly influenced by *a-* with *nimāna-* regret. The preverb *ña-* is a later form of *ni-*: C *Vajr.* b 58 *ñaharka* is older *Suv.* 64 b 5 *niharkā*, BS *nigraha-* restraint. The base *nihalj-* is from *ni-θrang*, *ni-θarg-* from *θrang-* to press. Khot. **nihara-* could represent **niharga-*, as *mura-* bird is from **murga-*, in Av. *mərəya-*. Then P 5538 a 17, 27, *KT*, II, 126-7, *AM*, NS, XI, 1, 1964, 24, *hatharā* trouble could be **hamθarga-* beside P 3513, 68 r 4 *hamharka*, BS *saṃkaṣa-*, see *supra* C 65. Then *-hara-*, *-thara-* would require a base *θrang-* with *-g-*, not *-k-*. For *hathara-* a connexion with *θarb-* was envisaged *AM*, NS, XI, 1, 1964, 24.

133b P 205 *tsaikṣū* for *ttraikṣa-* sharp.

135a, A 83 *asalāmma*, P 206 *asalāma* from a Pkt. **a-saloma-* or **a-saṃloma-* not with the hair, cf. *anuloma-* and *pratiloma-*, Pali *anuloma-*, *paṭiloma-*.

135b A 83 *gachānām*, *Si.* 125 v 2 *gachānām jsa*, Tib. *gdun*s misery (Skt. 72 v 2 omits).

136a, P 207 *gara-vachīśg* dwelling in the mountains, but A 84 *garā-vadade*, of a city, built in the mountain, *Divy.* 445.23 *kārvaṣika-* from *karvaṣa-s* hilly region. In *vachīśg* we may have either *va-* or *pa-* with *-chīś-*, that is a palatalized initial *kh-*, hence a Khot. base *khaiz-*, attested in *pachīś-* to make, as a polite word for *yan-*, or *padim-*.

136b A 84 *parau pīhīyaudā* they rejected the command, rebelled, *pīhīya-* ptc. to *pihej-* in *Si.* 102 v 5 *pihejāma*, BS *saṃdhārana-*, Tib. *hgags-pa* to stop.

137 *haḍe* trouble (?): C *kh(v)ai haḍe ma hīsī attara* corresponds to P 209 *khvai ma hīsīdai* *dakha haysgame*. Hence *haḍe* is P *dukha-* trouble, and *attara* is P *haysgame* distress. Then in *haḍe* we could see the connexion of Zor. Pahl. *artīk* attack, Pāzand *ardī*, see *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1959, 105; *ibid.*, 1960, 88, or **fra-rti-*. C *attara* is likely to come from BS *antarāya-* obstacle; note *Divy.* 450.1 *jvītiā-ntarāya-*. See also P 2834.46, *KBT*, 46 *haḍā*.

139a *m(ā)ma*, P *māma*, voc. sg., mother, *infra* 198 *māmā*, A 136 *amai*.

139b *nārrvā*, uncertain, translated as from **an-ā-ruxtaka-* unbroken, base *raug-*.

139c P 212 *haudvī*, uncertain, taken as greatly feared, as containing *hu-* and the base *dvay-* of Av. *dvaēthā* threat, and *dvai-ś-*, Av. *dvaēśah-*, OInd. *dveśas-*, Khot. H vii 150, 1 v 7, *KT*, v, 99, N 141.37 *duiṣṭā*.

141 *agūhastā* invincible, as BS *Lal.-vist.* 332 (Lefmann), 242 (Vaidya) *nārūyana iva durdharsaḥ*. *Infra* A 153 *agūhastā khū kyesarā sarau* invincible as a *kesarin* lion. Here P 214 *agvehasta*, A 86 *agvihastā*. This is from *khad-*: *khasta-* to strike, also in *guhei*, *pihei* (*Samghāṭa-sūtra* 14 a 1), *Si.* 136 r 5 *guhāme jsa* BS *ḷṣata-*, Tib. *rdol-ba*, E *pāhastā-*. Elsewhere Av. *zad-*, NPers. *zastan*.

142a, P 216 *pāṣṭauda*, A 87 *pārṣṭa*, *Divy.* 447.30 *udaram sphoṭayivā*; also P 2783.64, *KT*, III, 75 *gara ttrairkha pārṣṭa* burst the mountain peaks, P 2024.37, *KT*, II, 77 *pāṣṭāmdū*. The *-rṣṭa-* occurs also in Kha. ii 29a, b 5, *KBT*, 10, *burṣṭa-*, and Kha. i.219, 1 v 2 (omitted from *KT*, v) *bārṣṭa-*, E 21.35 *birṣṭa-*, with pres. *Vajr.* 2 b 2 *buṣḍā* bursts, rendering BS *chedaka-*, *Si.* 138 v 1 *berṣḍā*.

142b *pajarrūṣṭāda*, P *parajūṣṭauda*, but A 87 *ñūṣṭyāmdī*, *Divy.* 448.1 *antrair veṣṭitam*. The meaning is to fasten around, hence the preverb is *pari-* as in P. C *Vajr.* b 41 *jūṣṭi* 1 sg., I join, I attack is likely to be from *yauṣ-ś-*, base *yaug-* to join. This occurs also, rather than *paṣṭ-*, in *ñūṣṭya-* from **ni-yauṣ-ś-*. *Si.* 144 r 2 *ñūṣṭāñā*, Tib. *phur-la*, 153 v 1 *ñūṣṭyāñā*, 153 v 1 *ñūṣṭāñā*, Ch. 00268.137, *KBT*, 66 *ñūṣṭye basti*. In *parajūṣṭa-* the *j-* from older *y-* has been kept.

144, P 220 *śanttara*, P *śāstyakarā* for a BS *śāntikara-* creating peace.

145, P 221 *pajavaṣṭā*, A 92 *pamjsivaṣāri*, from *pancavārṣika-*, the quinquennial assembly, see *BSOAS*, XIII, 4, 1951, 930, *KT*, IV, 17.

145a *ḍīnū gūhg*, P 221 *dvīnai gūhg*, A 93 *ḍīnū gūhg*, pl., milch cows, with *-ū* for older *-uvā* from *-uve*, Av. *daēnu-*, OInd. *dhenu-*.

145b A 90 *dridarāṣṭa ysūnām* we will pour into the fire. The word *dridara-*

may correspond to Pali *tividha-* as epithet of the threefold fire, familiar from Vedic times.

146 *re khauña*, P 222 *rrī khauña*, A 90–1 *re khumāña* veins must be opened, *Si.* 150 v 4 *rrāvī khāña*, *Tib. rca gar-zin*, *Si.* 128 v 5 *re*, BS *sirā*, *Tib. rca*. Suśruta has *sirā-mokṣa-*, and BS has *sirām mok-* to open veins. The word Khot. *rrāv-*, *rrām* (*Si.* 103 v 3), *re*, *rrī* is in MPaT *rhq*, MPeT *rg* (W. B. Henning, *Sogdica*, 56), *Zor. Pahl. Gr. Bd.* 66.11 *ʿk'n* or *lhk'n* **rahakān*, *rakān*, *Ind. Bd.* (ed. Justi, 19.3) *lg*, K20 *lg* with two dots over *g* **rag*, *Gr. Bd.* 110.8 *lk'n*, *lhk'n*, *Ind. Bd.* 45.18 *lg'n*, *Sogd. Man.* *r'k* (I. Gershevitch, *Grammar of Man. Sogdian*, § 399, *JRAS*, 1942, p. 232, n. 6), NPers. *rag*, Armen. *erak*.

The verb is *khā-* to open, with *-um-* suffix also *khum-*, quoted *BSOAS*, xxiii, 1, 1960, 35 as cognate with *kā-* in Oss. Dig., Iron *kom*, in older place-names *kam*, mouth, from **kāma-*, and Dig., Iron *argom* open, clear, Mingrel loan-word *argam* clear. Possibly RV *khā-* opening, and *khā-* source, Av. *xā-*, Khot. *khāhā-supra* 57a belong here.

147, P 223 *usphīradai*, A 91 *uphīraṃdai* (with *-phv-* for *-sph-*) spout upwards. So C 10–11, *KT*, III, 34 *uska asphīraca jahvā sphālya-gūna* upwards splashing crystal-coloured in the fountains; with *is-* in P 2956.42, *KT*, III, 38 *isphīraciña*.

148a *tcāra* fat, *Divy.* 448.18 *vasū*. Here A 95 *dapha* it can.

148b, P 224, A 93 *hava* offering, from Pkt. **havva-*, from older *havya-* in BS, Pali.

150 *paṣagaḡāra* for **paṣagāra*, P 227 *praṣagāra*, but A 95 *prabhāndā*. Here *pratisamskāra-* means acting against. For the Khot. form note NWPkt. *Dharmapada BSOAS*, xi, 3, 1945, 511 *ṣaḡara*, Pali *samkhāra* (ed. J. Brough, *The Gāndhārī Dharmapada* § 46, *saghara*).

152, P 230 *aga ṣāḡai nāvai*, A 97 *agi ṣāḡai nāve* stiffness seized the limbs, only here: connexion with Sogd *ṣx*, Pašto *ṣax* stiff suggested by I. Gershevitch. A similar phrase is used E 2.57 *rrīysai nāte* trembling seized him.

153 *ausārma*, P 231 *ausairama*, A 97 *auserma* vital basis. The corresponding *Divy.* 448.23 has *prāṇāḡ* vital breaths. The word occurs also in P 2925.8–9, *KT*, III, 100 *draywā pālyā artha ausairma bāyāka* explaining the meaning and the *ausairma* in the three *piṭakas* (*bāyāka* leader, note BS *naya-nīti-*, and *neya-* of analysis). The sense would seem to be essence or basis, and may contain a second component *ārama-* from *ram-* to rest; the *Zor. Pahl. doṣārm* affection, *vallabhya-*, seems to contain a similar word. The first component could be *orsa-* desire.

155a, P 234 *byūṣṭa*, A 100 *brrūṣṭā* to trouble, interfere. Older E 21.14 *brūškā* troublesome, 24.26 *brūṣcāte* he troubles. The adj. is used of a road P 2891.6, *KT*, III, 79 *pada daṃdā brrūṣki ṣṭe* the road is so rough; of pain in P 2893.148, *KT*, III, 88 *brrūṣkya vṇā jīṃdā* removes severe pain; a compound in P 2927.40, *KT*, III, 104 *brruṣka-aysmva* with rough minds.

155b only A 101 *padāṃdi*, 3 pl., *hala padāṃdi* they placed a pit, to the 3 sg. pret. fem. P 2834.49, *KBT*, 46 *gatsa padā* she placed him in the hole, from **pāti-dā-* and 3 pl. *-āṃdi* from *-ātāndā*, as *nāndā* they took.

155c, P 234 *khasta*, *infra* 157 *khu hā khasta hadā* when the day arrived, A 101 *khvai hā khaste bādā* : verb *khah-* : *khasta-* move, with preverb Ch. 1.0021 a, a 2, *KT*, II, 53 *uskhasta-*, and H MBD 23 a 12, *KT*, v, 66 *naṣkhasta-* (beside *naṣkasta-*). See *BSOAS*, XIV, 3, 1952, 428.

157, P 236 *kasaujśvā*, A 102 *kasājśvā* in the inner chambers, equivalent to BS *antaḥpura-* which is used here A 102 *aṃttapūra-*. The word is a derivative by suffix *-ājsa-* from *kasā-* inner part, corner, in *tcūratasa-* rendering BS *caturasra-* (*Abhidharmakośa* III, 55), Oss. Dig., Iron *k'ās* inner part, hearth, OInd. *kāśas-*, see *Jñānamuktāvalī* : *commemoration volume in honour of Johannes Nobel*, 41.

158 A 104 *thākye* power, *bīśai ustami thākye ālamgryādi śairkā* they adorned her finely to the utmost of their power. The meaning is got from *Av.-dh.* 18 v 2 where occurs the series *daṣṭa samñā* and *thāka*, and 19 v 4 the series *kārāttā*, *virśā*, *thāka* and *upāya* ; and *JātS* 13 v 2 *virśā ādara thāka*, possibly from a base *θāg-* beside the nasalized *θang-* to stretch.

159a *kṣama jsa* please from me, where as often the pronoun *-m* is absent before *jsa*.

159b *pāysa-* surface, breast, see *BSOAS*, XII, 2, 1948, 323–6 ; XIII, 1, 1949, 136 ; M. A. Mehendale, *BSOAS*, XXV, 3, 1962, 597–9, on OInd. *pājas-* and *pājasyā-*. The Khowar loan-word *pāz* means breast. Here *pāysu* has coalesced with the following *vīra* as in *JātS* 20 v 4. Ossetic has both D *fāzā*, Iron *fāz* side, and D *fāzā*, I *fāz* plain. The translation of OInd. *pājas-* by body (S. D. Atkins, *JAOS*, LXXXV, 1, 1965, 9–22) is unacceptable.

160 *vāla-* enclosure from Pkt., Jaina Pkt. *vāḍa-*, BS, Pali *vāṭa-*, Hindi *bār* fence. *Divy.* 288.15 has *maṇḍalavāṭa-*.

161 *pajāti rrauda* of the Pancāla king ; in the *Mahāvastu* version Sudhanu has wives of the Kuru and Pancāla kings (II, 102, tr. 99).

163 *jūhaujaka*, fem., lover, from *jūh-* to be excited, love, freq., here ptc. *jūhāna-* with fem. *-ḥā-*.

164, P 247 *pahauna* word, A 109 *pahyānā*, dyadic in C *Vajr.* b 65 *parau pahauna*, older E 23.92 *patāhvāno . . . nāte* he accepted the charge.

166a, P 251 *śvāra* he, A 109 *śīrqa*, from *ṣa-* with *-āra-*, with *-ār-* to *-ūr-* to *-vār-*.

166b, P 251, A 110 *brrauda* most beloved, from older *Suv.* 64 b 1 *bryāndama-*, E 2.5 *bryāndama-*.

166c *avala-ḍimāna*, P 251 *avala-<ḍi>mana*, A omits. Since 169 and P 255 *havamana gara vī* in the Himavant mountain, corresponds to A 111 *hamavaṃḍi gīri*, it seems possible that the city of Druma, called in the *Mahāvastu* II, 101.9 *nirati-* place of sport, should here be called by a metathesis *avala* for *alakā* the city of Kubera (see *BSOAS*, XXIV, 3, 1961, 477). In *ḍimāna* we have **damanya-* house, abode, by *-ya-* suffix from **damana-* (E 5.5 *damānu*, P 2781.19, *KT*, III, 69 loc. sg. *damñā*) with umlaut crossing the second syllable as *supra* 68 *hījsara*, and *yśirra-* *Av. zaranya-* gold, *hīšana-* iron. The word *ḍimāna-* also in D V 4 r 2, *KT*, v, 259 *ḍimanāṣṭa*, Hedin 60 a 3, *KT*, IV, 163 *ḍimam*.

167, P 252 *vaṣanaurau* inst. pl. adj. epithet to *yakṣas* and *nāgas*, only here.

The context suggests destructive or injurious, which leads to a **ava-fśana-bara-* to Av. *fśānaya-* to wrench. For *-aura-* note *uysnora* from **uz-ana-bara-*.

168, P 254 *kṣārīnā nāva* alkali streams, and *infra* 182 *kṣā(rī)ja ttajsaca*, B 8 *kṣārīje ttajsace*. A Bud. *naraka* river *kṣāranadī taranginī* is described *Śikṣāsamuccaya* 75, tr. 80 and is named in Khot. E 5.61 *kṣāranatī*, the *Vaitaraṇī* (W. Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder*, 204), Pali *khārodikā nadī*. For Iran. Sogd. P 30 *wyzt'ry* 'w'zh (I. Gershevitch, *Grammar*, § 1056).

169a, P 256 *havamana gara vī*, A *hamavaṃḍi giri* loc. sg., with *-amava-* replaced by *-avama-*. Older E 2.66 *himavanda-*, P 2783.60, *KT*, III, 75 *hamavaṃḍā garā vī*. The name of the *yakṣa senāpati* is Ch. c.001, 1008, *KB*T, 141 *himavaṭ mistā yakṣānā spāta*.

169b *prrueye*, P 257 *prruīye*, A 111 *prruīyai* piece. As a measure in medical texts *Sī.*, *JwP* and P 2893, but in P 2891.24, *KT*, III, 80 piece. The base may be *raug-* break.

170a A 113 *āśī skamḍhīnā dva kathiri* two axes formed like the shoulder-blades. Here *kathira-* axe is like Khovar *kuter-* axe (G. Morgenstierne, 'Some features of Khovar morphology', *NTS*, XIV, 1947, 16), but BS *kuṭhāra-*, Pali *kuṭhārī*, *kudhārī*. Khot. also P 2936.9, *KT*, III, 109 *kauthaira hīsam jsa vadaidī* axe made of iron. In *āśī* is likely a Pkt. loan-word to OInd. RV *āmsya-*, *āmsiya-* adj. to *āmsa-* shoulder, whence later Kumaonī *āśī* scythe, Hindi *hāsiyā* sickle, Guj. *hāsw* hoe from **āmsya-*, see R. L. Turner, *A comparative dictionary of the Indo-Aryan languages*, Fasc. I. Here *āśī* indicates an older **āmsya-*.

170b A 113 *phyastī* peaks occurs in two meanings: (1) be pointed, as here and P 2891.23, *KT*, III, 80 *phyaste*; (2) to shine, in Ch. 0048.46, *KB*T, 73 *khū gara ysarni phyasta* shines like a golden mountain, see *KT*, IV, 131 for Bud. parallels. Similarly the base *taig-* be sharp and shine.

170c A 113 *bīma* rock, also P 2891.23, *KT*, III, 80 *bīmi*, 38 loc. pl. *bīmvā*, adj. 26 *bīmīla*; Av. *vaēma-*, Zor. Pahl. *vēm* (*Gr. Bd.* 19.15), Insc. Hājjiābād 13, Parth. *wym* beside Pers. *drky*, Armen. *vēm*.

173, P 261 *dvāsa-pacada-vī* twelve kinds (of mountains) for him.

174 A 116 *nāmka* soft, smooth, freq., older *nauka*, E 4.89 *naunika-*.

175 *pamatha pūna jsa* with arrow, dyadic; *Sī.* 144 r 5 *pammamthā*, BS *śalya-*, E 14.73 pl. *patāmamthānā*, from *manθ-* to twirl. The older form of *pūna* is *pūrna-* from **paruna-* see *BSOAS*, XXIV, 3, 1961, 472.

177a *nūvara-kaus(t)a pāsta*, B 1 *nūvara-kausṭa pāsta*, A 117 *nūvarā-kausṭā pāsti* newly-flayed skin-coat from the context. In *kausṭa-* flayed can be seen ptc. of *kauš*: *kuš-* to flay, in *JātS* 28 r 2 *kuṣṭāde kamge* they flayed off the skin, Sarikolī *keig-*: *kaxt* to flay (Shaw, quoted by G. Morgenstierne, *NTS*, I, 1928, 39). If the word *pāsta-* here, which is the spelling of all three manuscripts, has OIran. *-ā-*, not *-ā-* from older *-au-*, it could be traced to **pāsta-* possibly **pānsta-* and compared with Av. *pāsta-* from **pānsta-*, if that is correctly explained by the Pahlavi gloss *pōst*. But if here *pāsta-* is from an older **pūsta-* it can be directly compared with OPers. *pavastā-* envelope, Zor. Pahl. *pōst* skin, ultimately Khot. *pūstaa-* book (from BS *pustaka-*, Toch. *postak*).

177b *prrahausḍā* 3 sg. pret. fem. she put on, with *ṣḍ* written for *ṣt*, B 1 *prrahaundya*, for *-auṣṭa*, A 118 *prrihausḍe* present 3 sg., to *prahauy-* : *prahoṣṭa-*.

178 *hausḡ* she carried off, to *hoṣ-*, *haus-* in E 23.308 *hoṣṭāndi* (not *ttuho-*) they took away, *Suv.* 63 b 6, *KT*, v, 115 *hausvīndā ysāvīndā* dyadic, BS *haranti*, H 142 NS 58, v 1, *KT*, v, 88, N 105.40 *hoṣi<ndi> bāvīndi*, BS *upanāmyate*, P 2781.51, *KT*, III, 70 *sījsa jsām dajagrraiva hauṣṭe* Daśagrīva carried off Sītā, this is the act *harana-*. Also *JātS* 34 r 1 *hoṣḡ* ravishes. The base is *fra-vāzaya-*.

179 *aysgana-rūvyē* in vulture form, B 4 *aysgana-rūvri*, A *aysgini-rūvya*, older E 14.35 *uysgana-*, see 'Indago ariaca', *Indian Linguistics*, XXI, 1960, 3, NPers. *zayan*. See *Divy.* 450.13 *pakṣi-rājena*.

181a *ḍījanāṣṭa* downwards, below, B 6 *ḍīja*; similar *-nāṣṭa* in *Si.* 102 v 1 *kālanāṣṭā*, BS *kramam*, *Si.* 138 r 5 *tālanāṣṭā* thither, P 2787.92, *KT*, II, 104 *hālaināṣṭā* towards.

181b B 6 *āye*, A *āyai* mirror, older E *āyāna-*, Zor. Pahl. *advēnak*, MPaT "dyng, Sogd. "ḍ'yi'k, Bal. *ādēnk*, Oss. Dig. *ājānā*, Iron *ājān*.

183a *abyāva* not opened, closed, B 10 *abyā*, A 123 *abyāṣṭi*. That is **a-byāta-* from older *a-* with *viṣāta-*, Zor. Pahl. *viṣātak* open, empty, NPers. *guṣādah*; and *byāṣṭa-* from *byāṣṣ-* to open. Note also *JātS* 9 v 1 *bātai* open from *viṣātaka-*.

183b *kṣade*, Pkt. to BS *kṣata-* wound, to E 8.32 *chadā*.

184a (*t*)*caḍa vī* only C here, but *infra* 194 *tcada* near, A 133 *tcāda*, from **čar-*.

184b B *prruvā*, A 125 *prruvaki*, men of the fortress, *Divy.* 457.2 *gulmaka-sthāna-* frontier post, older *prūva-*, nom. sg. *prū*, pl. *prūva*, see *KT*, IV, 73, *BSOAS*, XIII, 4, 1951, 920-6; NWPkt. *pirova-*.

184c *hesū* upper room, older *halsa-*, here with suffixed *-ū* and, even before *tī jsām*.

186, 204 *pajūṣṭa*, *Divy.* 458.1 *angulimudrā* ring. The older form is E 14.137 *pamjuṣṭa-*, A 135, 140 *pamjuṣṭi*, to Wakhī *plongōšt*, Khovar *pulunguṣṭu*, Yidya *parguṣṭē* (G. Morgenstierne, *IIFL*, II, 239).

189 *naimasta* rubbed, pressed, followed, is possible, but it may be an error for *nahvasta* as in B 16, see 47c *supra*.

192 A 131 *samiṣunā* from a NWPkt. **samezoni-* from *samyak* and *yoni-*, of excellent origin.

196 *byaruttai*, inf., to carry across, see *supra* 113 *parabyrūta*.

197 *phara*, 203 loc. sg. *pharaña*, A 135 *pharhya* jar, pot, *Divy.* 457.29 *ghaṭa-*. Note also the loan-word *gala-* in Hard. 028, *KT*, v, 383 *pāña-galā* water-pot from Pkt. to *pāñiya-* and *ghaṭa-*.

202a *bauśa* smell, P 3513, 7 r 1, *KT*, III, 114 *spyē hīya būsā* scent of a flower, older E *bussā*, *busā*, pl. *buṣṣā*, freq. in medical texts.

202b *apakye* clean, pure, from *apa-*, older *atapyā-* with *-kya-*. Without *a-* in *Av.-dh.* 8 v 1, 2, 9 v 1 *kapī*, with neg. E *agapī*, *atapī*, *atapyē*, *Suv.* 24 v 3 inst. pl. *atapyattetyau* impurities; Toch. *akappi*, BS *asuci-*. This is BS *kalpika-*, *kalpiya-*, and with *a-*.

203 *ḍiṣṭe* he threw, to *ḍiṣ-* throw (and H 142 NS 61, 47 v 3, *KT*, v, 29

uysāśātā he throws up), corresponding to A 138 *nīśāve* he threw, put, *infra* 204b *nīśā*.

204a *uḍa* adult, corresponds to A 139 *ysāḍa*- old.

204b *hīyā* she poured out, A 139 *nīśā* she threw, Av. *hiata-*, see *supra* 129.

205a *strīya* stiffened, A 140 *strrīyi*, ptc. to the base *stramj-*, adj. *striha-* stiff, and *infra* 214 *pastrīya-*.

205b *pacāvxi* 3 sg. pret. fem., she hid it, from **pacatātā yi*. This is ptc. **pacata-* to pres. *pacan-* in P 3513, 67 r 2, *KT*, I, 245 *Suv. pacanūm*, BS *chādayāmi*, and in the sense bestow also P 5538 b 68, *KT*, III, 123 *pacana* 2 sg. imperat., BS *prratsadaya* (for *praticchādaya*); pret. P 2906.27, *KT*, III, 98 *pvīstā pace* dyadic hidden, P 2910.31, *KT*, III, 99 *pvīsta pacai*, P 2801.47, *KT*, III, 67 *pacā* she hid, P 2801.47, *KT*, III, 67 *dī śamde pacena pyīva* removed from concealment under the earth. For the base *kan-* cover, see *Indo-Iranica : mélanges présentés à Georg Morgenstierne*, 10.

205c *pyāña*, inf., to shake, see *supra* 128 to A 79 *ysīra pyāñi* to scatter gold. For the base *kan-* throw, see *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1956, 104-7.

206a *heśū*, A 140 *haiśtū* someone.

206b A 141 *hīyāmdā nādā* lordly man, to *hiye*, BS *svāmī*, *hiyauḍā* lord, see *KT*, IV, 62, Tumšūq 5.6 *hawyendi*.

212 *haḍave* read *haḍā-v-e* days, with pronoun suffixed by *-v-*. If *haḍa* is kept it may be rendered by with many clothes, as cognate accusative.

214 *pastrī* restrained, with *-i* from *-īyā* from pl. *-īye* fem. The base *starg-* is in *JivP* 88 v 1, *KT*, I, 171 *pastarga-*, BS *stabdha-*; pret. *Si.* 1 v 5 *pastrīyāmdā*, 131 v 1 incoh. *pastrīsāme*, Tib. *rīns-pa* stiff, P 2958.90, *KBT*, 42 *pastrīya* revolted. *Supra* 205a *strīya-*.

218 *maurda* wandered, P 2781.27, *KT*, III, 69 *murdāmdā diśg vī* they wandered in all directions, from *mur-*: *murda-* to press. Also P 2801.45, *KT*, III, 67 *hastā sāmḍā murrde* he pressed the elephant's trunk, *Bhcd.* 52 v 1 *vamurda-*.

219 *habvakye*, 223 *habvakya*, A 149 *hambvekye*, pejorative, speech, abuse, possibly from *ham-bav-*, attested in *Samghāṭa-sūtra* H 143 NS 65, *KT*, v, 68 (Konow 4 a 3) 8 r 3 *būtā*, BS Gilgit MS 37, 4 a 5 *āha*, Tib. *gsol-ba* he said. Nominal are P 2781.6, *KT*, III, 68 *buñakya pherde* he spoke words, P 2783.50, *KT*, III, 74 *yuda nera jsa būñe* he spoke with (Rāma's) wife, *ibid.* 50-1 *nera jsa būñe yamde* he speaks with the wife. A connexion with Armen. *hambau* tidings seems likely (*KT*, IV, 98).

220 *dāšta* honoured (?), the dittography of *dā* makes the change to *tśāšta-* calm unlikely; it has been taken to connect with *das-* to get in Av. *dāšta-*.

221a *sa khaṇḍa*, *Divy.* 458.11 *khaṇḍa-śatam* one hundred pieces, but A 150 *dva khaṇḍa* two pieces.

221b Read *khva vā ma śvīda naraume* that milk should issue here (proving innocence).

223 only C, *pajarūna salāva* abuse, older *Samghāṭa-sūtra* 37 a 5, *KT*, v, 76 *pajarūnai hvāñin<dā>* they speak abuse to him, Gilgit MS 37, 33 b 7 *parībhāṣā*,

Tib. *spyos-pa* from *spyo-ba* to blame. The base is *gar-* to celebrate with reversive preverb *pati-ḥar-* to abuse.

To the end only A.

A 150 *āraṣṭā* she reported, *infra* A 154 *auraṣṭai*, from *ā-ḥras-*.

A 153 *kyesarā sarau*, E 6.38 gen. sg. *saruai kesarā*, Hedin 72, *KT*, iv, 25 *śāka kyesara* the Śākya lion, O 110, *KT*, ii, 7 *kyaisara sarau*, Ch. ii 004, 4 r 2 *kyasara sarām*. This *kyesara-* is from BS *kesarin-*, epithet of the lion, and also as sb. lion. See *supra* 46b.

A 156a *peśgramjṣī* adj. of the evening. Older Godfrey 3 b 5, *KT*, iii, 126 *palśārā* evening, *Vajr.* 28 b 3 *paśārā*, BS *sāyāhna-*, *Si.* 149 v 2 *paśā*, Tib. *méchan-mo* night, adj. *Si.* 4 r 2 *paśgramjṣī*.

A 156b *tcāista* heaped, abundant, connected with C *Vajr.* b 42 *ttakjī tcesta tta karma* so his acts are accumulated, P 2897.17, *KT*, ii, 115 *ṣau kharaśau tcaista hayū byāva ma tta yaña* may you lord Kharaśau remember me as an established friend. This *tcaista-* may represent earlier **časta-* or **sčasta-* from *čand-* or *sčand-*. For heap up, note Oss. Dig. *cāndā*, Iron *cānd* heap, mass, multitude; this to a base *kand-* or *skand-* which may be OInd. *skandate* to jump, Lat. *scando* rise.

A 157 *saidrā upaidri* BS *sendra-* and *upendra-*, associate of Indra and secondary Indra. Also *JātS* 2 v 1-2 *śakrā gyastā āstaṃ ci ra seṃdropeṃdra* Śakra *deva* and the others Sendra and Upendra, P 2896.40, *KT*, iii, 95 *śakrā āstana saidraupaidrau jastā hūye* of the *devas* Sendra and Upendra beginning with Śakra *deva*. *Divy.* 567.16 *sendropendrānām devānām*.

A 158a *cvām saittā śamanyau vañi haittara bādā* how does it seem to you, *śramaṇas*, now in former time, corresponding to the cliché, as *Avadānaśataka* 92.5 *kiṃ manyadhve bhikṣavo yo 'sau tena kālena tena samayena*.

A 158b *haittara bādā* former time, *supra* A 30 *haitti bādī*, C 76 *thyarutta* former. So *Manj.* 273, *haittara bādā*. *Vajr.* 43 a 2 *haittā bādā*. Comparison of E *paittaru* later with *paiya* long, BS *cirena*, suggests that this *haittara* former is comparative to E 22.21 *haiyā* (in *haiyā anicca* fleeting are the impermanent things). The two words can be traced to similar derivatives of *fra* and *apa*.

A 159 The *samavadhāna*, summary of identifications, gives: Sudhana = Gautama, Sūryaprabhā = Mahāmāyā, and Dhana = Śuddhodana.

A 160 *pīrū śāstrī* ancient treatise, cited as source of the *avadāna*. The *pīrū* is for *pīrūyā*, as if *-ūvā* passed to *-ū*, cf. *ḍīnū supra* 145a.

THE STORY OF SUDHANA AND MANOHARĀ : AN ANALYSIS OF THE TEXTS AND THE BOROBUDUR RELIEFS

By PADMANABH S. JAINI

(PLATE I)

The story of Sudhana is one of the most popular of the *avadānas* of Northern Hīnayāna Buddhism. There are two main versions of this story, one adopted by the Mahāsāṅghika school and the other by the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda school. The former is preserved in the *Mahāvastu*¹ under the title *Kinnari-jātaka*, and a similar version of this story is found in a Chinese collection called *Liu-tu-chi-ching* 'Collection [of tales to illustrate] the six *pāramitās*', said to have been translated in approximately A.D. 270 (*Taiśhō Tripitaka*, III, no. 152, 44 f.) and accessible to us in Chavannes's *Tripitaka (Cinq cents contes et apologues*, no. 80). The Mūla-Sarvāstivāda redaction is found in a Vinaya text of that school called the *Bhaiṣajya-vastu*.² It was translated by I-ching³ and is referred to as *Ken pen chou* . . . by Chavannes (IV, 133). A Tibetan translation is also found in *Bkaḥ-hgyur*,⁴ a translation of which is available in Schiefner's *Tibetan tales* (44-74). This redaction was bodily adopted by the *Divyāvadāna*.⁵

The Mahāsāṅghika version appears to have been generally superseded by redactions related to the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda version. One such appears in the *Avadānakalpalatā*⁶ of Kṣemendra. Outside India, another is found in the Khotanese (Saka) Buddhist texts,⁷ and towards the beginning of the fifteenth century, a much enlarged form is attested in Pali in recensions of the *Paññāsa-*

¹ *Mahāvastu*, ed. Senart, II, 94-115.

² N. Dutt (ed.), *Gilgi manuscripts*, III, 1, 123-49.

³ *Taiśhō Tripitaka*, XXIV, 59 ff. (c. A.D. 700).

⁴ *Tibetan Tripitaka*, XII, 193-3-5 (Ge 190 b 5 ff.).

⁵ *Divyāvadāna*, ed. Cowell and Neil, XXX, 435-61.

As the *Bhaiṣajya-vastu*, the extant Mūla-Sarvāstivāda text where this story appears, is incomplete, and as the Tibetan translation of it, with the exception of six verses (see p. 541, n. 41, and p. 545, n. 53) and a few minor points (noted by Professor Dutt in *Gil. MSS*) is almost identical with the *Divyāvadāna* version it will not be wrong to treat the latter as an authoritative Mūla-Sarvāstivāda version. I-ching's translation of the *Bhaiṣajya-vastu*, in the light of random comparison made for me by Professor J. Brough, is based on a text not significantly different from the *Divyāvadāna* version (see p. 541, n. 41, and p. 545, n. 53).

On the sources of the *Divyāvadāna* in general, see Huber, 'Les sources du *Divyāvadāna*', *BEFEO*, VI, 1906, 1-37; Lévi, 'Les éléments de formation du *Divyāvadāna*', *TP*, Sér. 2, VIII, 1907, 105-22; Lévi, 'La Drṣṭānta-pankti et son auteur', *JA*, CCXI, juillet-sept. 1927, 103 ff.; J. Przyluski, 'Fables in the Vinaya-Piṭaka of the Sarvāstivādin school', *IHQ*, v, 1, 1929, 1-5. For a complete bibliography on this subject and a comparison of several versions of a similar story from the *Divyāvadāna* (XIII) see Kenneth K. S. Ch'en, 'A study of the Svāgata story in the *Divyāvadāna* in its Sanskrit, Pali, Tibetan, and Chinese versions', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, IX, 3-4, 1947, 207-314.

⁶ *Avadānakalpalatā* of Kṣemendra, ed. with Tibetan text by S. C. Das and S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa (Bibliotheca Indica), II, 319-413. It consists of 337 verses.

⁷ H. W. Bailey (ed.), *Khotanese Buddhist texts*, 1951, nos. 7-12 (pp. 11-39). The Khotanese *Jātaka-stava* (*Khotanese texts*, I, 198-219) devotes eight verses (23 r 1-4) to this story.

jātaka, a collection of 50 'extra-canonical' *jātakas*⁸ forming a major part of the popular Buddhist literature of the South East Asian countries. In later periods the story of Sudhana appears in several vernacular narrative poems (*pyo*) and dramas in Burma and Siam.

No other Buddhist story seems to have enjoyed such wide popularity and, with the possible exception of the *Vessantara-jātaka* and the *Suvarṇasāṅkha-jātaka* (*Paññāsa-jātaka*, no. 53), no other appears to have survived on a popular dramatic stage up to the present day in any Buddhist country.

The three Sanskrit redactions, viz. those of the *Mahāvastu* (*Mv.*), the *Divyaavadāna* (*Da.*) and the *Avadāna-kalpalatā* (*Ak.*), as well as the Chinese and Tibetan translations of it (through the translations of Chavannes ('Chinese A') and Schiefner), were already well known when Oldenburg in 1895 identified reliefs nos. I, b, 3-20 of the Borobudur⁹ with the *Sudhanakumāravadāna* of the *Divyaavadāna*. The Pali redactions of the *Zimmé Paṇṇāsa*¹⁰ (*Zp.*) and

⁸ The 'extra-canonical' nature of the *Paññāsa-jātaka* was first established by L. Feer in his article 'Les Jātakas', *JA*, 7^e Sér., v, 1875 (section 'Recueils extra-canoniques', pp. 417 ff.). In 1917 L. Finot published a complete concordance of the three recensions of this collection, one in Laotian and two in Pali. Of the last two, one is found in Burma and is called *Zimmé Paṇṇāsa*, and the other is the *Paññāsa-jātaka* found in Siam and Cambodia. For full details see 'Recherches sur la littérature laotienne', *BEFEO*, xvii, 5, 1917, 44-50. H. Deydier in his *Introduction à la connaissance du Laos* gives a brief description of the Laotian version and also states that the story of Sudhana is found in the paintings on the façade of a pagoda near Luang Prabang (p. 112). Both Finot and Deydier believe that these 'extra-canonical' works are of recent date and were composed in Chiang Mai during the fifteenth-eighteenth centuries by the local monks (see p. 535, n. 11).

Only one story of the entire collection has been critically edited and translated so far. This is found in Mme. G. Terral's 'Samuddaghosa-jātaka: conte Pali tiré du Paññāsa-jātaka', *BEFEO*, xlviii, 1, 1956, 249-351. In her introduction Mme. Terral deals at length with the manuscript material of these collections and the peculiarities of their language.

There are three MSS of the Cambodian recension of the *Paññāsa-jātaka* in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, one in Phnom Penh (Terral, op. cit., 266) and one in Colombo Museum Library (obtained from Cambodia in exchange—see *Catalogue of palm-leaf MSS*, I, 1938). Two Laotian *nissayas* of the *Paññāsa-jātaka* (entitled *Ha-sip-zai*) are listed in Pierre-Bernard Lafont's 'Inventaire des manuscrits des pagodes du Laos', *BEFEO*, lxi, 2, 1963. The National Museum at Bangkok has a large number of palm-leaf MSS of the *Paññāsa-jātaka* (in Cambodian characters) hitherto unpublished. During my visit there in 1961 I was able to obtain, through the courtesy of the curator of the Museum, microfilm copies of eight (incomplete) MSS written during the post-Ayuthyan period and two MSS, one in Burmese (*jātakas* 1-17) and the other in Mon (*jātakas* 1-11) characters. I was also able to obtain microfilms of a MS in Laotian characters from the private collection of Dr. Christian Welder. This MS contains six stories and is dated Sakarāj 950 (A.D. 1589), perhaps the oldest MS of the *Paññāsa-jātaka* so far discovered.

⁹ Foucher in his 'Notes d'archéologie bouddhique (les bas-reliefs de Borobudur)', *BEFEO*, ix, 1909, 9-18, confirms Oldenburg's observation and adds that two more reliefs, nos. I, b, 1-2 also depicted the same story. For the purpose of this identification *Mv.* and *Da.* were compared but *Ak.* was not considered of any help as it was composed later than the Borobudur period. See N. J. Krom and T. van Erp, *Beschrijving van Barabudur*, 1920, 219-35, where details of 20 reliefs (Ser. I, b, 1-20, plates I-x) are given and compared with the corresponding story in *Da.* The Saka version was not then known and *Zimmé Paṇṇāsa*, although published in 1911, does not seem to have been consulted. As will be shown below (p. 554, nn. 71 and 75) certain scenes in reliefs nos. 15 and 18 can be satisfactorily identified only by means of the Pali versions.

¹⁰ *Zimmé Paṇṇāsa* (i.e. Chiang Mai 50) edited anonymously and published by the Hanthawaddy Press, Rangoon, 1911. The work, an octavo of 685 pp., has no introduction, critical apparatus, or variant readings.

MSS of *Zp.* are not found, to the best of my knowledge, anywhere outside Burma. In 1961, I was unable to find even a single MS of it in the libraries of Rangoon, Mandalay, and Pagan,

*Paññāsa-jātaka*¹¹ (*Pj.*) were published later, but have remained comparatively unknown. With the publication of a translation of the Saka redaction¹² by Professor Sir Harold Bailey it is now possible to compare the Sanskrit, Saka, and Pali sources. In this article a comparison will be made of these different versions of this story in order to establish their mutual relationship and also to trace the main sources of the Borobudur reliefs (nos. I, b, 1-20) as well as of the popular vernacular versions prevalent in Burma and Siam.

Title: in *Mv.* the story is called *Kinnarī-jātaka*, in *Da.* *Sudhanakumārāvādāna*. In *Ak.* it is called *Sudhanakinnary-avadāna* suggesting a combination of the titles by Kṣemendra. Of the two Pali redactions *Zp.* has *Sudhanukumārajātaka* and *Pj.* has *Sudhana-jātaka*. The editor has kindly confirmed that the Saka text has no title.

Nidāna or 'moral of the story': in *Mv.* the *jātaka* is placed in the mouth of the Buddha who narrates it to the monks to illustrate how even in the past Yaśodharā his wife was won by him 'after great fatigue (*khedena*), great effort (*śrameṇa*), and great valour (*viryeṇa*)'.¹³ In *Da.* the Buddha narrates it to a king to illustrate his great charities, meritorious deeds, and the fulfilment of the *virya-pāramitā*.¹⁴ There is no reference here to Yaśodharā. 'Saka' makes only a casual reference to Yaśodharā: 'He approached Kapilavastu . . . For

I learnt from an elderly Mahāthera, chief abbot of Pagan, that, according to an oral tradition current, in his young days, King Myndon of Mandalay (1853-78) had disapproved of this apocryphal work and consequently very few MSS of it were to be found in the monasteries of Burma. It is not found in Siam, not even in Chieng Mai, possibly the place of origin of this work as the title seems to indicate. In 1962, however, a MS of it consisting of 162 leaves was discovered by the Venerable U Wa Tha Wa in the Zetawun monastery in Monywa (in Monywa district) near Mandalay. I have been able to obtain photographs of this rare MS by the courtesy of the Venerable U Wa Tha Wa and U Maung Maung Tin of the University of Mandalay. The MS is complete and is dated Sakarāj 1169, i.e. A.D. 1807. It is identical with the published *Zp.* and might have been the source of the latter.

¹¹ Three parts containing 15 *jātakas* have been published by the Institut Bouddhique, Phnom Penh, 1953.

An abridged Siamese translation (with the original Pali verses) of the *Paññāsa-jātaka* was first published in Bangkok in 1926. It was published again in 1956 by the Fine Arts Department, and is entitled *Pannyūt Chādok (Paññāsa-jātaka) chabap hō samut haeng chāt* (National Library version). In his preface to the first edition, Prince Damrong states that these stories were composed in Chieng Mai around A.D. 1467-1667. He also refers to the tradition that these stories were not approved of by a king of Burma. The second edition published in two volumes contains 61 stories instead of the traditional 50 found in the Cambodian version.

¹² 'The Sudhana poem of Ṛddhiprabhāva', *BSOAS*, **xxix**, 3, 1966, 506-32. I am deeply grateful to Professor Sir Harold Bailey for his kind permission to use the typescript of his translation in preparing this article.

¹³ *Na bhikṣavo idānim eva Yaśodharā khedena labdhā anyadā pi eṣā mayī mahatā khedena mahatā śrameṇa mahatā viryeṇa labdhā* (*Mv.*, II, 94). The first Chinese version (*Liu-tu-chi-ching*—'Chinese A') gives a totally different *nidāna*. Here the story seems to illustrate not how Gautama obtained his wife, but Chandaka's former rendering of assistance to Sudhana which ultimately made him responsible for helping Gautama to become an ascetic. At the end of the story Chandaka is identified with one of the two monks (unlike *Mv.*, where Chandaka is identified with Vasantaka) who help the prince in his search for Manoharā. Chandaka plays a very minor role in the story, and it is likely that the source lacked the attested *Mv. nidāna*.

¹⁴ *Punar api mahārāja yan mayānuttarasamyaksambodhiprāptaye dānāni dātāni puṇyāni kṛtāni viryapāramitā ca paripūrītā anutārā samyaksambodhir nārādhitā tac chrūyatām* (*Da.*, 435).

Yaśodharā's sake he there narrated a tale in illustration; he related his *pūrvavayoga* (Bailey, 'Sudhana poem', 506). *Ak.*, however, appears to resemble the *nidāna* of *Mv.*, introducing a novel incident in his personal life:¹⁵ 'Whenever the Lord entered his capital city, Yaśodharā, confined to her palace, would, out of despair, try to throw herself from the terrace. The Lord would then save his loving ex-wife [by a glance of great pity]. One day being questioned by the monks out of curiosity the Lord said: Yaśodharā, O monks, on account of her separation from me is afflicted and resorts to such reckless acts. I too, O monks, in the past have experienced great calamities on account of my separation from her'. The Pali redactions give a long *nidāna* in full imitation of a *jātaka* story.¹⁶ Both differ from the accounts given above. Here the Buddha narrates this story to a monk in love with a beautiful woman to show the dangers that a man in love may undergo to obtain his beloved, forsaking his parents, his kingdom, and even endangering his life.

The story: it will be convenient to summarize the *Mv.* and *Da.* redactions separately, as representatives of the two main versions. The variations found in 'Chinese A', closely related to the first version, and in the remaining redactions, associated with the second version, will be noted at the appropriate place.

Kinnarī-jātaka (Mv.)

In Hastināpura there reigned a virtuous king named Subāhu. He had a son (the *bodhisattva*) named Sudhanu, the heir to the throne. His neighbour¹⁷ a king named Sucandrima ruled in Simhapura. This king wishes to perform a

¹⁵ *Tatsatgam āliṅganayor nīrāsā bhrāntākhilāsā viṣamūrcchiteva/
dhr̥tīm vayasayām iva vārayantīm nīrasya saudhāt tanum utsasarja//
Yadā yadā pallavapekalāṅgi dehaṃ samutsr̥ṣṭavasi sañi sū/
tadā tadā manmathamohitām idāṃ dayādracacakṣur bhagavān rarakṣa//*(*Ak.*, 4-5).

The words of *Mv.*, *mahatā khedena labdhā, find an echo in
Mayāpi tasyā vīraheṇa pūrvam janmāntare māravimohitena/
saṃsaktasantiāpanimittabhūtaḥ khedaḥ prabhūtaṃvayasano 'nubhūtaḥ//*(*Ak.*, 8).

¹⁶ 'Kuto nu āgacchasi luddakā' ti. *Imaṃ dhammaḍḍesaṇaṃ satthiḥ Jetavane viharanto ekaṃ ukkaṇṭhitabhikkhuṃ ārabha kathehi. So kira ekadivasaṃhi bhikkhūya caranto ekaṃ itthiṃ uttamarūpadharaṃ divo paṭibaddhacitto hutvā tato nivattetvā ekaṃ antaṃ pattam phapevā adhomukho dummano pajjhāyanto nisīdi. Tadassa sakāyaka(o) bhikkhu taṃ divo 'bhante, tumhākaṃ aphāsukaṃ' ti pucchi. 'Avuso, na me aphāsukaṃ, hiyyo bhikkhācārathāya caranto ekaṃ itthiṃ divo paṭibaddhacitto hutvā tena me ukkaṇṭhitam eva avuso' ti. Te pi bhikkhū taṃ gahetvā bhagavato santike dassesum. Te satthārū 'kiṃ nu kho bhikkhave aniccamānaṃ eva bhikkhuṃ gahetvā āgacchathā' ti vutte taṃ attham ārocesum. 'Saccaṃ kira taṃ bhikkhu ukkaṇṭhitos' ti pucchitvā 'āma bhante' ti vutte, 'mā bhikkhu evarūpaṃ kareyyāsi, taṃ saddhāya pabbajito attano pitaraṃ chaḍḍetvā mama niyyānīke sāsane pabbajitvā kathaṃ kilesarasam gaccheyyāsi? Bhikkhu, mātugāmo nāma anattakaro dujjayo tasmā hi bhikkhu santiliṭṭham duccharitāhammam vinodeyyāsi, kathaṃ ukkaṇṭhitam gaccheyyāsi? Pubbe paṇḍitā mātugāmaṃ nissēya mahantaṃ rajjasiriṃ mātūpiṭṭhānaṃ ca anoloketvā attano jivitaṃ ca agānetvā mātugāmarasena atidukkaraṃ agamaṃsu' ti vatvā tuṅhi ahoṣi. Tehi yācīto atītaṃ āhari. Pj., 29-30.*

The *Zp.* version of this passage is larger than *Pj.* by almost a half and is repetitive and elaborate, showing a certain interest in such items as *samatha*, *vipassanā*, and *asubha-kammaṭṭhāna*. *Pj.* is as usual short and more to the point.

¹⁷ According to 'Chinese A' the two kings are related to each other as father and son, the latter (Nan-lo-shih) being the father of Sudhanu.

sacrifice of all living beings.¹⁸ Hunters gather all kinds of beings with the exception of a *kinnarī*. A competent hunter (name not given)¹⁹ is sent to capture a *kinnarī*.

He goes up to the Himālaya, approaches a hermit in his hermitage where he hears celestial music. He learns from the hermit that it is the singing of the *kinnarīs*, daughters of a *kinnara* king called Druma.²⁰ He learns the name of one of them called Manoharā and also that she could be captured by uttering a truth (*satyavākyaena*).²¹ He utters her true name, thereby making her stand still, captures her, and brings her to the sacrificial enclosure of Sucandrima.

King Subāhu sends Sudhanu to attend the sacrifice. There he falls in love with Manoharā, preaches the doctrine²² to king Sucandrima, rescues her from the sacrifice, and brings her to his capital as his wife.

He is greatly attached to her and neglects his duties, and the citizens prevail upon the king to get rid of her. Consequently, the king bids her depart.²³ She leaves for the Himālaya.

There she meets two hunters called Utpalaka and Mālaka.²⁴ She gives them a ring and a garland, instructing them to give them to Sudhanu if he follows her.

¹⁸ In 'Chinese A' the king of Ni-ho-pien (Sinhapura?) learns from some selfish brahmins that it is possible to go to heaven alive by performing a sacrifice of all beings. The king undertakes this sacrifice. After four months the brahmins put up an impossible condition of including a *kinnarī* among the beings to be sacrificed so that they can escape the blame if the sacrifice does not yield the desired result. In *Mv.* the *ṛṣis* who are invited by the king to inspect the sacrifice and point out any deficiencies suggest that it is incomplete without a *kinnarī* (*pratyavekṣantu bhagavanto yajñāvāṭam kiṃ paripūrṇam na veśi. . . Deva kinnariye āno . . . (Mv., II, 96)*).

¹⁹ Later in the story *Mv.* mentions the names of two hunters, Utpalaka and Mālaka, whom the *kinnarī* meets on her way home in the Himālaya. In 'Chinese A', however, these two are referred to here as 'deux religieux' (p. 294); by an order of the king they are brought to the capital, are fêted, and requested to find a *kinnarī*.

²⁰ This name is not noted in Pali, but appears frequently as a name of a king of the *kinnaras* in Buddhist Sanskrit works. A Mahāyāna text called *Druma-kinnara-rāja-paripucchā-sūtra*, translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva, is reported by Nakamura Hajime in his 'A critical survey of Mahāyāna and esoteric Buddhism', *Acta Asiatica*, VI, 1964, 68.

²¹ *Ṛṣi āha. Satyavākyaena eṭā badhyanti na śaknonti antarahāyitum . . .*

*Dhītā tvam kinnararājasya Drumarājño yaśasvini/
etena satyavākyaena tiṣṭha baddhāsi kinnarī//
Yathā tvam Drumarājasya dhītā Drumeṇa rājñā samvṛddhā/
satyavacanena bhadre Manohare mā padaṃ gaccha// (Mv., II, 96).*

On *satyavacana*, see E. W. Burlingame: 'The Act of Truth (saccakiriya)', *JRAS*, 1917, 429-67; W. Norman-Brown: 'Basis of the Hindu Acts of Truth', *Review of Religion*, v, 1, 1940-1, 36 ff.

In 'Chinese A' Manoharā is named 'Devī (à forme humaine)'. Nor is there any mention of the *satyavacana*; the two monks learn a spell from the hermit, pronounce it, and bring her in a bamboo cage to the capital.

²² *Mv.* lists here the ten *kuśala* and *akuśala karmapāthas*. 'Chinese A' devotes several long passages to the condemnation of brahmins and their sacrifices.

²³ *Rājñā Subāhunā Sudhanukumāro śabdāpito. Putra jānapadā oravanti. Arthārthāni na samanubāsasi yathāpūrvaṃ, Manoharāye . . . pramatto viharasi visarjehi putra eṭāṃ. . . Rājñā ca amātyā āṇatā uparandhatā kumāraṃ . . . Manoharā . . . anujñātā Nīratim kinnaranagaraṃ gamanāya . . . mātāpitrṇāṃ sakāśaṃ . . . (Mv., II, 101).*

²⁴ *Takim . . . duve lubhdaputrā mṛgavyāṃ aṇvanti. Eko . . . Utpalako nāma dvitīyo . . . Mālako nāma (ibid.).*

'Chinese A' again refers to them as 'deux religieux' who had apparently returned to their abode after first having captured her.

Sudhanu leaves in search of her with a companion called Vasantaka,²⁵ meets the two hunters in the Himālaya, and obtains the ring and the garland from them. All four go in search of Manoharā. After crossing several mountains they come to the retreat of the hermit (this time his name is given as Kāśyapa) and beg him to guide them.

The hermit asks a king of monkeys²⁶ to guide them. All four mount him and ride to the city of Druma, called Nirati, on the summit of Mount Kailāsa.

As they all stand outside the city Sudhanu sees some *kinnaṛī* maids gathered to draw water for the purifying bath of Manoharā. The prince secretly puts the ring in one of the pitchers. Manoharā, while being bathed, finds the ring, recognizes it, and reports to her parents.

The prince is received by the king Druma and the lovers are reunited.²⁷ Sudhanu is anxious to return to his parents and is transported there with his wife by a group of Yambhara *yakṣas*.

Sudhanu's father orders funeral rites²⁸ to be performed for the supposedly dead prince. The arrival of the prince brings great happiness to all.

Sudhanakumāravadāna (Da.)

In *Da.*, 'Saka', and *Ak.* the king is called Dhana of Uttarapāñcāla (instead of Subāhu of *Mv.*). In 'Pali' he is called Ādiccavaṃsa. His son is Sudhana²⁹ the *bodhisattva*. The mother's name is not given in *Da.* In 'Saka' she is called Sūryaprabhā, in *Ak.* Rāmā, and in 'Pali' Candādevī.

In *Mv.* Subāhu's neighbour king Sucandrima is said to be his friend (in 'Chinese A' they are father and son) but in *Da.* etc. this neighbour is a rival of Dhana. His name is not given in *Da.* or 'Pali'. In 'Saka' as well as in

²⁵ *So dāni rājakuḷāto niryātō sārḍhaṃ Vasantakena ekinā paricārakena . . . (Mv., II, 103).*

This name occurs only in *Mv.* In 'Chinese A' the guardian deity of the palace shows him the way, but the prince leaves alone in search of the 'Devī'.

²⁶ *. . . iha uddeśe vānarā prativasanti. Yo teṣāṃ yūthapati so mama abhiprasanno . . . tam ahaṃ vānararājāṃ adhyeṣiṣyaṃ. . . . Ṛṣi āha. Imaṃ kumāraṃ ātmanā caturthaṃ Drumasya . . . kinnaṛanagaraṃ taḥiṃ nehi. Vānaro āha. Bhagavan nemi (Mv., II, 108).*

In 'Chinese A' this monkey is Śakra in disguise: 'En ce moment, Śakra, roi des devas, prit la forme d'un singe dont le merveilleux prestige faisait trembler la montagne . . .' (p. 301).

²⁷ *Evaṃ Sudhanu mahatā vibhūṣāye . . . kinnaṛarājño nagaraṃ praveṣito . . . Drumeṇa ca . . . abhinandito utsaṅge samveṣito . . . (Mv., II, 111).*

²⁸ *. . . Subāhunā mārgaṇā kārītā . . . tasya bhavati mṛto bhaviṣyati kumāro. . . . Tena rājñā kumārasya Sudhanusya mṛtasya kāryāni kṛtāni . . . (ibid.).*

This incident is not found in 'Chinese A' or any other version.

²⁹ The names Dhana (only once Mahādhana, *Da.*, 435) and Sudhana in *Da.* are less convincing than their *Mv.* counterparts Subāhu and Sudhanu. Grammatically it is more likely that -u changed to -a than vice versa. In *Da.*, *ayaṃ dārako Dhanasya rājñah putro bhavatu dārakasya Sudhano nāmeti* can account for the advent of Dhana. The name Subāhu appears only in *Mv.*, but Sudhanu reappears in *Zp.*, despite an explanation by the latter: *tassa pana jātādivase yeva tesu thānesu tā pi nidhikumbhiyo bhūmito utthakītvā pākāṭā honti. Atha Adiccavaṃsarājā pi taṃ acchariyaṃ dīṣvā . . . Sudhano tv eva nāmaṃ akāsi (Zp., 146).* Thus *Zp.* introduces Sudhana but discontinues this in favour of Sudhanu. *Pj.* is consistent in calling him Sudhana, Sudhanakumāra, and Sudhanarāja.

Ak. he is called Mahendrasena.³⁰ He is a wicked king and his subjects desert him to take refuge in the kingdom of Dhana.

This exodus increases their rivalry and an element not found in *Mv.* and 'Chinese A' is introduced into the story. A *nāga* (dragon) called Janmacitraka (Citra in 'Saka' and *Ak.*³¹ and Jambucittaka in 'Pali') protects the kingdom of Uttarapāñcāla and keeps it rich and full of food. The rival king sends a brahmin (only *Ak.* gives his name as Vidyādhara) to capture or kill this *nāga*. The *nāga* finds this out, seeks help from a hunter called Phalaka³² (Utpalaka in 'Saka' and *Ak.*, Puṇḍarika in 'Pali') who kills this brahmin and is honoured by the *nāga* with various presents. The hunter now approaches a hermit and tells him about his gifts obtained from the *nāga*. The hermit then asks him to get the *nāgapāśa* (called *amoghapāśa* 'unfailing noose').³³ The hunter returns to the *nāga-bhavana*, persuades the *nāga* to part with the *nāgapāśa*.³⁴ On a subsequent occasion he visits a certain mountain, meets there another hermit, learns from him about the bathing *kinmarīs*, and captures Manoharā (without the aid of the *satyavākya* of *Mv.*) with his *nāgapāśa*. The Pali versions refer only to a single hermit but otherwise agree with *Da.* 'Saka' and *Ak.*, however, differ from *Da.* In these the hunter meets only one hermit and

³⁰ 'As a frontier king lived king Mahendrasena' (Bailey, 'Sudhana poem', 507).

cf. *Babhūva tasya bhūbhartur bhūpatir bhūmyanantarāḥ/
māni Mahendrasenākhyāḥ prakhyātāpṛthuvikramāḥ*/(*Ak.*, 13).

³¹ 'A meritorious *nāgarāja* by name Citra dwelt where in the ground at all times the seeds ripen' (Bailey, 'Sudhana poem', 507).

cf. *Viṣaye nāgarājo 'sti Citro nāma bahūdakaḥ/
akāle śasyaniṣpattis tat prabhāveṇa jāyate*/(*Ak.*, 33a, 34a).

³² *Da.* gives the name of this hunter as Halaka but it is stated in the footnote (p. 437, n. 2) that MS C generally gives Phalaka. Professor Brough, who checked I-ching's transcription of this name, informs me that Phalaka is the correct reading in the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda version. This is also confirmed by the reading in the *Bhaiṣajya-vastu* (*Gil. MSS*, III, 1, 133).

Da. actually refers to two hunters called Sāraka and Phalaka. These might correspond to She-li and Yu-pen of 'Chinese A' (p. 294); *Mv.* in this context does not name the hunter, but on a subsequent occasion it refers to two hunters called Utpalaka and Mālaka (*Mv.*, II, 102). It is possible to conceive some relationship between Phalaka, Yu-pen, and Utpalaka, but we cannot determine which is the more original form. As for Sāraka (corresponding to She-li and Mālaka) his name is mentioned only once in *Da.*: *tatra . . . dvau lubdhakau prativasataḥ Sārako Phalakaḥ. Sārako kālagato Phalako jīvati* (*Da.*, 437). It is not clear why his name should be introduced as he does not play any part in the story. This obscurity is removed in both 'Saka' and *Ak.* where the two hunters called Padmaka ('Saka': Padamaka) and Utpalaka are related as father and son. The father obtains the *nāgapāśa* and when he dies it passes to his son who captures Manoharā:

'When he (Padamaka) passed away, after the son carried on, Utpalaka by name; the noose descended to him' (Bailey, 'Sudhana poem', 508).

cf. *Lubdhakāḥ Padmako nāma sa me samrakṣaṇakṣamaḥ/
pūtrāyotpālakākhyāya pāśam dattvā vyapadyata*/(*Ak.*, 48a, 65b).

³³ *Ṛṣiḥ kathayati. Kiṃ ratnaiḥ . . . tasya bhavane amogho nāma pāśas tiṣṭhati tam yācasva* (*Da.*, 430).

³⁴ . . . *alam mama ratnaiḥ kiṃ tv etaṃ amoghapāśam prayacchathi . . . yadi asti kṛtam upakṛtam cānuprayaccheti . . .* (ibid.).

cf. *Nāgapāśam tam yācāmi, tenāham idha gacchāmi/
tasmā tam deha tam ogham, nāgarājā mahiddhiko ti//
. . . bho nāgarāja, tvam atipapañcam avatvā nāgapāśam va me dehi ti* (*Zp.*, 153).

approaches him already armed with the *nāgapāśa*. Consequently he visits the *nāga* only once and not twice as in other versions.³⁵

The subsequent flight of the other *kinnarīs* is described in only two lines in *Da. Zp.* here describes in nine verses their lamentation and the crying of Manoharā's mother. The latter is sent by the king Duma (*Da.*, *Druma*) in search of her.³⁶

In *Da.*, 'Saka', and *Ak.* Manoharā hands over her magic crest-jewel (*cūdāmaṇi*) to the hunter. In 'Pali' there is no direct reference to it but she hands over her shoes (*pādapūraṇa*) and all her jewellery (*alankārabhaṇḍa*).³⁷ The hunter brings her to the capital where she is married to the prince. This new element, viz. their union in Hastināpura changes the scene of the sacrifice as well. In *Mv.* and also in 'Chinese A' it takes place outside Sudhana's capital.

In *Mv.* and 'Chinese A' the sacrifice takes place because of a foolish desire of the king to attain heaven, but in *Da.* etc. it is introduced as part of a court intrigue directly affecting the prince. Here we find a cunning *purohita* of the king intent on destroying the prince in order to get rid of a rival brahmin currently serving the prince. In *Da.* these two brahmins come from Jetavana; their names are not given. 'Saka' is silent on their names and their place of origin. *Ak.* states that they were *dāksinātyas*; their names are given as Kapila and Puškara. In 'Pali' they are related as father and son, the father comes to know of his son's ambition and informs the king that the prince is trying to kill the latter to obtain the throne; the king, however, does not believe this and turns a deaf ear to him.

First the *purohita* sends Sudhana on a military expedition against a rebel. Sudhana goes to take leave of Manoharā but on seeing her he forgets all about the expedition. The *purohita* tries to bring him out of his harem. The king issues orders that the prince should not be allowed to see her again once he comes out.³⁸ This echoes the *Mv.* account³⁹ of his neglect of the royal duties for which he is detained by the king. Neither 'Saka' nor *Ak.* allude to this

³⁵ 'He (the *nāga* king) . . . presented wealth to him. He for his part asked them for the *amogha-pāśa* . . .' (Bailey, 'Sudhana poem', 508).

cf. *abhyaracamānaś Citreṇa kañcīt kālām wēśa sab//*
Kadācid atha nāgena pūjyamānaḥ savismayaḥ/
vidyruddāmo pamaṇ pāśam amoghākhyam dadarśa sab//(*Ak.*, 60b, 61).

³⁶ *Zp.*, 154-5; also 156.

³⁷ *Tayā śirasithāś cūdāmaṇir datta uktaś ca. Eṣa cūdāmaṇir yasya haste tasyaḥam vaśi bhavāmi* (*Da.*, 443). Cf. *Atha so luddako . . . bhoṭi devī, tvam tuyaḥ pādapūraṇaṇ ca alankārabhaṇḍaṇ ca mayhaṇ dehi ti* (*Zp.*, 155).

For similar tales where bird-maidens were captured by stealing their feather-robos, see A. T. Hatto, 'The Swan Maiden: a folk-tale of north Eurasian origin?', *BSOAS*, xxiv, 2, 1961, 326 ff.

³⁸ *Gaccha kumāra . . . kārvatīkaṇ samnāmaya. Evaṇ devetī . . . antahpuram pravṛṣṭo Manoharūdarśanāc cāsyā sarvaṇ viṣṭam. . . Rājā kathayati . . . nīrgataḥ kumāro 'ntahpurāt preṣayi-tavyo yathā Manoharūyāḥ sakāṣaṇ na prativasatīti . . .* (*Da.*, 446).

³⁹ See p. 537, n. 23.

incident. In these and the Pali versions he simply assures Manoharā that he will return soon.⁴⁰

Sudhana begs the king's leave to see his mother, approaches her to protect Manoharā, to guard the crest-jewel, and not to give it to her unless there was a danger to her life. Both 'Saka' and *Ak.* are identical on this point with *Da.*, the *Ak.* even repeating a verse in this connexion found also in the latter.⁴¹ The Pali versions are silent on this.

In *Da.*, Vaiśravaṇa the regent king instructs Pāñcika *yakṣa* to fight on behalf of the prince. In 'Saka' as well as *Ak.* he fights the war without any intervention by the *yakṣas*. In 'Pali' guardian deities (*ārakkhadavatā*) protect him in the battle.⁴²

During his absence the wicked *purohita* is presented with a golden opportunity to destroy the prince by getting rid of Manoharā. The king has a bad dream⁴³ suggesting an impending disaster and the *purohita* urges him to undertake a sacrifice of all kinds of beings including a *kinnarī*. The *Da.* account of the subsequent pleading by the wicked *purohita*⁴⁴ differs considerably from the corresponding passages in 'Saka', *Ak.*, and the Pali versions.

⁴⁰ *Iti pitrā samādiṣṭaḥ samāhitararātsavaḥ/
kinnarivirahālohāḥ so 'bhūḍ dolākulaḥ kṣaṇam//
Acirāgamanākhyānair yatnenāśvāsya vallabhām/(Ak., 153, 154a).*

cf. *Mahāsatto, bhaddē, itaṃ mā socasi, mā paridevesi, mama gamanaṃ ciraṃ na hoti . . .
khippaṃ eva āyāmi ti taṃ samassāsetvā . . . nagarato nikkhami (Zp., 161).*

⁴¹ *So Manoharāsantakaṃ cūḍamanim ādāya mātus sakākaṃ . . . kathayati . . .*

*Duhitā Śakrakalpasya kinnarendrasya mānini/
pālyā virahabokarī mādvātsalyadhīyā ivayā/(Da., 446).*

This verse is not found in the extant *Bhaiṣajya-vastu* (*Gl. MSS*, III, 1, 139) nor in its Chinese and Tibetan translations (see p. 545, n. 53). It is, however, found in *Ak.* :

*jananīm svairam abhyetya pravṛṇatyā jagāda saḥ//
Duhitā Śakrakalpasya . . . madvātsalyadhīyā ivayā/(Ak., 154b, 155).*

⁴² *Tena khalu samayena Vaiśravaṇo mahārājo . . . paśyati Sudhanakumārāṃ . . . Tasyaitad
abhavat. Ayaṃ bhadrakalpiko bodhisattvaḥ . . . sahāyāṃ aśya karaṇīyaṃ . . . Pāñcikaṃ . . .
āmantrayate . . . (Da., 447).*

cf. *Tasmīm khaṇe sakalanagare ārakkhadavatāyo . . . āhaṃsu :
Bho devatā sabbe mayāṃ vasantā sabbaṭṭhānesu/
ā.akkhāma tattha tattha gataṃ sasenāṃ Sudhanuṃ sadā/(Zp., 161).*

Both *Da.* and 'Pali' give long descriptions of the battle. The 'Saka' is very brief and *Ak.* devotes only half a line : *sa yayau tūrṇaṃ saīnyācchādītādīnṃ mukhaḥ/(157b).*

⁴³ *Da.* : *Dhanena ca rājñā svapno gr̥hṣṭaḥ. Gr̥hṣṭeṇāgatya rājñā udaraṃ sphoṭayitvāntrāny
ākarsya taṃ nagaram antrair veṣṭitaṃ saptaratnāni gr̥haṃ praveśyamānāni dr̥ṣṭāni (447).*

'Saka' : 'That night king Dada saw a dream that all his enemies had surrounded the city, they had burst open his belly, drawn out the intestines, had three times fastened it around the city' (Bailey, 'Sudhana poem', 510).

Ak. : *Dr̥ṣṭam adya mayā svapne niruddhaṃ śatrubhiḥ puram/
pāṭitodarakṣṭaiḥ ca mamāntrair pariveṣṭitam/(164).*

Zp. : *Evārūpo supino ahoḥi : raiñño antaṃ kucchito nikkhamitvā sakalajambudīpaṃ tikkhattum
parivaṭṭetvā puma kucchiyaṃ pavisitvā aṭṭhāsi ti (162).*

These four accounts of the dream show a curious relationship between the four versions. The *gr̥hṣṭa* of *Da.* and the corresponding 'enemies' in both 'Saka' and *Ak.* are absent from 'Pali'. The 'three times' of 'Saka' is missing in *Da.* and *Ak.* but is found in 'Pali'. The reference to *saptaratnāni* is peculiar to *Da.*, while the words *gr̥haṃ praveśyamānāni* correspond to 'Pali' *kucchiyaṃ pavisitvā*. *Da.* agrees with 'Saka'-*Ak.* for the opening but with 'Pali' for the close.

⁴⁴ *Tyajed ekaṃ kulasyārthe grāmasyārthe kulam tyajed/
grāmaṃ janapadasyārthe ātmārthe pṛthivīm tyajed/(Da., 448).*

In *Mv.*, Manoharā leaves the capital at the order of the king ; her manner of departure is unspecified. In *Da.* she escapes from the palace by obtaining the crest-jewel from her mother-in-law. In 'Saka' she obtains the jewel, comes forth into the sacrificial enclosure (*maṇḍala-vāla-grāma*), recites a spell, and rises into the sky. In *Ak.* also she is given the jewel by her mother-in-law and asked to proceed first to the place of sacrifice (*yajñabhūmi*) and then to fly in the sky.⁴⁵ In 'Pali' Manoharā pleads with the queen to intervene, and when the latter tries to seek an audience with the king the men of the *purohita* prevent her. Manoharā then asks for her *pādapūraṇa* and the *alaṅkārabhaṇḍa*, adorns herself, and begs leave. When the king's men arrive to capture her she flies in the air.

In 'Pali' the story is interrupted here by scenes of lamentation during which Manoharā and Candādevī dwell upon the inevitability of *karma* which has brought about this separation.⁴⁶

In *Mv.* and 'Chinese A' Manoharā meets Utpalaka and Mālaka, gives them the ring, and later proceeds to Kāśyapa's hermitage. In *Da.* as well as in 'Saka' and 'Pali', she directly approaches the hermit, gives him the ring, and also explains the dangers the prince will meet on his way if he follows her. In *Ak.*, however, after her flight she comes straight to her abode, is given a purifying bath, and then after a lapse of several days returns to the hermit to give him the ring.

Sudhana returns triumphant to his capital and is stricken with sorrow on not finding Manoharā. He obtains from Phalaka more information about the lake where she was captured and sets out alone in search of her. 'Saka' and *Ak.* do not refer to his meeting the hunter. In 'Pali' he takes the hunter with him (instead of Vasantaka as in *Mv.*), and makes an Act of Truth (*saccavacana*) declaring his determination not to return to the city without Manoharā.

On the way to the hermitage he laments for Manoharā asking various objects and birds the whereabouts of his beloved wife. The whole scene is

This verse is found in the *Mahābhārata* and several other works. See Ludwik Sternbach : *Cānakya-nīti-text-tradition*, 1, 1, Hoshiarpur, 1963, 109.

*Tyajante jivitasārthe nijadeśapriyātmajāh/
jivitād aparāṇ rājan jīvaloke 'stī na priyam* //(Ak., 193).

*Suṇāhi me katham deva na thomenī paraṃ rakkhāṃ/
attānaṃ anurakkhā va thomenī yeva paṇḍitā* //

*Sasṭe patati aggi puttāṃ pi jahati tadā/
kiṃ mocesi pare dukkhī tvāṃ gavesi sukhaṃ sadā* //(Zp., 164).

⁴⁵ *Tat samanantaram eva Manoharā gaganatalam utplutya gātham bhāṣate . . .* (*Da.*, 449). Cf. 'When she came forth into the *maṇḍala-vāla-grāma* (gathering of the circular sacrificial enclosure) she three times incanted, she rose into the air (Bailey, 'Sudhana poem', 511).

cf. *Śvaśvā dattaṃ samādhāya baddhvā mūrḍhni śikhāmaṇim/
nrpāhṛtā kratukṣetraṃ gatvā vyoma vyagāhata* //(Ak., 193).

⁴⁶ *Narānaṃ miḡapakkhīnaṃ viyogo te kato pubbe/
tena atthi vipākena viyogo t'ajja patinā* //
*Kiṃ karomi mama pubbe kareyya paraviyogaṃ/
tena kammavipākena viyogo hoti amhākan ti* //(Zp., 166).

reminiscent of a similar scene in the *Vikramorvaśīya* ⁴⁷ where the king searches for his lost wife. *Mv.* and the Pali versions have nothing similar to this and 'Saka' deals with it in a single line: 'Whatever came before him, *tiryagyonī* and all the wild beasts, bowing down he asked from the heart, Have you seen Manoharā or not, where she has gone?' (Bailey, 'Sudhana poem', 512). *Ak.* devotes 12 verses to this scene.

As in *Mv.*, the hermit here also gives a monkey to guide the prince. But whereas he rides on the monkey (accompanied by companions) according to *Mv.*, in *Da.* he proceeds to his goal leaving the monkey behind him. On this point both 'Saka' and *Ak.* differ from *Da.* According to these the prince meets this monkey on a mountain called Kukūla, and rides on him. In 'Pali' he obtains this monkey from the hermit and makes him his guide but does not seem to ride on him.⁴⁸ Instead he comes across a group of birds⁴⁹ (called

⁴⁷ These and other striking similarities have been noted by A. Gawronski in his *Notes sur es sources de quelques drames Indiens*, 1921, 18-30, where the author discusses at great length the relationship of *Sudhanakumāravadāna* (*Da.*) to the legend of Purūravas and Urvaśī in general and to Act IV of *Vikramorvaśīya* in particular.

⁴⁸ *Mv.*, II, 108: *So dāni vānarādhipati tato eva āsramāto ātmanā caturthaṃ kumāraṃ prṣṭam ārohayitvā . . . Da.*, 455: . . . *tān apy atikramya Himavān parvatārājāb. Tat praveśena tvayā imāni bhairajyāni samudānetavyāni . . . vānaraḥ samudānetavyo . . . On p. 457: . . . tatas tena yathopadiṣṭhāḥ sarve samudānīṭhā sithāpayitvā vānaraṃ. Alam kumāra . . . tvam ekāki . . .*

Schiefner's translation differs here from *Da.*: 'When he had obtained all but the monkey, he came back with them to the Rishi. The Rishi gave him a monkey and said, O youth, . . . alone, without companions, . . .' (*Tibetan tales*, 70). See *Tibetan Tripitaka*, XII, 201-5-6 (Ge 204^{ab}).

'Saka' (Bailey, 'Sudhana poem', 512): 'He will come to the Black Mountains called Kaukūlakā. There lives a king of monkeys, huge in limb. To him food is to be given, and he will take him on his back'.

Ak., 262b, 263: *Himavantaṃ atikramya Kukūlādrim avāpa saḥ//
Phalopahārāḥ svikṛtya tatra vānarayūthapam/
Vāyuvēgākhyam āruya sa taṃ bailam alaṅghayat//*

Zp., 172: *Evañ ca vatvā mahāsatto attano magganāyakaṃ makkāpotaṅkaṃ ādāya . . . gamanam ārabhi.*

⁴⁹ There is no reference to any bird helping the prince in *Mv.* *Da.* refers to a 'king of birds' which will convey him over a mountain called Vajraka, fourth in a list of nine mountains: (*Vajraka pakṣirājena praveśaḥ* (*Da.*, 450; 456).

In 'Saka' (on the next mountain called Kāmarūpi) there is a *rākṣasī*: '. . . (he) will come to the *kāmarūpins*. In that place one amorous *rākṣasī* lives who through passion entices beings, at the last destroys them. . . . The *rākṣasī* carries him off, mounts him on the mountain peak. There he must promptly slay her Afterwards he will come to the mountain by name Ekadhvaja. There dwells a vulture-shaped *rākṣasī*. For her let him touch the *vīṇā* and surely he will escape without danger' (Bailey, 'Sudhana poem', 512).

Ak. is in close agreement here with the 'Saka' account except that here the prince uses the *vīṇā* not against the vulture-shaped *rākṣasī* on Ekadhvaja but against an ordinary *rākṣasī* on the mount Kāmarūpa. Here the 'vulture-shaped' *rākṣasī* appears on the mount Vajraka and carries him off to the peak of that mountain:

*Vīṇāsvanair vaśikṛtya rākṣasīm kāmarūpinīm/
Kāmarūpādrim ullāṅghya prayayaḥ kinnaṛipriyaḥ//*(265).
*Athogrataram āruya Vajrakākhyam sa parvatam/
grāhrarūpam samālokyā rākṣasīm piṣṭaiṣiṇīm//*(267).
*Māmsalubdhā tam utkṣipyā grāhrarūpā nīśācarī/
nidādhe śikharasyāgre bhoktuṃ bhīṣanavīgrahā//*(268).

Although some common basis exists for the incident of a *rākṣasa*-bird carrying the prince across the mountains, 'Pali' alone shows this bird to be friendly to the prince and refers to his

hatthi-līṅga sakuna) and learns from their talk about a great feast being arranged by king Duma for the purifying ceremony of Manoharā. The prince ties himself to the wings of a bird and is flown across the mountains to a lake where several maidens are gathered to fetch water for Manoharā's bath.

The incident of the recognition of the ring is identical in both *Mv.* and *Da.* But 'Saka' and *Ak.* give a slightly different account of Sudhana's attempt to place the ring in the pitcher. In *Da.* he places the ring secretly in the pitcher of a maiden. In 'Saka' he befriends an elderly maid: 'They lifted the jars to carry to the palace. One remained there, an aged woman, old, she could not lift the jar upon her shoulders. . . . He went to her, he asked, Mother where is the water carried?' (Bailey, 'Sudhana poem', 513). In *Ak.* also it is said that he approached an elderly maid full of fatigue from lifting the pitcher and asked, 'O Mother, for whom is this being carried that you should disregard such great strain?' In both accounts the prince helps the old woman with her pitcher, obtains the news of Manoharā, and secretly throws the ring in the pitcher. It is interesting to note that the Pali versions also make use of this ruse but without making the *kinnarī* maid an old woman. Instead the prince resorts to an Act of Truth (*saccādhittāna*) by the power of which one of the maidens becomes unable to lift the jar. She then approaches him and begs for his help.⁵⁰

Only 'Saka' and 'Pali' refer at this stage to the years he spent in search of Manoharā. According to 'Saka' it took him 12 years to reach the abode of the *kinnaras*, but according to 'Pali' he accomplished this in a period of 7 years, 7 months, and 7 days.⁵¹

In *Mv.* the reunion takes place without any further incident. King Druma receives him with royal honours and the couple are united. In *Da.* the prince is brought secretly into the palace and kept in a guarded place.⁵² He is then

flight (in the last stage of his journey) tied to the wings of it: *Tasmim khane bahū Hatthilīṅgasakunā taṃ vettavanam āgantaṃ tatth' eva nisidanti aññamaññaṃ pucchimsu. Bhoṇo, ajja mayaṃ kuhiṃ gocaram gaṇhāmā ti. . . . Atha mahāsatto ekassa pakkhantamajjhe pavisitvā khaggarajjuyā pi attānaṃ bandhitvā nīpajji* (*Zp.*, 173). See p. 554, n. 75.

⁵⁰ *Mv.*: *Sudhanu proçhati. Kahiṃ udakaṃ imaṃ niṣyati. Ahansu. Sā Manoharā snāpayiṣyati. Tasyā manuṣyagandhaṃ apanayiṣyati. Tena kumāreṇa aṅgulīyakū paśoṃe udakaḡhaṇe prakṣiptā yathā tāhi kinnarihi na dṛṣṭā. Manoharā snāyati ca aṅgulīyakā snāyantiye tato ghaṭakato utsaṅge patitā. Manoharāye sā aṅgulīyakā dṛṣṭvā pariññātā* (II, 110).

Da.: *Tenaikasyāḥ kinnarāyā ghaṇe 'nīlakṣitaṃ prakṣiptā sā ca kinnarī abhītā anena tvayā ghaṇena Manoharā tai prathamatarāṃ snāpayitavyā* (458).

Ak.: *Kumbhoḥkṣeṣe śramārtāyās tatraikasyāḥ sametya saḥ/ haṣṭāmbena sādhyam kṛtvā papraccha tām śanaibh//*(283).

Mātaḥ kasya kṛte toyamidam yatnena niyate/ yad bhaktiyā ganyate nāyam bhavātibhīḥ paribramah//(284).

Zp.: *Sace paṇāhaṃ tassa mama saccādhittānapāramitpūraṇena tāya Manoharāya saddhiṃ samaggavāsaṃ labhisāmi tūsu ekikā kinnarīkaññā tam udakaghaṭam ukkhiptum asakkonti tatth' eva tīṭhatū ti adhiṭṭahitvā . . . aṭṭhāsi* (174).

⁵¹ 'During this interval twelve years had passed' (Bailey, 'Sudhana poem', 512). Cf. *Atha bodhisatto mahā ussāhena gacchanta sattavassāni sattamāsasattadivasādhikāni . . .* (*Zp.*, 172).

⁵² *Gacchānaṃ praçchannaṃ praveśaya. Tayā praveśitāḥ sugupte pradēse sthāpitāḥ. Tato Manoharā pīṭh' pādāyor nīpatya kathayati . . .* (*Da.*, 458).

In 'Saka' they meet secretly before his arrival is announced to king Druma: 'They agreed with her thought, they brought him into the palace. They searched out a place, all were in the

put to two tests by king Druma before he can claim her as his wife. Whereas this last episode is found in both *Ak.* and 'Pali', it is absent from 'Saka'. But 'Saka' is not in complete agreement with *Mv.* Rather it seems to allude to some kind of test: 'he (Druma) imposed upon him unlimited punishment, harsh threats, abusive speech. All that the *kinnara* king asked him the prince made known to him. He went out invincible as a *kesarin* lion. He so said to him, Son, on your part remain now here . . .' (Bailey, 'Sudhana poem', 513).

The first test consists of a feat of skill in archery reminding us of similar scenes in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, with this difference that here the prince accomplishes this feat with the help of Śakra. *Ak.* agrees with *Da.* in its account of this test and repeats five verses found in the latter.⁵³ In

secret. . . . For many days they well honoured him. The *kinnaris* secretly at night used to fetch him . . .' (Bailey, 'Sudhana poem', 513).

Ak. follows 'Saka':

*Tayā guptatāre nyastam kāntam udyānamandire/
kumudvatīva śaśinam gatvōpabhyan Manoharā//*(293).
*Yad yat premnah sadṛśam ucitam yad yat autsukyarāṣe/
tat tat sarvaṃ praṇayasubhagaṃ dampatī cakratuṣ tau//*(295 cd).

⁵³ *Āha ca* :

A *Tvayā kāntiā jītas tavad ete kinnaradūrakāh/
saṃdarśitaprabhāvas tu divyasambandham arhasi//*
B *Atyāyatam saravanam kṛtvoddhṛiya śaram ṣaṇāt/
vyruptam anyūnam uccitya punar dehi tilāḍhakaṃ//*
C *Samdarśaya dhanurvede dr̥ghalakṣṣādī karūḷalam/
tataḥ kīrtipatīkeyaṃ tavayattā Manoharā//*(*Da.*, 458).

These three verses are identical with *Ak.*, 313-15.

D *Śatakratusamādīṣṭair yakṣaiḥ śukararūpibhiḥ/
utpāṣite śaravane same vyruptam tilāḍhakaṃ//*
E *Ekīkṛtam samuccitya Śakraśṣṭaiḥ pīpūlikaiḥ/
kumārāḥ kinnarendrāya viśmīḷya nyavedayat//*(*Da.*, 459).

These two verses are preceded by the following three verses in *Ak.* :

F *Mīlhyāśramakleśaphale pravṛtītam śarapātane/
tam vijñāya Sahasrākṣaḥ pakṣapātād acintayat//*
G *Kim bhādrakalpiko bodhisattvo 'yaṃ pārthivātmajāḥ/
nīyuktaiḥ kinnarendreṇa niṣphale kleśakarmaṇi//*
H *Asyāsmiṇ samyāyūse kāryaṃ sāhāyakaṃ mayā/
itī sañcinīya Śakro 'sya karmaṇiṣpattim ādadhe//*(*Ak.*, 317-19).

Although verses A, B, C, D, and E, together with one more verse, viz. *Duhitā Śakrakalpasya* . . . , cited above (p. 541, n. 41), appear in both *Da.* (in all MSS used by Cowell and Nell) and *Ak.*, they are not found in I-ching's translation of the *Bhaiṣajya-vastu*. (Professor Simon, who kindly checked this for me, found that several other verses—notably 12 of *Da.*, 455-7, from *Dr̥ṣṭvā sā* . . . to *Candrasya khe* . . .—although found in the Tibetan, are missing from I-ching's translation. Cf. *Taiśhō Tripitaka*, xxiv, 63b-64b.) The six verses in question are also missing from the Tibetan translation of the *Bhaiṣajya-vastu*. It is probable on the evidence of the Chinese and Tibetan translations, particularly of the latter, that these verses do not belong to the original *Bhaiṣajya-vastu*.

Verses A, B, and C appear to be quotations as they are preceded by the words *āha ca* in *Da.* These are followed by a prose passage containing a significant line: *Devatās caiṣāṃ autsukyam āpatsyante avighnabhāṣāya* (p. 459). At the end of this passage occur D and E which explicitly state that *yakṣas* performed the feat at the instruction of Śatakratu.

Whether this intervention by Śakra was introduced into the *Bhaiṣajya-vastu* story by the compilers of *Da.* (taking a clue from the line *devatās caiṣāṃ* . . .) or whether *Da.* was following a different MS tradition of the *Bhaiṣajya-vastu* containing these verses cannot be determined on the available evidence.

Only these six, out of 44 verses found in this *avadāna* of *Da.*, are repeated (not as quotations)

'Pali' the prince shows his skill in archery entirely on his own without the intervention of Śakra.⁵⁴

The Pali versions here introduce an additional test of his strength by making him lift a huge sapphire stone. The prince now has recourse to an Act of Truth asserting his future attainment of the Buddhahood and lifts it on his shoulders with great ease.⁵⁵

When he succeeds in his first test the king puts him to one more test of recognizing Manoharā in the middle of a thousand *kinnarīs* exactly like her reminding us of a similar scene in the Nala-Damayantī episode,⁵⁶ this time with the roles reversed. The prince, like Damayantī, has recourse to the utterance of a *satyavākya* (the first and the only time in *Da.*) and by the power of its truth Manoharā steps forward to meet him. *Ak.* treats this incident casually, simply stating that he recognized her and took her hand.⁵⁷ The Pali versions turn it into a more dramatic incident. He makes an Act of Truth (as in *Da.*) and begs the *devatās* to point her out (among seven other *kinnarīs*). According to *Pj.*, Sakka comes down in person, and tells him that he will create a golden fly which will hover around her head. According to *Zp.*, however, he comes down in the guise of a golden fly and tells him that he will indicate her to him by sitting on her hand.⁵⁸ Sudhana recognizes her and they are united.

by Kṣemendra in his poem consisting of 331 verses of his own. It is not improbable that Kṣemendra was here introducing the intervention of Śakra either following some other version of the story or as one of his own innovations. His three verses (F, G, H) preceding D, E leave no doubt that the latter were also his own compositions. It seems likely, therefore, that the six verses in question were interpolated into the MSS of *Da.* at a later stage and have survived since then in all our known MSS of *Da.* The fact that Śakra's intervention at this stage of the story is not found in the Pali versions points to the same conclusion.

⁵⁴ *Taṃ sutvā Sudhano . . . attano dhanuṃ āropetvā . . . vijjhati. Atha so saro dhanujjīyā mutto sattatūlarukke ca satta udumbararukkaphalake . . . evaṃ paribhīnditvā . . . puna Sudhanuss' eva hatthe patiṭṭhāsī* (*Zp.*, 176).

⁵⁵ *Mahāsatto . . . mahallapāsāṇaṃ nāma nilavaṇṇapāsāṇaphalakaṃ upasaṃkamitvā tikkhattum padakkhiṇaṃ katvā . . . sace 'haṃ anāgate bodhirukkhamūle . . . nisinno mārabalaṃ vidhamsetvā . . . anuttaraṃ sammāsambodhiṃ abhisambujjhissāmi, api ca kko pana sace 'haṃ sakalalokasannivāsānaṃ sattānaṃ jātyādīmanasankhātamaḥāpabbataṃ sankamitum sakkomi, idāni idaṃ mahallapāsāṇaṃ nāma jātigarukaṃ lahukam eva hotū ti saccādhīṭṭhānaṃ adhiṭṭhahitvā taṃ ukkhīpi . . .* (*Zp.*, 177).

⁵⁶ *Yathā Drumasya duhitā mameha itaṃ Manoharā/
śighraṃ etena satyena padaṃ vraja Manohare* // (*Da.*, 459).

of. *Haṃsānāṃ vacanaṃ bruvā yathā me Naiṣadho vṛtaḥ/
patitve tena satyena devās itaṃ pradīśantu me* // (*Nalopākhyāna*, v, 17).

⁵⁷ *Abhinnavarṇarūpānāṃ tulyābharāṇasavāsāṃ/
kinnarīṇāṃ sīhitāṃ madhye grhāṇa nījavallabhāṃ//
Ity uktāḥ sa punas tena kinnarīśalapañcakam/
tulyavarṇavayovekaṃ dadarśa vyagram agrataḥ//
Tāsāṃ madhye pariṇīṭya sa jagrāha Manoharām/
vallarīvanasaṃchannāṃ bhṛṅgaś cūtalatām iva* // (*Ak.*, 327-9).

⁵⁸ *Rājā attano sattadhītarō . . . samānarūpā . . . paṭipāṭiyā nisīdāpetvā 'bho Sudhanakumāra, passasi mama dhītarabbhantare tava bhariyā atthi udāhu natthi' ti āha. Mahāsatto . . . ajānitvā upāyaṃ cintento . . . adhiṭṭhahanto āha :*

*Yadī saccam ahaṃ pubbe sabbasattahitaṃ karaṃ/
paradāraṃ na gacchāmi pūressāmi manoratham/
na kiñci paradāresu āoikkhantu me devatā ti* //

Evañ ca pana vatvā Sakkassa bhavanaṃ uphākāraṃ dassesi. Sakko āvajjanto taṃ kārāṇaṃ

As in *Mv.* the prince begins to feel homesick and wishes to see his parents, and the united couple are conducted to Hastināpura by the *kinnaras*. 'Saka' and *Ak.* do not refer to his longing to return home. The Pali versions give a long account of his sorrow; even king Druma accompanies them⁵⁹ (not found in any other version) and stays at Uttarapāñcāla for a week enjoying the hospitality of king Ādiccavaṃsa. The prince is now crowned and having ruled righteously for a long time enters Tusita heaven after his death.

In 'Pali' the *jātaka* is properly concluded with a brief sermon on the four Noble Truths, at the end of which the monk attains arhatship.⁶⁰

Samodhāna: *samodhāna* or identification of the characters of the story of the past (*añjavatthu*) with the persons connected with the story of the present (*paccuppannavatthu*) is one of the main features of a Pali *jātaka* and also of the *jātakas* in *Mv.* *Da.* identifies only Sudhana with the Buddha. *Ak.* identifies only Sudhana and Manoharā (with the Buddha and Yaśodharā) and 'Saka' only Sudhana and his parents (with the Buddha, Śuddhodana, and Mahāmāyā). The chart on pp. 548-9 summarizes the nomenclature of the characters in the various sources; divergence in the *samodhāna* of *Zp.* and *Mv.* is also noted, since the development of the *samodhāna*, like that of the *nidāna* and title, has some bearing on the genesis of the story as a whole.

The presence or absence of the last four characters in the story, viz. Janma-citraka, the *purohitas*, and Śakra, standing respectively for the episodes of the *nāgarāja*, the court intrigue, and finally the tests of valour, divides the story into its two main versions. Otherwise the subject-matter of the two versions including the names of the characters shows a virtually exact correspondence indicating a certain dependence of one on the other. The possibility of *Mv.* borrowing from the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda version is very remote: there is no reason why the narrator of the *Mv.* version should purge these major and

ñatvā ākāseṇa āgantvā santikaṃ mahāsattassa etad avoca: 'tāta, mahāpurisa, ahaṃ suvaṇṇa-makkhikaṃ nimminitvā suvaṇṇamakkhikā yassa itthiyā sisaṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā taṃ tava bhariyaṃ jānāhi' ti (*Pj.*, 71).

In *Zp.*, Sakka arrives in the guise of a golden fly and settles on Manoharā's hand: *Atha Sakko āvajjanto taṃ kāraṇaṃ ñatvā suvaṇṇamakkhikena āgantvā bodhisattassa kaṇṇasamīpe samullapāi*: 'sāmi Sudhana, ahaṃ Sakko va sañcaraṇamakkhiko hutvā tava bhariyahatthe patiṭṭhāmi, tvaṃ tāya saññāya etaṃ hatthiṃ gahetvā ayaṃ devī mama bhariyā ti vadesi' ti (*Zp.*, 178).

For further changes in this scene made by the popular Burmese dramas see below (p. 557, n. 86).

⁵⁹ *Tāta Sudhana, ahaṃ pi idāni tayā saddhiṃ manussalokaṃ gamisāmi ti. . . Dumarājā bodhisattassa mūtāpītūnaṃ nānappakārāni datvā āpucchitvā puna attano nagaram eva agamāsi* (*Zp.*, 180).

⁶⁰ *Evañ ca pana vitthāretvā dhammadesanaṃ āharitvā bhikkhave, evaṃ pi pubbe paṇḍitā mātuḡamaṃ nisāya . . . pakkamimā yevā ti. Sañkhepen' eva . . . tesam pi bhikkhūnaṃ cattāri saccāni pakāseṇo imaṃ gūthadavayaṃ āha*:

*Dukkhasaccaṃ samudayaṃ nirodhañ ca maggasaccaṃ/
iti hi taṃ catu-saccaṃ sabbā tā kathitā mayā//
Tebhūmakaṃ dukkhasaccaṃ taṇhā samudayaṃ nāma/
nibbānaṃ nirodhasaccaṃ aṅghāgikaṃ maggasaccaṃ ti//*

Bhagavato deśanāvāsāne so ukkaṅghito bhikkhu arahattappatto nikkilesa nibbhayo yeva ahoṣi. Aññe pi sampattapariseṇa sotāpatti-phalādāni pāpuṇimsū ti (*Zp.*, 181).

	Characters in the story	<i>Zp.</i>	<i>Mv.</i>
1	Subāhu Nan-lo-shih Dhana Ādiocavaṃsa	<i>Mv.</i> 'Chinese A' <i>Da.</i> , 'Saka', <i>Ak.</i> 'Pali'	Suddhodana idem ('Chinese A' : Kāśyapa)
2	'Sudhanusya mātā' unnamed 'Sudhanasya janani' Sūryaprabhā Rāmā Candādevī	<i>Mv.</i> 'Chinese A' <i>Da.</i> 'Saka' <i>Ak.</i> 'Pali'	Mahāmāyā idem ('Chinese A' : She-miao)
3	Sudhanu Hsü-lo Sudhana	<i>Mv.</i> , <i>Zp.</i> 'Chinese A' <i>Da.</i> , 'Saka', <i>Ak.</i> , <i>Pj.</i>	the Buddha idem
4	The other king : Sucandrima king of Ni-ho-pien ('le roi grand-père') unnamed Mahendrasena	<i>Mv.</i> 'Chinese A' <i>Da.</i> , 'Pali' 'Saka', <i>Ak.</i>	not identified idem ('Chinese A' : Suddhodana)
5	Sorcerer brahmin : absent unnamed Vidyādhara	<i>Mv.</i> , 'Chinese A' <i>Da.</i> , 'Saka', 'Pali' <i>Ak.</i>	not identified absent
6	Druma Duma T'ou-mo	All except 'Pali' 'Pali' 'Chinese A'	Śāriputta Mahānāma ('Chinese A' : not identified)
7	Manoharā 'Devī'	All except 'Chinese A' 'Chinese A'	Yasodharā idem ('Chinese A' : Gopā)
8	Manoharā's mother : unnamed	All	not identified idem
9	Utpalaka Yu-pen Phalaka or Halaka Puṇḍarika	<i>Mv.</i> , <i>Ak.</i> , 'Saka' 'Chinese A' <i>Da.</i> 'Pali'	Ānanda Rāhula ('Chinese A' : Maudgalyāyana)
10	Mālaka 'She-li' Sāraka Padmaka Padmaka absent	<i>Mv.</i> 'Chinese A' <i>Da.</i> 'Saka' <i>Ak.</i> 'Pali'	absent Ānanda ('Chinese A' : Chandaka)
11	Kāśyapa unnamed Kassapa Valkalāyana	<i>Mv.</i> , <i>Da.</i> , 'Saka' 'Chinese A' 'Pali' <i>Ak.</i>	Kassapa Mahākāśyapa ('Chinese A' : Śāriputra)
12	Vasantaka	only in <i>Mv.</i>	absent Chandaka
13	The rebel : absent unnamed Megha	<i>Mv.</i> , 'Chinese A' <i>Da.</i> , 'Saka', 'Pali' <i>Ak.</i>	not identified absent

Characters in the story	<i>Zp.</i>	<i>Mv.</i>
14 The monkey :		
unnamed	<i>Mv., Da., 'Saka', 'Pali'</i> Kāḷudāyī	Kaṇṭhaka
'Śakra in disguise'	'Chinese A'	('Chinese A': Kaṇṭhaka)
Vāyuvega	<i>Ak.</i>	
15 The <i>nāgarāja</i> :		
absent	<i>Mv., 'Chinese A'</i>	.
Janmaoitrika	<i>Da.</i>	
Citra	'Saka', <i>Ak.</i>	Moggallāna absent
Jambucittaka	'Pali'	
16 <i>purohita</i> no. 1 :		
absent	<i>Mv., 'Chinese A'</i>	Devadatta absent
unnamed	<i>Da., 'Saka'</i>	
Kapila	<i>Ak.</i>	
Kusala	'Pali'	
17 <i>purohita</i> no. 2 :		
absent	<i>Mv., 'Chinese A'</i>	not identified absent
unnamed	<i>Da., 'Saka', 'Pali'</i>	
Puškara	<i>Ak.</i>	
18 Śakra :		
absent	<i>Mv., 'Chinese A', 'Saka'</i>	
Śatakratu	<i>Da., Ak.</i>	Anuruddha absent
Sakko	'Pali'	

inoffensive episodes from a good Buddhist *avadāna*. Rather it is probable that the simpler version reflected in *Mv.* has been re-edited with the introduction of the three new episodes. Since certain episodes are peculiar to *Mv.* (notably the closing funeral rites) or *Da.*, it will be necessary to distinguish between these redactions and the versions adopted by the Mahāsāṅghikas (*Mv.* V) and the Mūla-Sarvāstivādins (*Da.* V).

In this recasting the narrator had to make only two minor changes in the original story, viz. shifting the place (from Siṃhapura to Hastināpura) and time (after instead of before their marriage) of the sacrifice. The new episode of the *nāgarāja* merely culminates in procuring the noose with which the hunter captures Manoharā, a result as miraculously achieved in *Mv.* with a simple Act of Truth. The wicked *purohita* no doubt plays a central role in the new story, but the germs of a court intrigue were already provided in *Mv.* V and can be detected in the scene where the prince is detained by the king and Manoharā is ordered to return to her parents. Here the editor of *Da.* V had to make a slight change, sending the prince on an expedition on the one hand and making Manoharā a victim of the sacrifice on the other. The third innovation, the tests of valour, appears like an appendix, not entailing any alteration in the original story. It only demonstrates the practice of the *vīrya-pāramitā* by the *bodhisattva* amply achieved by *Mv.* V in its account of his crossing the mountains, etc., on his way to the abode of the *kinnaras*.

The remaining differences between *Mv.* V and *Da.* V also suggest that certain improvements have been effected by the latter on the former. The first of these concerns the two hunters. In *Mv.* V Manoharā meets them in the

Himālaya and gives them the ring to be given to the prince. She then arrives at the hermitage of Kāśyapa, rests there for a while, and then proceeds to her abode. In *Da. V* she approaches the hermit directly and gives him the ring. *Da. V* would thus be more economical in eliminating two superfluous characters at this point and in making a better use of the hermit.

In *Mv. V* the prince takes Vasantaka as an attendant in his search for Manoharā. Vasantaka otherwise plays no part in the story. He also is absent in *Da. V*. Here the prince sets out alone on his arduous quest. The same motive of presenting the prince as a brave hero seems at work in the short scene connected with the monkey. In *Mv. V* the prince rides on him accompanied by three other attendants. In *Da.* he insists on going alone despite the pleading of the hermit.

While we may assume that *Da. V* has introduced these innovations and improvements into the *Mv. V* version, there is no question of direct borrowing from *Mv.* by *Da.* For despite the general similarity between these two versions *Da.* does not repeat even a single line or verse of *Mv.*, and presents its story in a very different style and language. On the other hand it is clear that the Mūla-Sarvāstivādins have drawn on some earlier *Da. V* text. Had there been a classical Pali *Sudhana-jātaka*⁶¹ it would doubtless have thrown further light on the matter. The possibility of the existence of such intermediate versions is indicated by the 'Saka' which shares only two of the three major innovations (the episode of the *nāga* and the court intrigue) with *Da.* Were this to be the only difference between the two, 'Saka' could have been treated as merely an abridged version of *Da.* But there are in 'Saka' several other distinctive points, preserved in *Ak.*, suggesting an independent source for itself. In the order of their occurrence these can be listed as follows.

- (1) Name of the wicked king : Mahendrasena (same in *Ak.*) [p. 539, n. 30].
- (2) Name of the *nāgarāja* : Citra (same in *Ak.*) [p. 539, n. 31].
- (3) Name of the hunter : Padmaka (Padmaka in *Ak.*) [p. 539, n. 32].
- (4) The two hunters being father and son (same in *Ak.*) [p. 539, n. 32].
- (5) Padmaka obtaining the *nāgapāśa* on his first visit to the *nāgarāja* (same in *Ak.*) [p. 540, n. 35].
- (6) Description of the dream ('Saka' almost identical with *Ak.*) [p. 541, n. 43].

⁶¹ The story of Sudhana is absent from the Pali *Jātaka* book and other *apṭhakathās*. The *Khaṇḍahāla-jātaka* (no. 542, *J*, vi, 129-57), however, offers several points of comparison with both *Mv.* and *Da.* Here also the king wishes to undertake a sacrifice to attain heaven alive (as in *Mv.* and 'Chinese A'). Here also the king's credulity is exploited by a wicked brahmin minister (Khaṇḍahāla) who encourages the king to engage in human sacrifice with a secret plan to kill the prince Canda the *bodhisattva* (as in *Da.*) who has exposed his acts of injustice. In this as well as in *Mv.* and 'Chinese A' the *bodhisattva* gives long sermons on the evils of sacrifice, the main Buddhist message of the stories concerned. But whereas the story of Sudhana develops into a beautiful love story with all the ingredients of an epic, the *Khaṇḍahāla-jātaka* remains a purely didactic one being terminated by a rather premature intervention by Sakka at the performance of an Act of Truth by the wife of the prince.

(7) Manoharā going through the *maṇḍala-vāla-grāma* before her flight (through *yajñabhūmi* in *Ak.*) [p. 542, n. 45].

(8) Sudhana's meeting with the monkey on the mount Kaukūlaka (Kukūla in *Ak.*) and riding on it (same in *Ak.*) [p. 543, n. 48].

(9) Account of a *rākṣasī* carrying the prince on the peak of a mountain (similar in *Ak.*) [p. 543, n. 49].

(10) Helping an old woman with her jar before putting the ring into it (same in *Ak.*) [p. 544, n. 50].

(11) Secret meeting of Sudhana and Manoharā before his arrival is revealed to king Druma (same in *Ak.*) [p. 544, n. 52].

There are also three scenes ⁶³ found only in *Da.* but missing both in 'Saka' and *Ak.*

(1) Sudhana's reluctance to leave Manoharā before going on the expedition.

(2) The scene of the battle waged by Pāñcika *yakṣa* on behalf of the prince.

(3) Sudhana's meeting with the hunter before leaving in search of Manoharā.

It is very significant that all these distinctive points, and in the case of the *nāgarāja* ⁶³ and the dream ⁶⁴ even the phraseology used, are reflected in *Ak.*, which in almost all other respects follows *Da.* (and repeats six verses ⁶⁵ found in the extant version of the latter). This correspondence between 'Saka' and *Ak.* confirms our hypothesis of a source for the 'Saka' independent of both *Mv.* and *Da.*, and in content intermediate between these versions. The compilers of *Da.* must have used an intermediate version related closely to the common sources of 'Saka' and *Ak.*

That Kṣemendra had access to *Da.* and the source material of 'Saka' needs no further proof; but he may have used yet another version now lost to us. His title, as noted above, seems to combine the titles of *Mv.* V and *Da.* V. But there are certain names and a few minor scenes in *Ak.* that cannot be traced to any known version. Whereas two names, Mahendrasena and Padmaka, found otherwise only in the 'Saka' are also to be found in *Ak.*, the 'Saka' name of Sudhana's mother, Sūryaprabhā, is replaced here by Rāmā. Kāśyapa is the name of the hermit in both *Mv.* and *Da.* In the 'Saka' his name is not given. In *Ak.* he is called Valkalāyana. Names like Vidyādhara (for the sorcerer who comes to capture the *nāga*), Kapila and Puṣkara (for the two *purohītas*), Megha (for the rebel), and Vāyuvega (for the king of the monkeys) are found only in *Ak.*

⁶³ We ignore a scene found only in *Da.* showing the lamentations of the childless king Dhana, his prayers to gods, the conditions (*pratyaya*) of conception, the treatment of the queen in her pregnancy, and the birth of the child. This stereotyped description (*tasya kriḍato ramamānasya na putro na duhitā . . . vardhate hradastham iva pañkajam . . .* (*Da.*, 439, 11, 26-30 to 441) is also found in the *Koṭikarṇāvadāna* and *Supriyāvadāna*. It is also found with slight variations in the following *avadānas* of the *Avadānaśataka*: *Kusīda*, *Maitrakanyaka*, *Hiraṇyapāṇi*, and *Gaṅgika*.

⁶⁴ See p. 539, n. 31.

⁶⁵ See p. 541, n. 43.

⁶⁶ See p. 541, n. 41, and p. 545, n. 53.

Of the scenes we may note the following.

(1) In *Da.* the king is frightened at Manoharā's flight and is worried that the sacrifice might remain incomplete. The *purohita* simply says: *deva, siddhārtho 'pagatapāpo devaḥ sāmpratam iti* (*Da.*, 449). In *Ak.* the *purohita* is more convincing when he says:

*Mantrair mayā samākṛṣṭaḥ Krūrākhyo brahmarākṣasaḥ/
nirvighnas te krātuh siddhaḥ sū hatā tena kinnarā* // (*Ak.*, 196).

(2) In both 'Saka' and *Da.*, Manoharā first approaches the hermit (in *Mv.* the hunters) and gives him the ring before arriving at her abode. In *Ak.*, after the flight she comes straight to her parents, is given a purifying bath, and after a lapse of several days returns to the hermit to give the ring (*Ak.*, 198-202).

It is, of course, possible that these names and scenes (and possibly the one discussed above, p. 545, n. 53) are merely innovations employed by Kṣemendra in the course of re-editing the story from different versions.

Although the precise date of the composition of the Pali versions is not known, it is generally agreed that they are of a period later than all the versions hitherto discussed. Their relation to their predecessors therefore is of great importance in tracing their main sources, particularly as the works are extra-canonical, and originate (traditionally) not in India or Ceylon, but in the distant land of the Lao.⁶⁶

With the single exception of the name Sudhanu (found only in *Zp.*) there is no indication that *Mv.* has been used by 'Pali'. Only one of the more important distinctive points common to *Ak.* and 'Saka' is found here. This relates to the scene of putting the ring in the pitcher. Both 'Saka' and *Ak.* make the maiden an old woman, unable to lift the jar. *Zp.* and *Pj.* employ an Act of Truth to make her unable to lift it instead of making her old.⁶⁷ There is another minor correspondence, viz. the length of the period of their separation. This point is mentioned only in 'Saka' and 'Pali'. In the former this period is of 12 years, in the latter it consists of 7 years, 7 months, and 7 days. Although evidently some common ground exists, it is not sufficient to suggest that use has been made of any version close to the extant 'Saka' and *Ak.*

Consequently, the only source left for 'Pali' would be *Da.* However, from the comparisons given above, it is clear that although the Pali versions have much in common with *Da.*, even more than 'Saka' and *Ak.*, they are by no means identical with it. The differences between 'Pali' and *Da.* tend rather to indicate an independent source for the former. These differences may be grouped under three heads.

(a) The absence of certain characters and scenes

(1) Only one hunter and one hermit (instead of two of each).

(2) The scene of Sudhana's lingering in the company of Manoharā before he sets forth on the expedition [pp. 540-1, nn. 38-40].

⁶⁶ See p. 534, n. 8.

⁶⁷ See p. 544, n. 51.

(3) The scene of Sudhana's lamentation while seeking for Manoharā [p. 543, n. 47].

(b) Additional scenes

(1) Lamentations by Manoharā's mother [p. 540, n. 36].

(2) Sudhana flying tied to the wings of a bird [p. 543, n. 49].

(3) Sudhana lifting the heavy stone by making an Act of Truth [p. 546, n. 55].

(4) The visit of king Druma to the capital of Uttarapāñcāla [p. 547, n. 59].

(c) Variations

(1) Sudhana taking the hunter with him (instead of merely obtaining information from him about Manoharā).

(2) Sudhana making the monkey his guide (instead of going alone) [p. 543, n. 48].

(3) Sudhana making an Act of Truth to make the maiden unable to lift the pitcher (instead of simply putting the ring into the pitcher) [p. 544, n. 50].

(4) Sudhana showing his skill in the feat of archery without help. (In *Da.*, Śakra orders *yakṣas* to perform this for him.) [pp. 545-6, n. 53, 54.]

(5) Sudhana recognizing Manoharā out of seven *kinnarīs* by the help of Sakka who comes down in person, and creates a golden fly which hovers around Manoharā's head. (In *Da.*, Sudhana has to recognize her out of 1,000 (*Ak.* has 500) *kinnarīs*. Manoharā steps forward when the prince performs an Act of Truth) [p. 546, n. 58].

The last scene, the recognition of Manoharā by the prince with the help of Sakka, supplies, we believe, a clue to the main sources of the 'Pali'. Scholars like Oldenburg, Foucher, and Krom who studied the Borobudur reliefs depicting the story of Sudhana have considered that it was based on *Da.*⁶⁸ They had access only to *Mv.* and *Da.*, and the reliefs do indeed to a large extent agree with *Da.* But relief no. 18 (plate 1 (b)) depicting the scene of recognition, offered special difficulties in its interpretation and its identification with the *Da.* account. This relief shows seven maidens seated inside a pavilion (*maṇḍapa*). A young man with a halo is standing in front of them. Behind him there is a raised standard with a winged conch⁶⁹ mounted on it. At the other end another person, also with a halo, is seated on a pedestal with attendants crouching under it. The scene clearly depicts the recognition of Manoharā (among seven *kinnarīs*) in the presence of king Druma. Of the two nimbate persons, the seated one was rightly identified by Foucher with king Druma, the only person depicted with a halo on two other occasions (reliefs nos. I, b, 14 and 17)—distinguishable as a king of *kinnaras* (semi-divine beings) from the king of

⁶⁸ See p. 534, n. 9.

⁶⁹ On the significance of the winged conch in Indian (and Borobudur) sculpture, see F. D. K. Bosch, *The golden germ*, 115 ff., where a similar standard from the Borobudur reliefs is reproduced on pl. 52d. The conch is usually associated with Viṣṇu or his *avatāras*. In Theravāda Buddhism it is associated with Sakka, e.g. in the scene of Māravijaya: *Sakko devarājā Vijayuttarasankham dhamamāno aṭṭhāsi, so kira sankho visamhatthasatiko hoti, sakiṃ vātaṃ gāhāpetvā dhamanto cattāro māse saddaṃ karitvā nissaddo hoti . . .* (*Jātaka*, I, 72).

Uttarapāñcāla and all other human beings, including the prince. The standing nimbate figure could, on the basis of the *Da.* account, only be the prince. But as he does not appear with a halo in earlier or later scenes, Foucher assumed that the standing figure also depicted Druma granting his daughter to the prince.⁷⁰ This obvious error was noticed by Krom who identified the standing figure with the prince.⁷¹ The contrast, however, between the ornate splendour of the dress of this nimbate figure and the simplicity of that of the prince in the preceding relief (plate 1 (a)) escaped his notice, and although he observed the raised standard, he did not try to explain its presence in this scene.

The Pali versions, particularly *Pj.*,⁷² afford us a more satisfactory explanation of both the halo and the raised standard found in this relief. The standing nimbate figure depicts neither Druma nor the *bodhisattva* but Śakra who according to *Pj.* comes down in person. The arrival of Śakra on the scene is denoted by this standard which appears nowhere else among these 20 reliefs. He would be invisible to all but the prince, an effect achieved by the sculptor in a most ingenious way. Not a single eye is turned towards him. By contrast, in the preceding scene (plate 1 (a)) where the prince is engaged in the first test (the feat of archery) he is keenly watched by a large number of the assembly present. The remaining story, which presumably involved Śakra's conversation with the prince and the hovering of the fly, is left to the imagination of the spectators.

Finally we may note yet another detail that agrees only with 'Pali'. *Da.* speaks of 1,000 *kinnarīs*⁷³ (*Ak.* of 500) among whom Manoharā is to be recognized. It is obvious that such a large number cannot be depicted on a relief and the sculptor would show only a few of them. Yet the fact that only seven maidens are shown is significant as this number exactly corresponds with the *sattakaññāyo* of 'Pali'. This number is again repeated in 'Pali' in connexion with the scene of Manoharā's bathing in the pond (prior to her capture) and relief no. I, b, 5, depicting this scene, also shows only seven *kinnarīs* (as against the 500 of *Da.*).⁷⁴

It is true that the remaining three scenes (*viz.* the prince flying across the mountains tied to the wings of a bird,⁷⁵ the prince lifting the heavy stone, and

⁷⁰ '18 (L. 36). Il se résout enfin, ainsi qu'il est écrit et qu'on peut voir, à accorder au prince la main de sa fille', *BEFEO*, IX, 1909, 16.

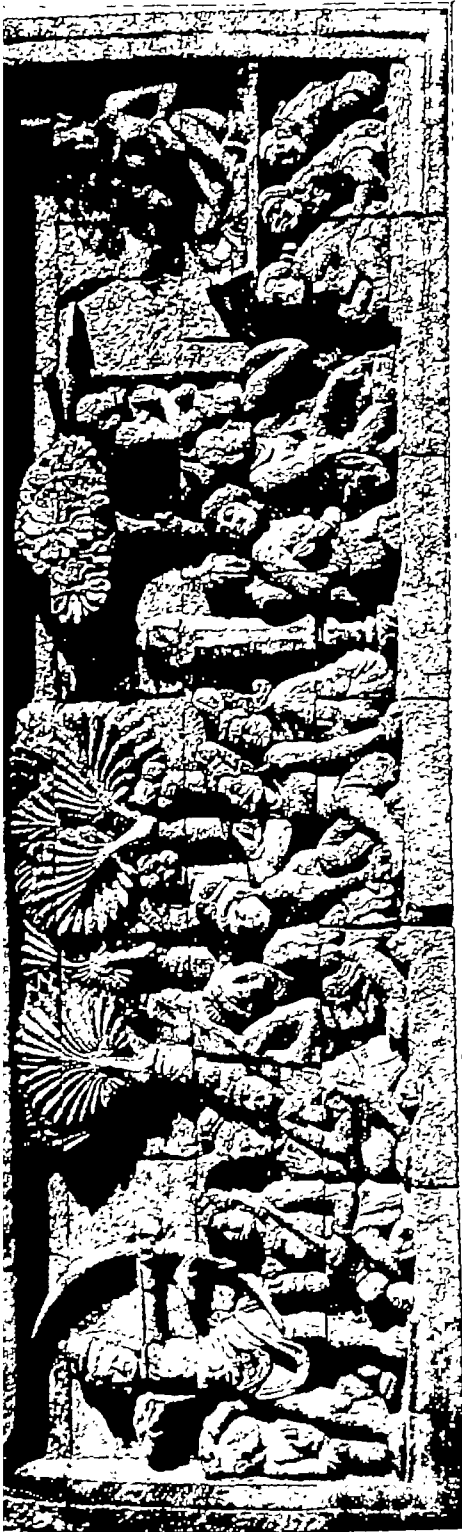
⁷¹ We cannot accept Krom's suggestion (*Beschrijving van Barabudur*, 234-5) that relief no. 18 is depicting the majesty of the *bodhisattva* by giving him a halo, since elsewhere in the reliefs the same prince appears without halo. As regards the trace of a halo on the figure of the prince in relief no. 20 which according to Krom may be faintly visible, this is certainly an illusion produced by a slight break in the relief above his head.

⁷² See p. 546, n. 58.

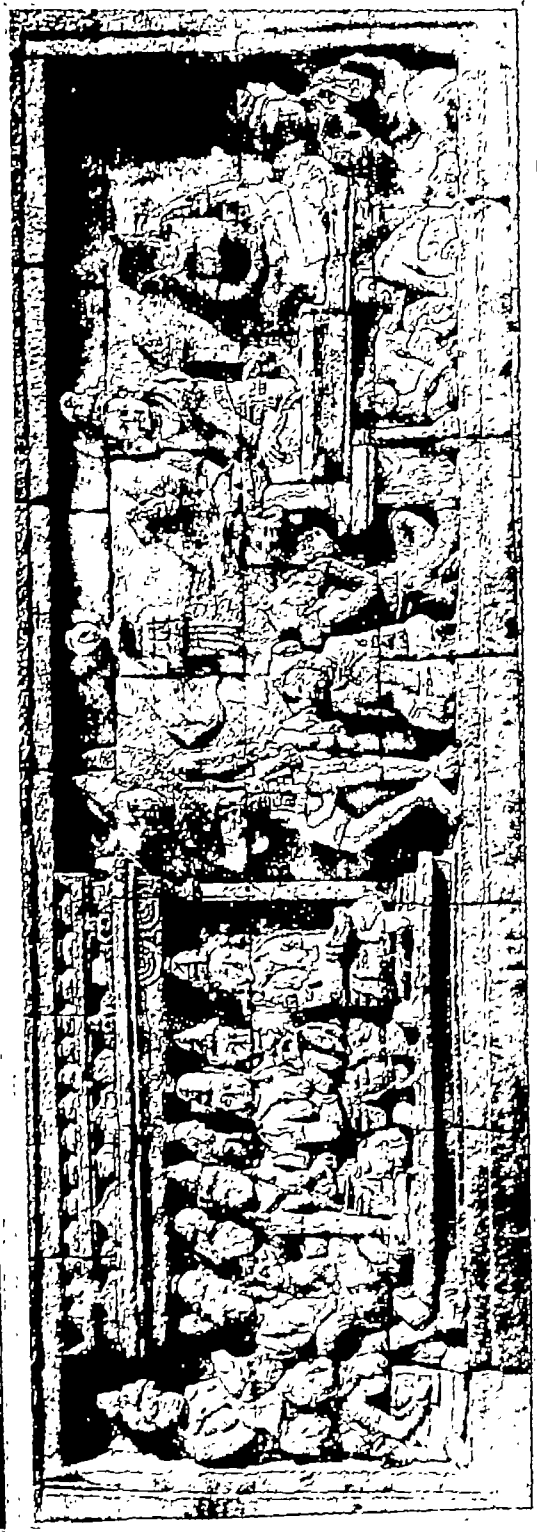
⁷³ *Tataḥ kinnarīśahasraṣya Manoharāsamānarūpasya madhye Manoharāṃ sthāpayitvā . . .* (*Da.*, 459).

⁷⁴ *Yāvan Manoharā kinnarī pañcabataparivāritā avatīrṇā snātum* (*Da.*, 443). Cf. *Atha tā sattakinnarīkaññāyo Dumarājadhīyo . . . kinnarīgaṇaparivutā . . . tassa tīre otarītā nisīdīmsu . . .* (*Zp.*, 154). *Mv.* does not give any number: *Manoharā nāma dhīlā bahūhi kinnarehi kinnarīhi ca parivāritā . . .* (*Mv.*, II, 97).

⁷⁵ In this connexion, a pair of birds perched on the branch of a tree on the left-hand corner of relief no. I, b, 15 might be of some special interest. The relief depicts Sudhana's meeting with



(a)



(b)

BOROBUDUR RELIEFS NOS. I, B, 17-18 (REPRODUCED FROM N. J. KROM AND T. VAN ERP, *BESCHRIJVING VAN BARABUDUR*, 's-Gravenhage Martinus Nijhoff 1920 COURTESY MARTINUS NIJHOFF)

Druma's visit to the human world) are not depicted on the Borobudur reliefs. These were perhaps not thought to be of any importance or more probably were later additions to the story. But there is not a single scene in all the 20 reliefs which could be shown to be at variance with the account in 'Pali'. It is therefore evident that the Borobudur reliefs of this story are not based on *Da.* but on some other hitherto unknown version which could also be the primary source for 'Pali'.

Whether this common unidentified source also belonged to the Mūla-Sarvāstivādins or to some other school popular in Java cannot be determined on the basis of 'Pali'. Nor is it possible to ascertain the precise date at which it became accessible to the Theravādins of the South East Asian countries who presumably adopted it with several additions of their own and rewrote it in Pali in perfect imitation of a classical *jātaka* for *Pj.* and *Zp.* Despite their apocryphal nature, these two versions became very popular among the Buddhists of Burma and Siam, and were adapted later for *pyos*, plays and theatrical performances composed in their own languages.

The earliest of these ⁷⁶ appears to be the *Manoharī pyo* ⁷⁷ by Nawade dated 1579 based on *Zp.* This is followed by the *Sūjā pyo* by Padesarājā in the first half of the eighteenth century. In 1776 appeared a *Yagan* called *Ngwedawng* ⁷⁸ by Shwedawng Nandathu. A play based on this story called *Dwe Me Naw pya zat* ⁷⁹ (actually called *Ngwedawngthu* 'Girl of the Silver Hill') by Chan Mya was published in Rangoon in 1880. In 1878 A. Fyfe published a translation 'The Silver Hill: a Burmese drama'.⁸⁰ Fyfe does not mention the sources of his translation. It was probably based on an oral text, as in the case of J. Smith who in 1839 published a similar version of the story of Sudhana in his 'Specimen of the Burmese drama'.⁸¹

In Siam also the *Sudhana-jātaka* of the *Pj.* version became the source for

the hermit and his obtaining the ring from the latter. From here onwards he starts on his journey through the forests and mountains until he arrives at the lake (relief no. 16). In the Pali versions alone he is brought there tied to the wings of a bird (see p. 543, n. 49). The fact that these two birds are seated and are not flying (unlike those in nos. 2, 3, 5, 11, and 16) suggests that their presence in this relief is probably linked with the story rather than merely forming a part of the scenery of the forest. There is, however, one more bird seated in the remote right-hand corner of this (no. 16) relief. But it is sitting right on top of a lake and may therefore have no other significance.

⁷⁶ I am indebted to Mr. John Okell for furnishing me with a list of published Burmese works on Sudhana. Of the unpublished mention may be made of a Mon MS called *Lik bra rat inān kanri* 'The book of the diadem of the *kinari*' (124 pp.) found in the Bernard Free Library, Rangoon, a microfilm of which obtained by Mr. H. L. Shorto is in the Library of SOAS.

⁷⁷ Mandalay, Hanthawaddy Pīṭakat Press, 1929.

I am grateful to Professor Hla Pe for comparing Nawade's work with *Zp.* and establishing their relationship.

⁷⁸ See extracts in *Anthology of Burmese literature*, II, Rangoon, 1922, 131-4.

⁷⁹ Rangoon, Bengalee Job-printing Press, 1880.

⁸⁰ In his *Burma past and present*, 1878, II, 26-58. The translation is by Lieut. Sladen and Colonel Sparks made in 1856.

⁸¹ *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, no. 91, 1839, 535-51.

many popular theatrical plays in Thai.⁸² According to René Nicolas,⁸³ the generic term for a theatrical performance of the ancient 'chatri' type is *nōrā*, a southern Thai variant of central Thai *manōrā* (from Pali Manoharā). In the southern provinces of Siam the story of Manoharā has long been a favourite piece.

It is difficult to determine the extent of the dependence of these popular works in Burmese and Thai on the two Pali versions. Works like the *Manoharī pyo* are clearly based on *Zp*. But the English translations available to us indicate the possibility that independent popular oral traditions exist, directly connected with the Borobudur reliefs. The additions found in these two are of a minor nature, e.g. Manoharā giving birth to a child while the prince is away on the expedition, or king Druma subjecting the prince to an additional test of subduing a wild elephant and a horse. The omissions are more significant. The episode of the *nāgarāja* is only hinted at: the hunter obtains the noose from the hermit which had been presented to him by a dragon.⁸⁴ The second test of 'Pali', the lifting the heavy stone,⁸⁵ and the last scene, Druma's visit to Uttarapāñcāla, are missing here as also in the Borobudur reliefs.

But the more popular and distinctive scenes of 'Pali', e.g. the flight of the prince tied to the wings of a bird, the Act of Truth for making the maiden unable to lift the pitcher, and finally the intervention of Sakka in the scene of the recognition are all retained in both. The last scene undergoes a still further refinement in Fytche's version. Here the seven maidens expose their

⁸² See *Bot lakhon khrang krung kao* 'Theatrical pieces of the Ayuthyan period': *Nāng manōrā* and *Sang thōng* version in the National Library, Bangkok, third ed., 1964, 130 pp. I am indebted to Mr. E. H. S. Simmonds for a comparison of *Nāng manōrā* with *Pj*. The Thai text contains only one scene depicting Manoharā's coming to bathe in the pond culminating in her capture by the hunter. (A miniature painting from a Thai MS of *Traiphūm* dated A.D. 1776, depicting the scene of Manoharā's capture by the hunter is reproduced by Klaus Wenk, *Thailändische Miniaturmalereien*, Wiesbaden, 1965, pp. 79-81 (plate xvi).) For brief theatrical extracts from eighteenth-century fragments based on this story, see Schweisguth, *Étude sur la littérature siamoise*, 146-52. Also see Jean Drans, *Histoire de Nang Manora et Histoire de Sang Thong*. Tokyo, 1947.

⁸³ René Nicolas, 'Le lakhon nora ou lakhon chatri; et les origines du théâtre classique Siamois', *Journal of the Siam Society*, xviii, 1924, 85-110.

⁸⁴ The Hermit: There is one way, and only one, my son,
To gain the end you seek. A magic noose
The King of Dragons gave himself to me. . . .
But take it, if you list, and snare your bird. Fytche, op. cit., 33.

In Smith's translation the hunter captures Manoharā with his own noose: *JASB*, no. 91, 1839, 539.

⁸⁵ The lifting of the heavy stone reminds one of a similar incident in the episode of two giants known as the Kāla brothers in the *Glass Palace Chronicle*: 'When they had eaten it they said, "Let us test whether what our teacher told us be true or no!" So they made assay, and lo! they could lift a stone slab ten cubits in length, eight cubits in breadth; and they put it at the foot of the stairs of the monastery' (tr. Pe Maung Tin and G. H. Luce, 1923, 76).

The testing of enterprises by the lifting of stones is not unknown in present-day Burma as the following note kindly sent to me by Mr. H. L. Shorto would indicate: 'Omen stones or touchstones (Mon *tna' nimit*) are kept at various pagodas (in Lower Burma) in front of a particular image of the Buddha or of the guardian *nat* of the pagoda. After praying to the Buddha or *nat* the suppliant tries to lift the stone (about the size of a cannon-ball, of stone or metal); if he is successful he will be lucky. The formula is a sort of *saccakiriya*: "If I . . .

finger through a sevenfold screen and the prince has to recognize his bride by identifying her. The prince begs the ' Powers ' to ' grant him a sign ', and a bee settles on Manoharā's finger.⁸⁶

The use of the screens is probably an afterthought suggested by the stylized hand-gestures of the Borobudur reliefs. But there is no doubt that Sakka plays an important role in this story as well as in a majority of these apocryphal *jātakas*. He appears in no less than 31 of the 50 *jātakas* of *Zp.*,⁸⁷ and on 30 occasions is identified with Anuruddha, renowned for his ' clairvoyant eye ' (*dībbacakkhū ti pākaṭo*). This appears to be an imitation of the *Vessantara-jātaka* where also Sakka is identified with Anuruddha.⁸⁸ Otherwise in the Theravāda tradition, particularly that of Ceylon, Anuruddha plays a no more significant role than the other chief disciples of the Buddha. The prominence given to him in Burma and also in Siam⁸⁹ suggests the existence of a cult dedicated to Anuruddha and identified with Sakka, the chief of the 37 *nats* of Burma. It may not be without significance that the founder of the Pagan dynasty, the king responsible for placing Sakka at the head of the 37 *nats*, the first Buddhist king of Burma, should also be called Anuruddha⁹⁰ (A.D. 1044–1077). He might have been a royal patron of this cult and, in conformity

may I lift this stone'''. See also Shway Yoe, *The Burman: his life and notions*. Third ed., London, 1927, 240.

It is possible that this particular test in the Pali versions might have been introduced by the monks of Burma from some such popular tradition.

⁸⁶ King: Before my daughters let a seven-fold screen
Of silk inwrought with gems suspended be,
And from within let each of them, in turn,
One taper finger carefully expose.
If he, who claims the lovely Dwaymenau,
By this can single her from the rest,
I will admit his title to her hand.

Fytohe, op. cit., 58.

⁸⁷ Of the 31 stories not less than 23 are found in *Pj.* and there also Sakka is identified (in the *samodhāna*) with Anuruddha. The only story where he is identified with Moggallāna is *Akkharalikhita-jātaka* (*Zp.*, no. 43). Of the remaining 19 stories where Sakka does not play any part, 12 are to be found only in *Zp.* These could possibly be much later additions to the earlier collections of Sakka stories in both versions.

⁸⁸ On Anuruddha, first cousin of the Buddha and one of his chief disciples, see *DPPN*. The Pali scriptures and *apthakathās* speak often of his *iddhi* powers and in 14 *jātakas* he is identified with Sakka. In Mahāyāna texts Anuruddha's name appears as Aniruddha: *tatas tāny ābharaṇāni cireṇa kālena Bhadrīkasya Śākyakumārasya Mahānāmnō Aniruddhasya cābadh-yanta sma* (*Lalitavistara*, 229). See Edgerton's *BHSD*.

⁸⁹ Mr. E. H. S. Simmonds to whom I owe the following note informs me that Aniruddha is mentioned along with the Buddha in theatrical invocation texts in Thai: ' In a shadow-play MS in the Library of the University of Edinburgh (Oriental collection, no. PL 42) Aniruddha appears immediately after the Buddha in the following passage :

I salute the Buddha the Supreme One,
compassionate towards innumerable creatures,
may we be raised to the state of Nirvāṇa.

I salute Aniruddha, he who sets all in being
the jungles of wood and water,
all streams that pour down from the hills '.

⁹⁰ On Anuruddha (transcribed as Anavrahta in modern Burmese) king of Pagan, see the *Glass Palace Chronicle*, tr. Pe Maung Tin and G. H. Luce, 1923, 64–100. On p. 96 he is referred

with the concept of 'Devarāja' of those regions, might even have been identified with Sakka. Popular stories displaying Sakka's graceful interventions, originating even outside the Theravāda tradition, as in the case of the *Sudhana-jātaka*, might then have found a place among the orthodox Theravādins, forming a nucleus for the later apocryphal collections like *Zp.* and *Pj.*

In the light of the comparisons of the various texts given above it would appear that *Mv.* V is the oldest, that the redaction used by 'Saka' occupies a position intermediate between *Mv.* V and *Da.*, and that *Da.* is a subsequent, more developed redaction. Ksemendra in his *Ak.* follows *Da.* in the main but appears to have had access to source materials connected with 'Saka'. An unidentified redaction belonging to the *Da.* V but differing in several details from the Indian and 'Saka' texts seems to have reached Borobudur where it became the source of reliefs nos. I, b, 1-20, and also of the apocryphal versions written in Pali, in imitation of the classical *Jātaka* book, by the Theravādins of South East Asia. These in turn, together with popular traditions surviving from the days of the Borobudur reliefs, appear to have inspired the composition of a large number of *pyos*, plays and theatrical performances based on this story popular even to this day in Burma and Siam.

to as king Anuruddhadeva. See also Maung Htin Aung, *Folk elements in Burmese Buddhism*; H. L. Shorto, 'The 32 *myos* in the medieval Mon kingdom', *BSOAS*, xxvi, 3, 1963, 590.

Early terra-cotta plaques bearing the name of this king spelt Aniruddha are referred to in the *Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of Burma*, for 1906 (p. 10), 1912 (p. 19), and 1915 (p. 15). The last reads: *Eso bhagawā mahārāja siri Aniruddhadevena kato vimuttattham sahatthenevā ti.*

But the same king's name with a different spelling Anuradhā occurs in an inscription (*Inscriptions of Burma*, portfolio II, pl. 160a) dated Sakarāj 609 (A.D. 1247) in the phrase *Oakkawatiy Anuradhā klon ihu so kywan lay* (l. 6).

COLLOQUIAL IN THE YU-HSIEN K'U

By ARTHUR WALEY

What follows, as will be apparent to the reader, was written as a review of Mr. Howard Levy's translation of the T'ang story *Yu-hsien k'u*,¹ which, although mentioned in some Western histories of Chinese literature, has not hitherto appeared in a complete translation.

After introductory remarks Mr. Levy analyses the story (it is of course a seventh-century Chinese story, lost in China but preserved in Japan) and then gives his translation of it, followed by nearly 100 notes. In subsequent sections he discusses the authorship of the book, the history of the text, and its influence on Japanese literature. This section contains what is so far as I know the first translation of the story of a supposed intrigue between the author of the *Yu-hsien k'u* and the Empress Wu-hou, as given in the Japanese book *Karamonogatari* (thirteenth century). A notable feature of Mr. Levy's book is the bibliography, which runs to 20 pp. and contains many items printed in relatively obscure Japanese publications.

Mr. Levy is no doubt right in saying (p. 66) that the *Ch'ao-yeh ch'ien-tsai*, another work attributed to Chang Wen-ch'eng (perhaps better known as Chang Tsu) the author of the *Yu-hsien k'u*, is not Chang's original book but an expansion of it, dating from much later times. I wonder, however, whether the extracts from it in the *T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi* may perhaps represent the *Ch'ao-yeh ch'ien-tsai* almost in its original form. Out of over 200 extracts there seem to be only two that are later in date than Chang Wen-ch'eng's time. The question needs going into more thoroughly.

If it is true that the current editions of the *Ch'ao-yeh ch'ien-tsai* do not present the work in its original form, the same may also be said of another book by Chang Wen-ch'eng, the *Lung-chin feng-sui p'an* 'Dragon-sinews phoenix-marrow judgements'. It mentions, for example, an accusation brought against Li Chi-fu 李吉甫 some 50 years after Chang's death. For the literary genre called *p'an* see my *Po Chü-i*, 28.

I shall frequently allude to the commentary in Chinese which is affixed to the early printed editions of the *Yu-hsien k'u*. Of the very numerous Chinese works which the commentator quotes the latest is the *Wen-ch'ang hsiu-chü* 文場秀句, a popular encyclopedia dating from about A.D. 820. The commentary therefore probably dates from the ninth century. It may well have been written in China for the use of Chinese readers. Who was the author? There is a poem about a dawn parting of lovers (*T'ai'ai t'iao chi*, ch. 5, p. 4) by Yüan Chen, the friend of Po Chü-i, which certainly reads as though the author were paraphrasing the dawn parting passage in the *Yu-hsien k'u*. The

¹ Howard S. Levy (tr.): *The dwelling of playful goddesses: China's first novelette, by Chang Wen-ch'eng (ca. 657-730)*. 2 vols.: [ix], iii, 119 pp.; 79 pp. [Tokyo: Dai Nippon Insatsu, 1965.] (Distributed by Paragon Book Gallery, New York. Translation volume, \$4. Plus volume containing Chinese text, \$6.)

cock and the magpie are jointly abused in the same way as in the *Yu-hsien k'u* and the Lord of Heaven reproached for interfering with the love affair. A conceivable person to have written the commentary (though this is perhaps too wild a speculation) is perhaps Po Hsing-chien (brother of Po Chü-i and friend of Yüan Chen) who wrote a *fu* on love-making, preserved only in a Tun-huang manuscript now at the Bibliothèque Nationale.

One document of some importance in connexion with Chang's life is not mentioned by Mr. Levy. This is a 'personal statement' (*Ch'üan T'ang wen*, ch. 172, fol. 1) apparently addressed to the Emperor Ming-huang in 713 or 714. In it he says that, having been honoured with official rank, he has not successfully accomplished a single service, and is fully prepared to be condemned to death. But there is one thing on his mind. He has recently put together a selection of his writings in a considerable number of scrolls, including poems, prose-poems, memorials to the Throne, and records. These he intended to present at Court, but has not yet had time to make a fair copy of them. He begs to be allowed a hundred days' grace in which to put the book in order, so that even after his execution his literary fame may endure. The request was presumably ignored, for no trace of any such literary collection can be discovered, though it does seem (see above, p. 559) that the *Yu-hsien k'u* still existed in the ninth century. It is surely of some interest to know that what eventually failed to be transmitted in China was not only the *Yu-hsien k'u* but also the whole of Chang Wen-ch'eng's literary output previous to about his 57th year.

The *Yu-hsien k'u* contains many colloquial expressions. Almost all of them occur, with ample context, and in many cases very frequently, in the popular literature from Tun-huang, and the publication in 1957 of the *Tun-huang pien-wen chi* by Wang Chung-min and others made it possible for the first time to understand fully the colloquial expressions in the *Yu-hsien k'u*. Tun-huang colloquial has been made the subject of an invaluable book, Chiang Li-hung's *Tun-huang pien-wen tzu-i t'ung-shih* 敦煌變文字義通釋, revised edition, 1960. In 1961 the great Japanese authority on Chinese literature, Professor Iriya Yoshitaka, published his *Tonkō henbun shū ko-go go-i sakuin*, an index to Tun-huang colloquial. Light on some of these expressions will be found in the *Shih tz'u ch'ü yü-tz'u hui-shih* 詩詞曲語辭匯釋 of Chang Hsiang, 1954. None of this material is used or even referred to by Mr. Levy. Partly in the light of this Tun-huang material and partly in that of parallels I have noticed in the course of miscellaneous reading in the last 40 years, I have ventured to make a few suggestions.

p. 12, l. 17: 自隱 'She conceals herself' should be 'she is inwardly aware' of her own beauty. The commentary in Chinese says that *tzu-yin* means 'in her heart she sets store by . . .'. This colloquial idiom is fully illustrated and discussed by Chiang Li-hung (pp. 59 and 60).

p. 12, l. 22: 眼見若爲憐 'The very sight would fill him with longing'. This should be 'If the eye could see her how immensely moving it would be'. The traditional Japanese gloss is *ika bakari* 'to what extent'. *Jo-wei* meaning

'how', interrogative or exclamatory, is given in most dictionaries, native and Western.

p. 12, l. 23: 渠. Mr. Levy translates 'she'. The Chinese commentary says it means 汝 'thou'. This is not so eccentric as it sounds. In a song (*Taishō Tripitaka*, XLVII, 529c) the monk Pen-chi 本寂 (840-901) says 渠焦, 我即死 'If you had not been there I should have died'. In a note he explains that this means 仰汝取活 'I owe my life to you'.

p. 12, l. 24: 人更別求天 'Why should he further beseech Heaven'. This should be 'How elsewhere should he seek a Paradise?' 'It would be profitless for him to seek a Paradise anywhere else', says the Chinese commentary.

p. 15, l. 15: 難求守 'so unapproachable'. The Chinese commentator says that *ch'iu-shou* 'expresses the attitude of putting in a plea'. I can quote two passages, not I think previously noticed, where *ch'iu-shou* undoubtedly means 'plead with'. One occurs in a poem by the ninth-century poet Wang Chien (*Ch'üan T'ang shih*, ch. 11, p. 62b). A Court singing-girl newly arrived in the Palace begs the instrumentalists to play each note of a song she is singing individually and clearly so that her relatives outside the Palace may be sure to recognize the tune. The expression used for 'pleads with' is *ch'iu-shou*.

The other example occurs in 'Swallow and sparrow' (*Tun-huang pien-wen chi*, 252) where the sparrow pleads with (*ch'iu-shou*) his gaoler to remove his cage. In the Wang Chien poem there is a variant 求首 which shows that the second element in the binome is a colloquial suffix with no fixed orthography.

p. 15, l. 19: 太難生—Mr. Levy, 'Difficult to live'. But in T'ang colloquial when an adjective comes between *t'ai* and *sheng*, *sheng* is only an adjectival ending and does not mean 'live'. The parallelism here between *sheng* and *ssu* 'die' at the end of the line before is purely formal. Compare p. 31, l. 19, where Mr. Levy rightly translates 太貪生 as 'too greedy'.

p. 16, l. 7: 何須負持百年身 'Why sustain a burdensome body for a hundred years?' This should be 'Why must you waste (fail to take advantage of) your allotted life-span?' What is evidently the same binome is written 負特 at Tun-huang (*Pien-wen chi*, 89, 90). This may be what we ought to read here.

p. 16, l. 16: 窮鬼故調人 'Is a hungry spirit deliberately provoking me?' This suggests that Mr. Levy takes *ch'üing kuei* in the sense of 'hungry ghost' (Buddhist, *preta*), which does not fit the context. *Ch'üing kuei* has two meanings: (1) the Demon of Poverty who has to be sent away by making him small offerings; (2) a term of abuse, 'wretched creature'. The Chinese commentary by saying 罵之 'he curses her' indicates that he here takes *ch'üing kuei* in the second sense: 'The wretched creature came on purpose to torment me'.

p. 20, l. 17: 豈肯相過 'How would you ever be willing to pass through here?' This does not make sense and should be 'how could you ever have managed to . . .'. See my article 'Notes on the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*', *BSOAS*, XXIII, 3, 1960, 527, 528.

p. 21, l. 7: 乍如靈光旦敞 'Or as if the (Reverent Prince of Lu) had

suddenly constructed his Temple of Spiritual Light'. 且 *tan* should be 且, as restored in most modern Chinese editions. *Chieh ch'ang* exactly balances the 新開 of the previous line. A rough translation would be 'A moment later seeming like the Ling-kuang Hall when it was just inaugurated'. I do not think *cha* ever meant or was thought to mean 'suddenly' in T'ang times.

p. 24, last line but seven: 會些頻頻相弄 'Why must you instantly make fun of him?' This should be 'Why must you needs make fun of him over and over again?' *Hui-hsieh* seems to have the same meaning as *hui-hsü* 會須.

p. 28, second poem: 無事風聲徹他耳 'It leisurely penetrates his ears'. But the Chinese commentator explains that this refers to a story of certain bamboos that emit a sound of wind and rain without anyone blowing into them. *Wu-shih* therefore means 'without trouble' in the sense of 'without one's having to do anything about it'.

p. 29, l. 18: 兒遞換作 'substituting my position'. This should, I think, be 'I work turn and turn about', unlike the barbarian who was cheated of his fair share of riding and had to go on foot all the time.

p. 30, poems: the hero recites a poem which is said to be about the backgammon-board, and Tenth Maiden replies with one which presumably deals with the same subject. On the face of it both poems deal solely with the amorous connexion between him and her. This is equally true of the original and the translation. 'Back feet' and 'front waist' must, however, be technical terms connected with backgammon; but though I have looked up a good deal of the literature connected with the subject I have failed to discover what they mean.

p. 30, bottom: 自隱心偏 'Elder Sister is concealing some inner intent'. This should be 'is inwardly aware of her own partiality', and therefore attributes a like partiality to me. *Tzu-yin* often has this implication. See Chiang Li-hung, 60, where one of the examples is from the *Ch'ao-yeh ch'ien-tsai* (*T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi*, ch. 249, p. 1930).

p. 31: 各著一邊箱 'Placing each alongside a box' should be 'Placing them one on each side'. 箱 is here written for 廂. The Chinese editions correct this. Compare Chang Hsiang, p. 747.

p. 31, l. 22 seq.: 娘子莫分疎。兔入狗突裏自來飲食。知復欲何如 'Sister shouldn't neglect the fact that she is (like a) rabbit inside the hole belonging to a dog. How does she know what's going to happen next?' This should be 'Madam, don't try to justify yourself! The hare that runs into the house by the dog-hole is drink and food coming of its own accord. I wonder what else it expected? (i.e. except to be made by the family into hare broth and hare ragout)'.

Fen-su, in the sense 'excuse oneself', 'justify oneself', occurs 12 times in the Tun-huang literature. It is also explained in the *Cho keng lu* of T'ao Tsung-i, ch. 2, p. 9b. The dog-hole is a round hole at the bottom of the door made so that the dog can run in and out of the house. It is the people of the house, not the dog, who are going to kill and eat the hare. The words 'is drink and food

coming of its own accord' are present in the earliest manuscript, as also in the text supplied by Mr. Levy, but are omitted in his translation.

For *chih fu yü ho ju* compare Chang Wen-ch'eng's *Ch'ao-yeh ch'ien-tsai* as quoted in *T'ai-p'ing Kuang-chi*, ch. 389, p. 3107, 此其命也知復云何? 'I wonder what else (i.e. else than what it appears to mean) this designation (Village of the Five Dukes) means?' For the saying about the dog-hole compare *Tun-huang pien-wen chi*, 379, 'When a hare goes in by the dog-hole it will not be long before it is cooked and eaten'.

p. 36: 若冷頭面在。生平不慰空。即今雖冷惡。人自覓殘銅

'Its seeming coldness is only on the surface;
It didn't iron a lifetime in vain.
Though it now is cold and second-hand,
I still search for that broken-down copper'.

This seems to do violence to Chinese idiom. The text continues 'Everyone laughed', and there are in the poem several double meanings. Thus *t'ou-mien* refers to Tenth Maiden's countenance and at the same time to the top part of the flat-iron into which hot embers are put. *Leng-o* refers to the coldness of her feelings and at the same time to the cold condition of the flat-iron. Finally *ts'an-t'ung* conceivably means 'the rest of the copper' and at the same time 贖同 'agreement'.

I would tentatively translate:

'If obduracy (cold face, cold top) continue
It could not in a whole lifetime be ironed away.
At present although it (your heart, the flat-iron) is cold and bad
You and I must search for the remaining metal (must try to reach an
accord) '.

The difficulty of the above interpretation is, of course, *k'ung*, which I take to mean 'blank'.

p. 40, ll. 17-18: 強知人是客。方便惱他來 'She, fully aware that I am a guest, feels annoyed when I arrive'. This should be 'They (the swallows) are well aware that I am a visitor. They have come only as a stratagem to stir up your feelings'. For 'visitor' we might under the circumstances almost say 'customer'. For this meaning of *nao* see Chang Hsiang, 517. In T'ang colloquial 方便 *fang-pien* has an adverbial sense: 'as a suitable expedient, as a means, as a ruse', etc.

p. 40, l. 20: 可可事風流 'A pair of swallows, just then playing at love' should be 'This pair of swallows happens really to be making love'. That is to say, you are wrong in supposing that they were only putting up a show of love-making in order to stir up my feelings.

p. 45, l. 6: 聞君把提快 'Having heard that you shoot arrows very quickly'. This should, I think, be 'While you have still got the thumb-guard on your hand'. The line makes no sense as it stands and I think 提快 should be corrected to 指決 (or 訣). This colloquial use of *wen* is amply illustrated by

Chiang Li-hung, 123. 閒健 *wen-chien* 'while one is still hale and hearty' is of frequent occurrence.

p. 46, last line but five: 有別人邀 'Someone else's invitation'. This should be 'someone else is hindering her'. See below, apropos of p. 47, bottom line.

p. 46, bottom line: 方便待渠招 'She is using this means to await your call'. This should be 'It is only as a device that she waits till you summon her'. One might paraphrase it by 'It is only for appearance's sake'.

p. 47, l. 17: 徑須剛捉著 'The path must be upright and held fast'. This should be 'the only thing for you to do is to catch on firmly'. *Ching-hsi* is correctly glossed in Japanese editions as *tada-ni subekaraku* 'what you only ought to do'.

p. 47, l. 18: 遮莫造精神 'Your high-spiritedness is quite sufficient'. This should be 'It does not matter how much energy you put into it'. More literally 'it does not matter how much spirit you bring into play'. *Chê-mo*, written in at least six different ways, is a colloquial expression that from T'ang times onwards seems to belong exclusively to the language of poetry.

p. 47, ll. 21-2: 若爲求守得。暫借可憐腰 'If you still seek to preserve yourself from me, Let me just borrow for a bit your lovable waist'. This should be 'How can I plead successfully for the temporary loan of your lovable waist?' For *jo-wei* see above, pp. 560-1, and for *ch'iu-shou* see above, p. 561.

p. 47, bottom line: 方便故相邀 'That is why she is so conveniently inviting'. This should be 'It is only as a ruse that she makes a point of impeding me'. Compare the song 長干曲 (*Yieh-fu shih-chi*, ch. 72) in which a lady in a boat says that the waves beating against her prow 故相邀 'make a point of impeding me'.

p. 48, l. 18: 自隱風流到 'She goes to him, her loveliness self concealed'. This should be 'She is aware in her own mind that a love-affair is coming'. For *tsu-yin*, see above, p. 562.

p. 50, l. 10: 薄媚 'Charmless'. But the normal meaning of *po-mei* is 'of frail charm', i.e. pretty. There is an exactly parallel passage (*Tun-huang pien-wen chi*, 264) in which the Phoenix King calls the sparrow a '*po-mei* brown-headed bird'. The key to both these passages (as also probably to Tu Fu's 誰家薄媚郎 is a poem by Hsü Ling (507-83) which I translated on p. 112 of *Eos*, edited by A. T. Hatto, in which the cook is reproached for disturbing lovers at dawn. The term of abuse levelled at the bird is not *po-mei* but *wu-lai* 無賴 'scamp'. I take *po-mei* to be a colloquial expression having the same meaning as the literary expression *wu-lai*.

p. 51, l. 4: 判自斷知聞 'I would have disregarded neither knowing nor hearing of you'. This should be 'It was in the natural course of things that we should know nothing about one another'. For this use of *p'an-tzu* compare a poem by the sixth-century A.D. Emperor Chien-wen, addressed to a beautiful lady about whom he says it is natural that she should be incomparable in beauty because she is the Goddess of the Lo River come back to life. See *Ku T'ang shih chi*, ch. 79, p. 16.

p. 51, l. 5: 天公強多事。今遣若爲分 'The Lord of Heaven forces many things to occur; Now he seemingly transmits an order that parts us two'. This should be 'The Lord of Heaven is needlessly interfering, causing us to make a parting such as this!' *Jo* and *wei* do not here go together. 若, as often, is for 偌 'such'.

p. 55, last line of last poem: 會些高飛 'I would soar'. *Hui-hsieh* here as above, p. 562, means 'surely'.

p. 57, n. 12: the Three Kingdoms Wei dynasty is here confused with the Tatar Wei dynasty. The dancer in question lived in the third century A.D.

p. 60, n. 57: the game of double-six is usually supposed to have reached China in the Three Kingdoms Wei dynasty. Mr. Levy's '549' may possibly be another instance of the confusion noted just above.

p. 70, l. 12, and p. 74, n. 4: the statement that Yü Ch'eng-hsieh (1775-1840) wrote an article on colloquial in the *Yu-hsien k'u* has been repeated from one book of reference to another. The article is sometimes quoted as occurring in his *Kuei-ssu lei-kao* ('Classified notes' of 1833); sometimes as being in his *Kuei-ssu ts'un-kao*, a continuation of the same work. I can find no trace of it in either.

The above suggestions refer almost exclusively to colloquial expressions occurring in the poems. In translating the prose passages, which are almost always in literary language, and which form the greater part of the work, Mr. Levy is thoroughly competent.

A DOCUMENTARY STUDY OF CHINESE LANDLORDISM IN LATE CH'ING AND EARLY REPUBLICAN KIANGNAN

By YUJI MURAMATSU

(PLATES I-X)

I

In current studies of the problem of landlordism in twentieth-century China there is a fundamental conflict and contradiction between the interpretations of the socio-economic historians, whose major thesis is often the inevitable process of progressive weakening and eventual decline of the control of 'feudal' landlords over land and peasants, and the actual conditions and facts of contemporary Chinese history, in which the decay of landlord power seems to have been far from inevitable, and where such persons as P'eng Pai and Mao Tse-tung have had to exert great revolutionary efforts to forcibly destroy the landlords' dominance.

There can be no doubt, however, that such socio-economic developments as the progressive commercialization and monetarization of the Chinese rural economy did have a great effect upon the freeing of the peasantry from the direct control exercised by their gentry landlords and by the local authorities. But even if we accept this as a general tendency, or as a valid theoretical generalization, much specific factual historical research remains to be done before we can say with confidence to what extent, in which areas, and at what time, this general tendency actually took effect.

It is the generally accepted view that there is a lack of adequate documentary source materials available to permit us to make direct concrete studies in depth of Chinese landlords and their exploitation and control of the peasantry, both from the institutional aspect and also in action. As a result really exhaustive and thorough studies of Chinese landlordism have been very few. However, the generally accepted notion that primary sources for modern Chinese economic history are scarce or lacking is true only to a limited degree. In recent years I have discovered considerable numbers of landlord documents, including lists of tenants, rent-rolls, tax-books, rent-collectors' letters and various procedural documents deriving from landlord bursaries, in the libraries of the Tōyō Bunko, the National Diet, the Jimbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo of Kyōto University, the Tōyō Bunka Kenkyūjo of Tōkyō University, and the Harvard-Yenching Institute.¹ In these collections at least several hundred items of manuscript source materials are available for study. Up to the present I have myself been

¹ A great many scholars have helped and encouraged me in this study. I would particularly like to express my gratitude to the librarians of the institutions in which the manuscripts are preserved, and also to Professors L. S. Yang of Harvard and D. C. Twitchett of London, who have gone carefully through my English MS before publication.

able to work through only 100 or so of these, and have published the results of my research in a series of articles in Japanese which are listed below.³

These establish clearly, I believe, that landlordism in China remained

¹ My principal studies relating to this topic are as follows. For the sake of brevity, I refer to them in subsequent notes as Muramatsu (1), etc.

(1) '*Niju-seiki shotō ni okeru So-shū kimbō no ichi so-san to sono kosaku-seido—Kōso-shō Go-kō-ken Hi-shi Kyōju-san kankei "Sosaki-bensa-satsu" no kenkyū*' 二十世紀初頭における蘇州近傍の一租棧とその小作制度—江蘇省吳江縣費氏恭壽棧關係「租籍便查」冊の研究 'A landlord bursary in the neighbourhood of Su-chou at the beginning of this century and its tenant-system—a study of the Kung-shou-chan bursary of the Fei clan of Wu-chiang county, Kiangsu', *Kindai Chūgoku Kenkyū*, v, 1964, 1-184.

(2) '*Shin-matsu So-shū fukin no ichi so-san ni okeru jinushi shoyūchi no chōzei kosaku kankei—Kōso-shō Go-ken Fu rin-ichi-san chitei-sōryō kankei bosatsu ni tsuite*' 清末蘇州附近の一租棧における地主所有地の徴税小作關係—江蘇省吳縣馮林一棧地丁漕糧關係簿冊について 'Tax payment and rent collection by a landlord bursary of late Ch'ing Su-chou—a study of the tax books of the Feng Lin-i chan bursary in Wu-hsien, Kiangsu', *Hitotsubashi Daigaku Kenkyū-nempō: Keizaigaku Kenkyū*, v, 1963, 153-383.

(3) '*Kokuritsu Kokkai Toshokan shūzō no "Gyorin zusatsu" ni tsuite*' 國立國會圖書館收藏の「魚鱗圖冊」について 'On the "Fish-scale books" possessed by the National Diet Library, Tokyo', *Hitotsubashi Daigaku Kenkyū-nempō: Keizaigaku Kenkyū*, vii, 1964, 247-345.

(4) '*Shin-matsu Kōnan ni okeru kosaku jōken to kosakuryō no saichō ni tsuite—Kōso-shō Go-ken Han-shi Gisō, onajiku Go-shi Yokei-san no shōyu, shōran, soyū, jijō, sekkyaku, oyobi "shus-seisu bisa" satsu no kenkyū*' 清末江南における小作條件と小作料の催徴について—江蘇省吳縣范氏義莊, 同吳氏畝經棧の召由, 承攬租由, 字條, 切脚および「出切備查」冊の研究 'On the conditions of tenant cultivation and extraction of rent payments in late Ch'ing Kiangnan—a study of documents such as *Chao-yu*, *Ch'eng-lan*, *Tsu-yu*, *Tsu-t'iao*, *Ch'ieh-ciao*, and "*Ch'u-ch'ieh pei-ch'a*" issued by the Charitable Estate of the Fan clan, and the Yü-ching tsu-chan bursary of the Wu clan of Wu-hsien county, Kiangsu', *Hitotsubashi Daigaku Kenkyū-nempō: Shakaigaku Kenkyū*, v, 1963, 129-208.

(5) '*Shin-matsu Min-sho no Kōnan ni okeru hōran kankei no jittai to sono kessan-hōkoku—Soshū Go-shi Yokei-san "Hōshō kakugō bisa" satsu no kenkyū*' 清末民初の江南における包攬關係の實態とその決算報告—蘇州吳氏畝經棧「報銷各號備查」冊の研究 'The realities of tax-farming and the balance of a tax-farming enterprise—a study of the Pao-hsiao ke-hao pei-ch'a account books of the Yü-ching chan bursary of the Wu clan', *Kindai Chūgoku Kenkyū*, vi, 1965, 1-66.

(6) '*Saikin gūmoku shita jakkan no Chūgoku jinushi-sei kankei monjo ni tsuite—Hafutsu-Yentei Kenkyūsho shūzō no soyū sono ta*' 最近遇目した若干の中國地主制關係文書について—哈佛燕京研究所收藏の租籍その他 'On some more Chinese landlord documents recently studied—such as the *tsu-yu* possessed by the Harvard-Yenching Institute and others', *Tōyō Gakuhō*, XLVI, 4, 1965, 1-33.

(7) '*Kindai-Chūgoku no jinushi monjo ni tsuite—sono shurui to seishitsu*' 近代中國の地主文書について—その種類と性質 'On the landlord documents of modern China, their types and nature' *Hitotsubashi Daigaku Kenkyū-nempō: Keizaigaku Kenkyū*, ix, 1965, 1-50.

(8) '*Chūgoku kindai-ka no tochi-mondai*' 中國近代化の土地問題 'The land problem in the modernization of China', *Rekishi Kyōiku*, XIII, 12, 1965, 1-12.

overwhelmingly powerful at least until the early 1920's, and that one vital factor in the maintenance of this power was the institution known as the 'landlord bursary' (*tsu-chan* 租棧) which has previously received comparatively little scholarly attention.³

Roughly speaking a landlord bursary or *tsu-chan* was an organization for the large-scale exploitation and management of lands owned by landlords. It was usually established and owned by a gentry⁴ landlord with some official background and therefore with considerable local influence and social standing. Such a landlord bursary did not only manage the landed properties owned by the owner of the bursary, but also accepted as agents lands owned by other landowners who found it more convenient to deposit their landholdings with the bursary rather than to manage them directly for themselves. The bursary collected rents from tenants and paid the taxes due to the local government in respect of all the lands under its management. The rents received from the tenants of lands accepted for management from landowners other than the owner of the bursary were remitted annually by the bursary to their owners after deduction of taxes, bursary commission (*chan-fei* 棧費), and other expenses.

The authorities recognized the convenience of the landlord bursary in the collection of taxes on behalf of the local government, and it became customary to dispatch regularly runners from the *fu* or *hsien* administration (*Fu-ch'ai* 府差 or *Hsien-ch'ai* 縣差) or other lower-ranking official underlings, such as *chou-p'an* 舟盤, to assist the rent-collectors to force the tenants to pay their rents to the bursaries.⁵

³ Until very recently, the only studies of the bursary institution apart from my own were those in Amano Motonosuke's 天野元之助 *Shina nōgyō-keizai ron* 支那農業經濟論, Tokyo, 1940, and *Shina nōson zakki* 支那農村雜記, Tokyo, 1942, and in the chapter on the tenancy system of the *Chung-kuo ching-chi nien-chien 1934* 中國經濟年鑑 1934, Nanking, 1935.

[Readers may be interested to compare this documentary study with the classical field-study of a neighbouring district, K'ai-hsien-kung, published before the war by Fei Hsiao-t'ung 費孝通 in his *Peasant life in China* (London, 1939). Fei mentions the institution of the landlord bursary, which he calls a 'rent-collecting bureau', and which in K'ai-hsien-kung was called a *chū* (局?) rather than *chan* 棧 on pp. 188 ff. Fei is writing of a later period even than the latest of Professor Muramatsu's documents, when the process of breakdown had gone still further. As he says, 'economic depression . . . has made rent a heavy burden on the peasant, and the income derived from rent much more vulnerable to the landlord'. The death of Fei Chung-shen, mentioned by Professor Muramatsu on p. 574, was shortly followed by a peasant rising in the Su-chou district, which was put down with much bloodshed.]

Last year another article appeared dealing with the subject, Chou Ch'i-chung 周其忠, 'Ti-chū chieh-chi ti lien-ho tsu-hsi—P'ing-hu tsu-chan lien-ho pan-shih-suo ti chi-chien tsui-cheng' 地主階級的聯合組織——平湖租棧聯合辦事所的幾件罪証, *Wen-wu*, 1965, no. 3, 6-7, 11.

⁴ In this study I employ the term 'gentry', in spite of the difficulties which this raises, in roughly the same sense as does Chang Ch'ung-li in his study *The income of the Chinese gentry*, Seattle, 1962.

⁵ Throughout the Ch'ing period (and indeed from the early years of the Ming) strict prohibitions were repeatedly promulgated by the central government against the existence of any

The landlord bursaries permanently employed such personnel as clerks (*shih-yeh* 師爺), workmen (*kung-jen* 工人), and rent-collectors (*ts'ui-chia* 催甲). The former were allocated tasks in the storehouses (*chan-ts'ang* 棧倉) book-keepers' office (*chang-fang* 賬房) and cashier's office (*kuei-fang* 櫃房) maintained by the bursary. The rent-collectors usually lived in the countryside, and were each responsible for the collection of rents due from a certain specified number of tenants. They collaborated with the runners and other official underlings sent out by the local authorities, to press for payment of rents from the tenants, and to bring the rents in to the bursary.

Among the individual landlord bursaries for the study of which significant amounts of relevant documents are available are the following:

- (1) The Kung-shou-chan 恭壽棧 or Kung-shou-sheng-chan 恭壽盛棧 of the Fei 費 clan. The documents relating to this are in the Tōyō Bunko.⁶
- (2) The Yü-ching tsu-chan 畚經租棧 of the Wu 吳 clan. The documents relating to this are in the National Diet Library.⁷
- (3) The Ching-yü tsu-chan 經畚租棧 of the Ts'ai 蔡 clan. The documents relating to this are in the Jimbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo, Kyōto University.
- (4) The Tzu-ching tsu-chan 資敬租棧 of the Wang 王 clan. The documents relating to this are in the National Diet Library.
- (5) The Feng-ho-chan 豐和棧 of the P'an 潘 clan. The documents relating to this are in the National Diet Library.
- (6) The Yung-an-chan 永安棧 of the Hsü 徐 clan. The documents relating to this are in the Tōyō Bunka Kenkyūjo, Tōkyō University.
- (7) A bursary of which neither the name of the bursary nor that of the owner clan is known, but which apparently had a close relationship with the Feng-lin-i-chan 馮林一棧 possessed by Feng Kuei-fen 馮桂芬. The documents relating to this are in the Tōyō Bunko.⁸

institution or persons acting as intermediaries in the payment of taxes between the actual taxpayer and the local authorities. However, the very repetition of such orders proves the futility of the government's attempts to enforce the principle which it called *izu-feng t'ou-kuei* 自封投櫃 'personally wrapping and personally putting into the chest'. In actual fact there was a great deal of such intervention of third parties, which was known by the general term *pao-lan* 包攬. Most of the edicts embodying such prohibitions point out the local influential families and gentry members as the chief culprits. I am of the opinion that the landlord bursaries were among the most confirmed offenders. In any case, whatever prohibitions the central government chose to issue, local officials were still forced to depend upon the goodwill and assistance of landlord gentry to collect their taxes.

⁶ See Muramatsu (1).

⁷ See Muramatsu (4) and (5).

⁸ See Muramatsu (2). The covers of the rent and tax-books from this bursary held by Tōyō Bunko give the name neither of the bursary nor of its owner clan. However on some is the note 馮林一棧備考. 'Held by the Feng Lin-i bursary for future reference'. Feng Lin-i was, of course, the well-known scholar official Feng Kuei-fen (1809-74), on whom see Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing period*, Washington, 1943; Huang Ts'ui-po 黃淬伯, 'Ch'i-shih nien ch'ien ti Wei-hsin jen-wu Feng Ching-t'ing' 七十年前的淮新人物; 馮景亭, *Chung-shan Wen-huah Chiao-yü-kuan Chi-k'an*, IV, 2, 1937, 98-116; Momose Hiroshi 百瀬弘,

- (8) The Kung-hao-tsu-chan 公號租棧 of the Pin-hsing kung-suo 賓興公所. The documents relating to this are in the Harvard-Yenching Institute Library.⁹
- (9) The Charitable Estate of the Fan clan, i.e. the famous *Fan-shih I-chuang* 范氏義莊. Documents relating to this are in the National Diet Library and in the Tōyō Bunka Kenkyūjo.¹⁰

Of these bursaries, the first six were all established and owned by individual clans, and the seventh, too, was probably also of the same type. The eighth was a bursary established by a group of gentry families for the special purpose of donating grants to meet the travel expenses of candidates visiting the metropolis or the provincial capital to sit for the official examinations.¹¹ The last was the famous charitable clan estate of the Fan clan, which had been kept continuously in existence since 1050 and lasted until our own days. There are already some good studies of this.¹²

All of these bursaries were, it seems, situated in the same province of Kiangnan, Kiangsu, and most of them were in the same district of Su-chou. However, very recently Chou Ch'i-chung has published a study of the activities of similar landlord bursaries in P'ing-hu county in Chekiang province,¹³ and it is thus clear that the landlord bursary was not an institution confined to the very special Su-chou district. Just how widely it was distributed, however, will only be ascertained by future research.

The dates of the surviving documents cover the period from the late Ch'ing until the 1930's. For example, rent books of the Kung-shou-chan (bursary no. 1 above) dated 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1922, 1927, 1928, and 1929 are available. In addition, the National Diet Library possesses the tenancy contracts, which range in date at least from 1868 to 1919. From the books of the Yü-ching tsu-chan (bursary no. 2) we can reconstruct an almost continuous record of its land management from 1893 to 1928. Thus,

'Hyō Keifun to sono chojutsu ni tsuite' 馮桂芬とその著述について, *Tōa Ronsō*, II, 1940, 95-122; and Muramatsu (2), 269-95.

⁹ See Muramatsu (6) and (7), particularly postscript 3 to the latter.

¹⁰ See Muramatsu (4).

¹¹ See Ho Ping-ti, *The ladder of success in Imperial China*, New York, 1962, also Yang Lien-sheng 楊聯陞, 'Ko-chü shih-tai ti fu-k'ao lu-fei wen-ti' 科舉時代的赴考旅費問題, *Ching-huah Hsüeh-pao*, new ser., II, 2, 1961, 116-28.

¹² See Shimizu Morimitsu 清水盛光, *Chūgoku zokusan seido kō* 中國族產制度攷, Tokyo, 1949; D. C. Twitchett, 'The Fan clan's charitable estate, 1050-1780' (in A. F. Wright (ed.), *Confucianism in action*, Stanford, 1959) and 'Documents on clan administration: I. The rules of administration of the charitable estate of the Fan clan', *Asia Major*, NS, VIII, 1, 1960, 1-35; Niida Noboru, 仁井田陞, 'Chūgoku no dōzoku mata wa sonraku no tochi shoyū mondai' 中國の同族又は村落の土地所有問題, in *Chūgoku hōseishi kenkyū*, 3, Tokyo, 1962, 683-740; Makino Tatsumi 牧野巽, *Kinsei Chūgoku sōzoku kenkyū* 近世中國宗族研究, Tokyo, 1949, 121-34; Kondō Hodeki 近藤秀樹, 'Hanshi gisō no henshen' 范氏義莊の變遷, *Tōyōshi Kenkyū*, XXI, 4, 1963, 93-138.

¹³ See p. 568, n. 3.

although these materials concern a rather small and restricted area geographically, the documents may sometimes be used to provide a long and continuous chronological series of statistical materials.

II

One of the principal groups of surviving landlord documents comprises rent-books (plates I-II) entitled *Tsu-pu* 租簿, *Tsu-chi* 租籍, or *Tsu-chi pien-ch'a* 租籍便查, from certain of the bursaries. These books were usually compiled annually by the bursary clerks, and recorded in respect of every individual plot of land (a) the names of its tenants, (b) its dimensions, (c) the amount of rent, (d) the rent payments made during the year, (e) credits given to the tenants, if any, and (f) any other relevant details concerning the particular landlord-tenant relationship.¹⁴ The rent-books thus give us not only a general picture of the estates managed by the bursary as a whole, but also provide a variety of detailed information about the rents of these lands, the tenants who cultivated each plot, the amounts of rent collected both in kind and in monetary equivalents, the payments of rent, and outstanding arrears.

The total acreage of lands managed by a single bursary often amounted to several thousand *mou*, which was quite extensive in comparison with the average scale of landed property in the Yangtse valley region in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For example, in 1908 the total acreage controlled by the Kung-shou-chan (bursary no. 1) amounted to 2913.709 *mou*,¹⁵ while those of the unnamed bursary no. 7 totalled 5884.450 *mou*.¹⁶ A part of these lands was actually owned by the owner of the bursary, but the bursary also managed and controlled other lands belonging to other landowners, some of them fellow-clansmen of the owner, but others members of other clans. An interesting feature of the bursary institution is that the bursary owner himself was usually not the owner of the largest acreage administered by the bursary. Almost always the largest landed property under a bursary's management belonged to some outside landowner. The acreage of lands belonging to various owners which made up the estate managed by the Kung-shou-chan (bursary no. 1) are set out in table 1 (p. 572).¹⁷

Among these landowners, the first two, i.e. the Fei and Ku clans, belonged, as I shall show below, to the gentry class. Both of their landed estates bear the designation *t'ang* 堂 ('hall'), that is to say the land was family or clan property. Of the other four landowners, which include the owners of the two

¹⁴ The Tōyō Bunko possesses 24 volumes of rent-books for lands belonging to the Kung-shou-t'ang, Hung-hsin-hao, I-tai, and Chūn-hao, administered by the Kung-shou-chan bursary. All bear the bursary's name either on the cover or printed in the block centres (*p'an-hsin*) of each page. Other rent-books in the Diet Library, Jimbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo, Kyōto, and the Harvard-Yenching Institute are in very similar form.

¹⁵ See Muramatsu (1), 27.

¹⁶ See Muramatsu (2), 305.

¹⁷ See Muramatsu (1), 27.

TABLE 1
*Ownership of lands under the management of the Kung-shou-chan
 bursary of the Fei clan*

	<i>mou</i>
Kung-shou-t'ang of the Fei clan (費恭壽堂) (the bursary owner)	368-185
Lo-shou-t'ang of the Ku clan (顧樂壽堂)	182-727
Ho-hao (合號)	479-610
Hung-hsin-hao of the P'u clan (溥鴻新號)	1883-187
I-t'ai (怡泰)	100-684
Chün-hao (駿號)	840-428
Total	3854-821

largest estates, those of the Hung-hsin-hao and Chün-hao, three did not bear the designation *t'ang* but were instead entitled *hao* 號, which was normally used for the title of business or commercial organizations.¹⁸ Perhaps most, or at least some of the landowners who preferred to deposit their lands with such gentry-managed bursaries were in fact absentee landlords who had to live in the cities because of their involvement in their urban enterprises.¹⁹

Of the Fei and Ku families mentioned above, the latter was unquestionably a gentry family with an official background, since in the rent books of the bursary both the family name Ku and the title of its hall (*t'ang*) also bear an official title—*Shih-hsi yün-ch'i-wei* 世襲雲騎尉.²⁰ I have also been able to identify and obtain some information about the Fei family. Between the leaves of the rent-book dated 1907 of the Kung-shou-chan bursary owned by the Feis, I discovered an empty envelope used for an obituary gift addressed by a certain Wang Ta-jen 王大人 in Peking to a person by the name of Fei Chung-shen 費仲深 living in the Hun-t'ang-hsiang 混堂巷 in Su-chou. It seemed reasonable to assume that this Fei Chung-shen was either the head, or at least an important member of the Fei clan who owned the bursary. Working upon this assumption it has proved possible to discover quite a lot of material on the history of this Fei clan from contemporary local gazetteers and the collected works of local persons.²¹

According to these sources, the Feis had been locally eminent in the Su-chou region during the Sung and Yüan dynasties, but later fell into a decline, and

¹⁸ See Muramatsu (1), 30-1, and p. 179, n. 13.

¹⁹ This does not imply that absentee landlords whose principal business was in the cities deposited lands with bursaries because those were in the countryside. Most bursaries were not, but were established in a town like Su-chou (see Muramatsu (8), 14-18). The advantage which the bursary had to offer was that through the gentry-official status of its owner it was able to control and manage peasants even from its urban headquarters.

²⁰ See Muramatsu (1), 30.

²¹ See Muramatsu (1), 32-34; Chen Yung-kuang, 'Fei Chi-chien chia-chuan' 費給諫家傳, in *T'ai-i-chou wen-chi* 太乙舟文集, 3; Chang Chung-jen 張仲仁, 'Fei chün chung-shen chia-chuan' 費君仲深家傳, *Chih-yüan pan-yüeh-k'an*, 5; *Wu-chiang hsien hou-chih*, 19; etc.

hardly any record remains of them during the Ming period. In early Ch'ing times one of their members, Fei Hung-hsüeh 費洪學 acquired the *chin-shih* degree in 1700 and was appointed magistrate of the county of Po-yeh in Pei Chih-li province. But even after this the family remained poor, and Fei Chen-hsün 費振勳 (1738-1816), Fei Hung-hsüeh's descendant and the great-great-grandfather of Fei Chung-shen mentioned above needed great determination and powerful ambition to undertake the study required to pass the official examinations with high ranking. Fei Chen-hsün passed the *chü-jen* examination in 1768 and the *chin-shih* in 1775. He later held a succession of both important and lucrative offices such as Reviser of the Wen-yüan-ke 文淵閣檢閱, secretary of the Szechuan Office of the Board of Finance 戶部四川司主事, senior secretary of the Shantung Office of the Board of Finance 戶部山東司郎中, Superintendent of the Pao-ch'üan-chü Mint 監寶泉局, Supervising Censor of Shantung Province 山東監察御史, etc. Most of these posts must have been lucrative ones, since they were specially concerned with such duties as the regulation of the salt business, the minting of coin, and water-conservancy works on the Yellow River. After his retirement from office Fei Chen-hsün taught for seven years in the famous Cheng-i shu-yüan 正誼書院 academy.

It was undoubtedly in Fei Chen-hsün's time that the Feis established their position as a wealthy and influential landlord gentry family. After him at least three clan members acquired the *chin-shih* degree and two others became *chü-jen*. Fei Chung-shen's immediate ancestors had remarkable academic success. His father was a *chin-shih*, his grandfather a *chü-jen*, and both his great-grandfather and great-great-grandfather were *chin-shih*. All of them, moreover, were employed in active official posts, and two of them were posthumously enshrined, one as a 'Country Sage' (*Hsiang-hsien* 鄉賢) and the other as an 'Official of Distinction' (*Ming-huan* 名宦).

Fei Chung-shen himself (1884-1935), influenced doubtless by the sudden change in the social, political, and intellectual atmosphere which followed the first Sino-Japanese War of 1894-5, did not apply himself very rigorously in preparing for the official examinations. Having failed in one autumn examination, he purchased the official status of assistant secretary, and was given a magistrate's post in Pei Chih-li, but in fact worked as a secretary to Yüan Shih-k'ai (1859-1916),²² at that time Governor-General of Chih-li, and later the President of the Chinese Republic. Both Fei Chung-shen and Yüan's eldest son were married to daughters of Wu Ta-cheng 吳大澂 (1835-1902)²³ a very eminent civil and military official who was also a noted archaeologist, painter, and calligrapher. Wu was a very important gentry-member from Su-chou, where his clan had long been extremely influential.

In 1909, after Yüan Shih-k'ai temporarily fell from political power, Fei Chung-shen was given a post as second secretary in the Board of Transportation

²² See Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing period*, 950-3.

²³ *ibid.*, 880-2.

and Communications. But in the next year he returned home to Su-chou to observe the ceremonial period of mourning for his mother, and then remained living in retirement in Su-chou as an influential member of the local gentry. In 1911, the former Viceroy Ch'eng Te-ch'üan 程德全 was installed as head of the 'republican' army in Kiangsu, and asked Fei to participate in establishing a new government.²⁴ But Fei Chung-shen rejected any official post and devoted himself to restoring and maintaining order in the district after the revolution.

He established an electrical company to compete with the enterprises operating on foreign capital. He also set up the first local farmers' bank to provide financial support for farmers and landowners to 'protect' them against the reckless exploitation of the traditional style moneylenders. He negotiated with the local officials to decrease the amount of tax payable in years of bad harvests, and dredged and embanked harbours and canals around the Taihu lake. He restored the local shrine of Confucius, and edited biographies of the elders of Wu-chiang, his native county. But at the same time he sent his own sons to study abroad, one to Oxford and another to the United States. In 1915 he paid a short visit to Peking, which was at the time under the dictatorship of his former patron Yüan Shih-k'ai. He was offered an official post, but having remonstrated against the plot of Yüan and his followers to enthrone Yüan as emperor he returned to Su-chou and remained there until his death in 1935.

In 1924 the first repercussions of the civil war, resulting from the growing independence of the provincial war-lords and from the antagonism between the conservative north and the revolutionary south, began to reach the districts of Su-chou and Wu-chiang. First the army of the war-lord Sun Ch'üan-fang 孫傳芳, then the Manchurian army of Chang Tso-lin 張作霖 poured into the district, and soon after, in 1927, came the Kuomintang Northern Expeditionary Army. In the midst of the consequent disorders, Fei Chung-shen made great efforts to promote the charitable activities of the Red Cross, and to assist generally in the restoration and maintenance of public order in the province.

After the revolution of 1927 it would appear that the financial prosperity of the landlord enterprises of the Fei clan rapidly deteriorated. This was partly the result of the increasing independence of their tenants, and partly the result of the development programme initiated by the new Nationalist Government, established in 1928 in Nanking, which suddenly aggravated the tax burdens on their lands. This situation became still more grave with the onset of the general economic depression after 1931. According to a history of the Fei family compiled by Chang Chung-jen, 600 *mou* of their hereditary

²⁴ See Muramatsu (1), p. 180, n. 26. See also Kuo Hsiao-ch'eng 郭孝成, *Chiang-su kuang-fu chi-shih* 江蘇光復記事, included in Chung-kuo Shih-hsieh hui (ed.), *Hsin-hai ko-ming* 辛亥革命, VII, 1-32.

lands in the counties of Chen-tse 震澤 and Wu-chiang 吳江 in the neighbourhood of Su-chou suffered bad harvests in successive years, and even though the Feis sold some of these lands to pay off their tax arrears, this was still insufficient. Fei Chung-shen in desperation petitioned the government to have all the family lands confiscated in settlement of their outstanding tax debts, but naturally his request was rejected. He could not press his poverty-stricken peasants to pay rent, and so in 1935 he addressed another long and extremely moving letter to the government. But before this could be sent he fell sick and died.²⁵

I have gone into some detail about their case, because the Feis, and Fei Chung-shen as the head of their clan, were in many ways representative of the condition of the more prosperous scholar-official gentry and their families in Kiangsu during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The Feis were a locally important clan, who had enjoyed unusual academic success and access to office in successive generations. Fei Chung-shen had, moreover, been able to strengthen their position still further by a marriage alliance with another very influential local clan. He and his clan thus had a solid and substantial basis for establishing a landlord bursary. Nevertheless, the Feis were not themselves owners of the largest share of the lands which were managed by their bursary. The largest single share of their lands was accepted for management from the Hung-hsin-hao of the P'u clan, which was probably a non-agricultural business organization possessed by a different family.

Another important feature of the landholdings recorded in the rent-books of the landlord bursaries is that they were almost invariably composed of a large number of very small fragmented plots. In this respect there was no difference between the lands owned by the bursary owners and those of other landholders who had deposited their lands with the bursary for management. Not only were the individual plots always very small, but their situations were always widely dispersed. They were usually scattered across the borders of such minor administrative sub-districts as the *tu* 都 and *t'u* 圖, and sometimes even extended into more than one county (*hsien*) or prefecture (*fu*), intermingled with other plots owned or held by many other landlords or managed by other landlord bursaries. So that the statement above that the total area of lands which were held and managed by a single bursary often amounted to several thousand *mou* does not in any way imply the existence in a certain fixed location of a large, integrated, continuous estate of that total acreage. Nor does it imply that the scale of farming on a bursary's lands was larger than the normal.

To give a picture of the small size of individual plots, I tabulate, in tables 2 and 3 (p. 576), the sizes of plots making up the landholdings managed by the Kung-shou-chan (bursary no. 1) which was owned by Fei Chung-shen and his family.²⁶

²⁵ After Fei Chung-shen's death, none of his three sons succeeded him as a landlord bursary owner. Two became engineers, and the other a university professor. See Muramatsu (1), 37.

²⁶ See Muramatsu (1), 45-6.

TABLE 2
Size distribution of plots making up the lands managed by the Fei clan's Kung-shou-chan

Owner Size (<i>mou</i>)	Kung- shou- t'ang	Hung- hsin- hao	Lo- shou- t'ang	Ho-hao	I-tai	Chün-hao
Below 0.99	27	97	22	15	11	59
1.0 - 1.99	53	138	27	50	4	71
2.0 - 2.99	45	165	29	42	9	68
3.0 - 3.99	21	112	12	41	8	45
4.0 - 4.99	12	52	2	15	6	28
5.0 - 5.99	6	43	2	8	1	27
6.0 - 6.99	—	21	1	3	—	9
7.0 - 7.99	—	6	—	2	—	2
8.0 - 8.99	—	12	—	1	—	3
9.0 - 9.99	—	4	—	—	1	—
Above 10	1	9	—	—	—	2
Total	165	659	95	177	40	314

TABLE 3
Average size of plots making up the lands managed by the Fei clan's Kung-shou-chan

Owner	Total acreage (<i>mou</i>)	Number of plots	Average size of plot (<i>mou</i>)
Hung-hsin-hao	1883.187	659	2.85
Kung-shou-t'ang	368.185	165	2.23
Lo-shou-t'ang	182.727	95	1.92
Ho-hao	479.610	177	2.70
I-tai	100.684	40	2.51
Chün-hao	840.427	314	2.67
Total	3854.820	1450	2.65

Table 2 shows clearly that at least 75 per cent and in some cases more than 90 per cent of the plots making up each property were smaller than 3 *mou*. It also shows a slight difference between the plots comprised in the larger properties such as that of the Hung-hsin-hao, and those of the smaller owners such as the Lo-shou-t'ang. The larger properties included a smaller percentage of plots under 3 *mou* in size than the smaller. There is also a difference in composition between the two clan properties (Kung-shou-t'ang and Lo-shou-t'ang) and the properties of the urban-based *hao*, the average size of plots being much greater among the latter than the former. But in any case, as is shown in table 3, the difference was not very great. The larger the acreage of a domain became, the larger the number of its component strips, and the average size of the individual plots remained about 2.5 *mou*.

Of course there were some cases of tenant farmers whose tenancy extended over a number of individual plots of land.²⁷ But in the majority of instances the plots rented to individual tenants corresponded with the area farmed by the tenant's family. In pre-war central China the acreage generally accepted as necessary for subsistence was 3 *mou per capita* (not per family). So it is clear that the scale of cultivation undertaken by the tenants who farmed the lands managed by the landlord bursaries was really very small, and not very far above bare subsistence level.

It is possible also to get a clear idea of the wide dispersal of the plots managed by a bursary, since the rent-books usually give the position of each strip by specifying the *yü* 圩 or embanked area in which it was located. The *yü* was an official cadastral subdivision of the *t'u* and *tu*, and since it was usually quite small these indications enable us to locate the plots with some precision, for local gazetteers of the locality²⁸ permit us to discover to which *t'u* and *tu* each *yü* belonged. Table 4²⁹ shows us the very wide dispersal of the plots owned by the Kung-shou-t'ang and administered by the Fei clan's Kung-shou-chan bursary.

TABLE 4

Dispersal of plots leased out by Kung-shou-t'ang

County	<i>Tu</i>	<i>T'u</i>	Distance of <i>tu</i> from county town
Wu-hsien	1	1	more than 20 <i>li</i> north-west
	3 [East]	6, 10, 11, 12	more than 20 <i>li</i> south
	22	1	55 or 56 <i>li</i> south
	23 [East]	3, 9, 17	45 <i>li</i> south
	24	2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10	more than 40 <i>li</i> south-west
	28	20, 24	45 <i>li</i> south-east
Chen-tse	2 [South]	1	15 <i>li</i> south-west
	18	14	more than 50 <i>li</i> south-west

Note. 1 Chinese *li* was equivalent to $\frac{1}{3}$ mile.

Since the county yamen of Chen-tse was in the town of Wu-chiang, which was some 15 miles south of Wu-hsien the yamen of which was in Su-chou city, the plots of land owned by the Kung-shou-t'ang of the Fei clan were scattered widely over the two counties, and the distance separating the most widely dispersed plots must have been at least 25 miles. This, however, refers only to the holdings of the Kung-shou-t'ang itself. The Kung-shou-chan bursary, as we have seen, administered lands of five other owners, and these were still

²⁷ See Muramatsu (1), 74-7, 83-5 for examples. The problem of the rights, legal status, and so on of tenants is taken up below.

²⁸ See *Wu-chiang hsien-chih* (Chien-lung ed.), 3, 乾隆序: 吳江縣志; *Ch'ang-chou hsien-chih* (recut in 1765), 1, 乾隆三十年重鑄長洲縣志; etc. It would appear that the district subdivisions of *tu*, *t'u*, and *yü* in this region underwent little change during the Ch'ing period.

²⁹ See Muramatsu (1), 47-70.

more widely scattered, one owner, the Chün-hao, owning some plots in yet a third county, Yüan-ho hsien.

The multiple ownership and the widely dispersed location of bursary landholdings naturally made their management and administration very difficult. But this did not inhibit the landlord bursaries from exerting a very strong, direct, and minute control both over the plots of land under their management and over the peasants who tilled them. It is to this problem which I shall now turn.

III

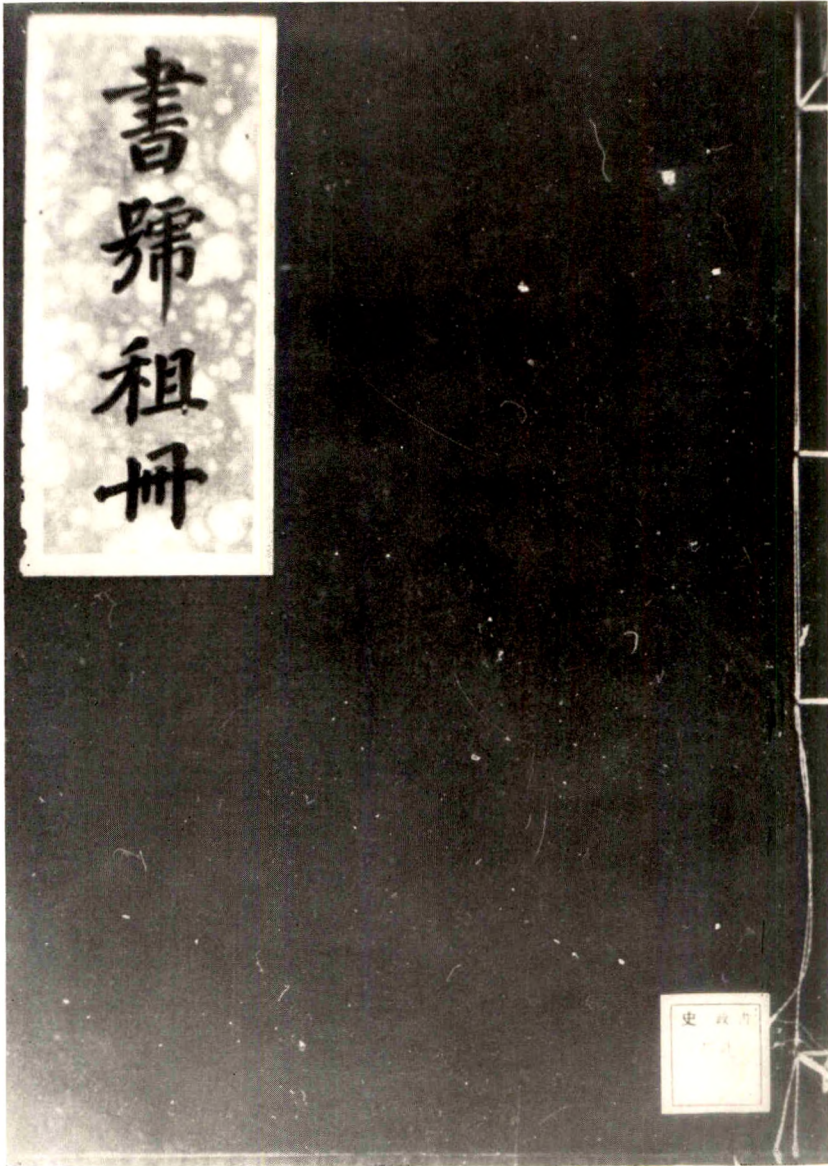
In discussing the actual relationship between landlord and peasant, it is essential to discuss three distinct aspects of the relationship between tenant farmer and bursary; first, the legal status of the tenant peasants; second, the amount of rent which they paid in relation to the tax load which the bursary bore in respect of their land; and third, the landlord's control and authority over the person of his tenant.

In connexion with the legal status of tenant peasants, I have located two distinct groups of new source material. First are the details relating to individual tenants entered in the rent-books referred to above, and second are the surviving tenancy contracts. In examining the landlord documents in the collection of the National Diet Library in Tokyo I discovered some 50 single-sheet documents which had been inserted between the leaves of rent-books and other bursary documents bound up in book form. Among these were tenancy contract deeds of the types designated *chao-yü* 召由 and *ch'eng-lan* 承攬 (plates III-IV) drawn up by tenants and addressed to their landlord. These are dated between 1876 and 1919. Most of them were found in the rent-books of the charitable estate of the Fan clan, and concern the tenant relationships between individual peasant tenants and the Fan estate. One other item refers to a peasant tenant of the Tzu-ching tsu-chan bursary of the Wang clan (bursary no. 4).³⁰

Although the tenant deeds were of two separate forms—*chao-yü* (literally 'recruitment of tenant' or 'recruited tenant') and *ch'eng-lan* ('acceptance of undertaking'), the actual contents of the undertaking entered into by the tenant were fundamentally similar, in fact virtually identical. In either type of deed the tenant said that he had not enough land to cultivate (*fa-t'ien keng-chung* 乏田耕種) and so agreed to be recruited as a tenant (*chao-yü*), or agreed to undertake (*ch'eng-lan*) the cultivation of so many *mou* of land, situated in a certain *yü* 圩 of a certain *t'u* 團, and promised to pay rent of so many *shih* of rice, plus an extra rent charge of so much to cover the cost of transportation of the rent grain (*li-mi* 力米). In case of any natural disaster such as drought, flood, gale or insect damage, the rent was to be reduced, in accordance with the custom of the area (*ssu-fang ta-li* 四方大例). The deed was drawn up to guarantee the keeping of the undertakings verbally given.³¹

³⁰ See Muramatsu (4), 129-41.

³¹ See Muramatsu (4), table I, p. 145. Full texts of 12 tenancy contracts are reprinted in the same article, pp. 133-40.

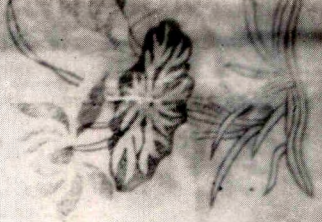


RENT-BOOK (*TSU-TSE*), COVER

孔文祥 號 元邑南州一都廿六番 號 伍分茶厘伍分 號 石肆斗玖升柒合 米 號 米		丙辰年 計收拾柒元肆角 拾壹米四五升又合 限肆年又 號	戊午年 計收拾壹元肆角 拾壹米肆年 號
朱福堂 號 孔圩田肆畝伍分茶厘伍分 號 石肆斗玖升柒合 米 號 米		丁巳年 計收拾壹元肆角 拾壹米肆年 號	己未年 計收拾壹元肆角 拾壹米肆年 號

RENT-BOOK, SPECIMEN PAGE

承攬



立承攬濮何大為因無田耕種央中保濮元食等奉
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 田壹畝四分五厘^七日三面言明每年認^六石
 還租三年來年^五年^六年^七年^八年^九年^十年^{十一}年^{十二}年^{十三}年^{十四}年^{十五}年^{十六}年^{十七}年^{十八}年^{十九}年^{二十}年
 常年^六斗力不在外秋收成熟二併交林
 致拖欠倘遇水旱之灾以^五地^六方^七大^八倒^九思^十
 無^一復^二立^三此^四承^五攬^六存^七照^八一

緒四年 九月 日立承攬濮何大十

央中保濮元食十

鑄 玉

CHENG-LAN

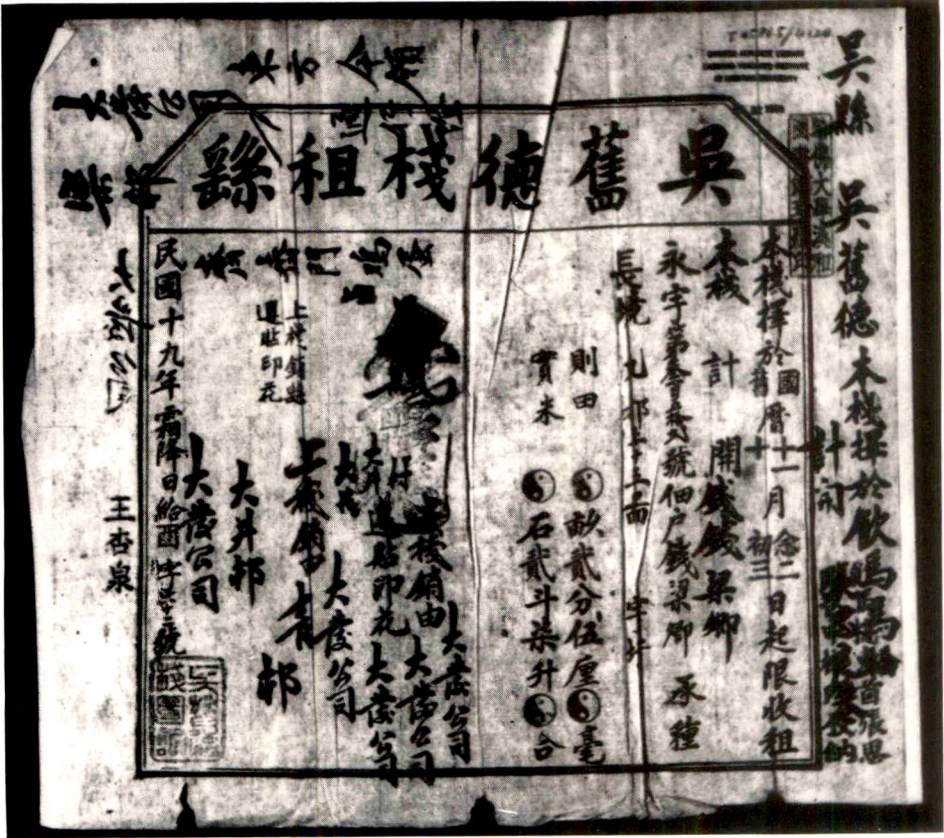
為悅

馬敘普為悅許阿承等今悅割
流在坐處 元邑之而都二面好之存因豈回致敵雲

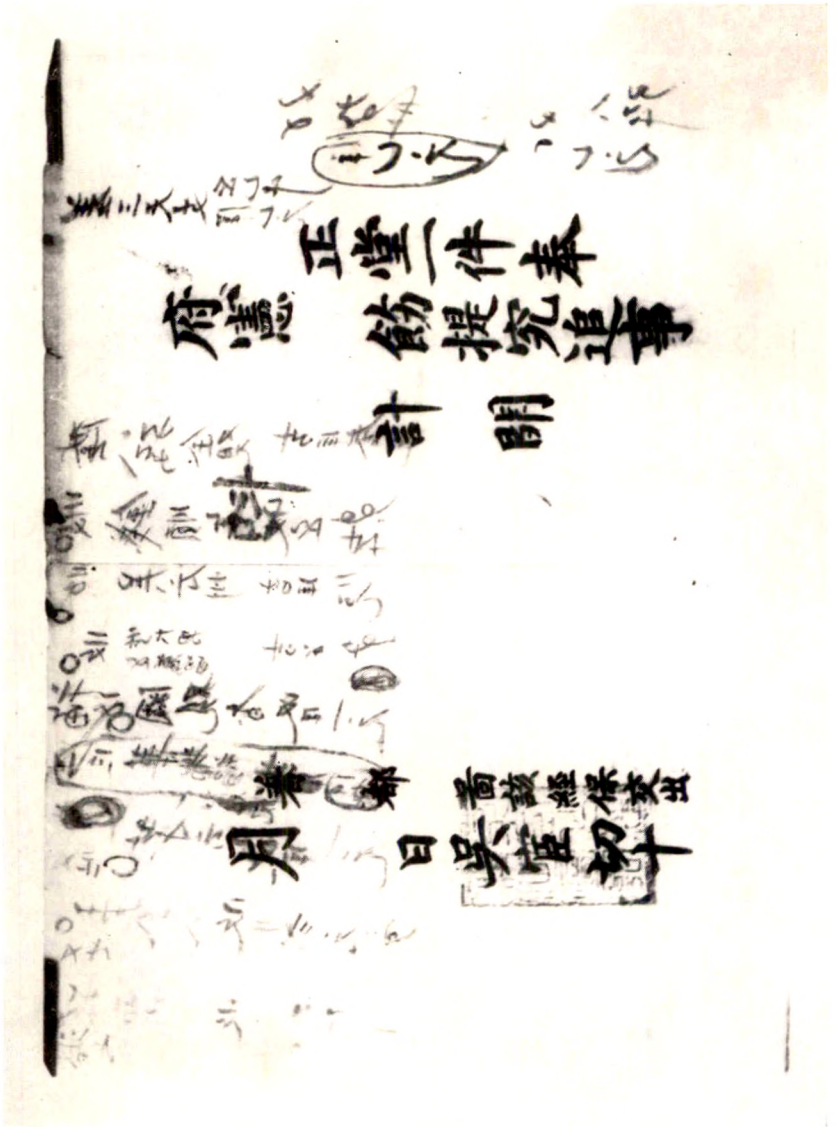
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凡錄卷下拾日 日 馬敘普為悅許阿承等十

身悅許阿承十
催甲銀世波 十
吃

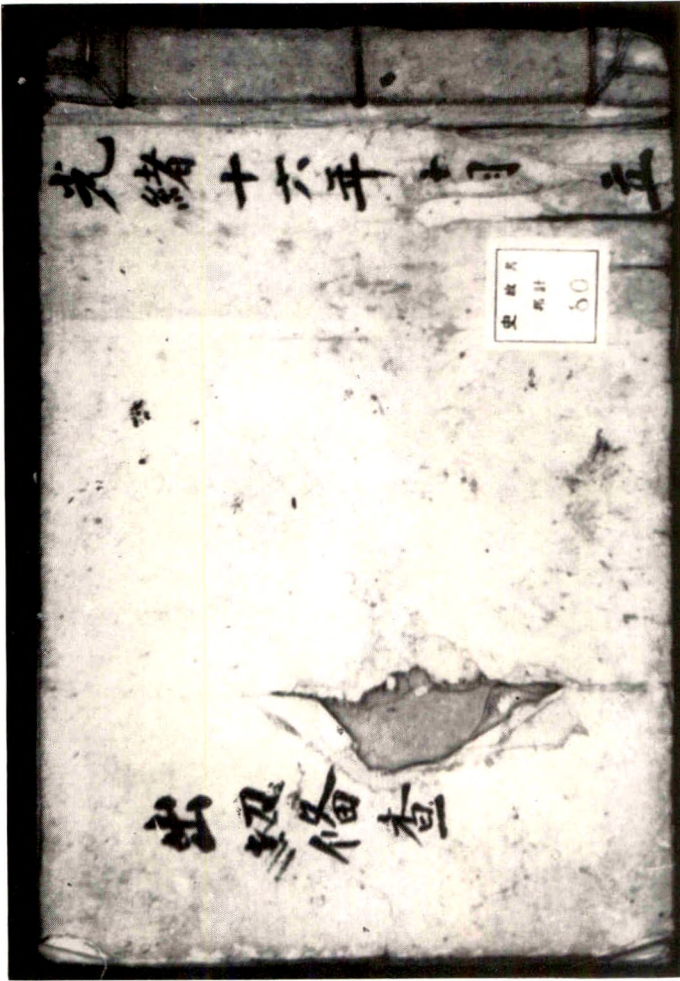
CH'ENG-LAN



DEMAND NOTE FOR RENT (tsu-yi')



WARRANT FOR ARREST OF DEFAULTING TENANT (CHIEH-CHIAO)



REGISTER OF ISSUE OF WARRANTS BY BURSARY (CH'U-CH'IEH PEI-CH'U T'S'E), COVER

The deeds were signed by tenant peasants, by tenants and intermediaries (*yang-chung* 央中), by tenants and former tenants (*hsien-chao* 見召 written for 現召 or *hsien-lan* 見攬), or by the tenant and a guarantor of payment of his rent (*pao-tsu* 保租). Many of the tenant peasants, former tenants, and even the intermediaries and guarantors, presumably illiterate, have simply made a cross beneath their names which had been written in by some literate person, in place of signing themselves.

There are currently two diametrically opposed theories which predominate among Japanese scholars concerning the nature of the landlord-tenant relationship in post-Sung China. Some claim that the relationship was essentially a pure contractual relationship, purely economic in nature, between the peasant without land and the landlord without labour power. The other party assume the existence of 'serfdom' or of a certain lower stratum of the peasantry who were semi-permanently put under restraint to cultivate a certain plot of land, and personally subordinated to the authority of a certain 'feudalistic' landlord.

The contracts in the possession of the National Diet Library state that the tenants need the land because they have not themselves enough land to cultivate, and are thus willing to pay a certain amount of rice or its equivalent value to the landowner as rent, which would certainly seem to indicate the economic nature of the contract. But at the same time none of the 12 deeds which I have discovered and published specifies the time when the tenant relationship will expire. Some even state specifically that the rent will be so much in the first year, but that it will be increased by so much in the second, third, fourth, or the next normal year (*p'ing-nien* 平年), which would suggest that both parties to the tenancy presupposed that it would continue for a term of several years.

In connexion with the long-term or semi-permanent nature of these tenancies, the tenant records in the rent-books provide a great deal of evidence showing the inheritance of a tenancy from father to son. The column of the rent-books which lists the tenants occupying each plot frequently shows two or three tenants of the same surname cultivating plots of the same, or almost identical size in the same embanked subdivision of the same *t'u*. This would suggest that these plots had originally formed the plot cultivated by a tenant, which had been inherited by his sons when he died or became too old to work, and subdivided according to the traditional principle of equal division of inheritance.³²

In other cases a plot is listed as jointly allocated to two or three tenants of the same surname without having been divided into parts. A rent book of the Hung-hsin-hao lands administered by the Kung-shou-chan bursary dated 1907, contains the following entry:

徐大	元	—	畝	三	分	釐	毫
Hsü Ta-	德	—	1	四	3	4	fen lin hao
te	yüan	1	mou	4	fen	lin	hao
	te	1					

³² See Muramatsu (1), 70-3.

Here it is apparent that Hsü Ta-yüan and Hsü Ta-te were either brothers or at least members of the same generation (*pei* 輩) of the Hsü family, who had divided equally a plot of 2.7 *mou* which had originally been cultivated by a single tenant as a single lot.³³ There are also a great many names of tenants in the rent-books which have been altered to the names of their sons or other relatives.³⁴

It is reasonable, then, for us to assume that the landlord-tenant relationship with which these documents are concerned was a rather stable one which could often last longer than a single generation. However, on the other hand, the evidence should not be understood to imply the existence of any rigid social or status differentiation which bound the individual permanently and indissolubly to his status as tenant. We can find, moreover, much evidence in the rent-books that tenants could freely buy or sell their tenancies from or to other persons through monetary transactions.³⁵ Some degree of social mobility certainly existed both between small tenants and large tenants and between tenants and landowners, if not between tenant farmers and bursary owners. And hereditary succession to tenancy was not a universal rule. According to the evidence of the rent-books tenants were not always replaced by their sons or members of their own family. Many tenants' names are erased to be replaced by new tenants of a different surname. The tenant farmers were in no way a class of hereditary serfs.

As we have seen, when the tenancy of a plot was inherited by several sons, it was usually equally subdivided among them, a process which tended constantly to diminish the scale of individual tenancies. But there were other cases where a single tenant concentrated under his single tenancy a large number of plots, and undertook comparatively large-scale cultivation. For instance, between 1908 and 1912 a tenant of the Kung-shou-chan bursary named Ling Wu-i 凌五 — extended his tenancy over 19 plots totalling 58 *mou* belonging to the Ho-hao estate, and over another plot of 12.7 *mou* belonging to the Hung-hsin-hao. His name is also recorded in connexion with yet another plot of 4.5 *mou* of land belonging to the Hung-hsin-hao, but in this case he was not the tenant, but a subtenant or actual cultivator (*hsien-chung* 現種) under another tenant.³⁶

³³ See Muramatsu (1), 71.

³⁴ See Muramatsu (1), 85-8.

³⁵ In most cases a tenancy contract had to be mediated through a third party intermediary, and assured by guarantors. Bursaries often depended upon the recommendation of the headmen of embankments (*ya-chia* 圩甲) etc., to recruit good reliable tenants (*chao-tien* 召佃). Nevertheless, fundamentally the contracts were still free. Actual concrete mention of the system of land tenure involving dual ownership (*i-t'ien erh-chu* — 田二主) which was characteristic of the Kiangsu area, and is described in Fei Hsiao-tung's classic description of a neighbouring county (*Peasants life in China*, London, 1939, 174 ff.) is not found at all in any of these rent-books or land books. But there were very many cases in which the person who signed the tenancy contract (*ju-ch'i* 入契) was not the same as the cultivator or cultivators (*chung-mou* 種畝), who were presumably his subtenants. Moreover, it was possible for a person to be at one and the same time a formally contracted tenant, and also a subtenant and actual cultivator of other lands whose contracted tenant was another person.

³⁶ See Muramatsu (1), 73-85.

Ling Wu-i was thus tenant of 20 plots amounting to a total of more than 70 *mou*, and was thus engaged in farming on a much larger scale than that of the average farmer in the area at that time. At the same time he was himself cultivating a small plot as a subtenant. The plots over which he had extended his tenancy were scattered in various embankments (*yii*) and a number of *tu* and *t'u*. In listing the various plots of which Ling Wu-i was the present tenant, the rent-books also list the names of many former tenants (*yii-an-tien* 原佃) of the plots.³⁷ It is almost certain that some at least of these former tenants were in fact still cultivating their original plots, but were now doing so as Ling's subtenants. The records of the rent-books show that Ling Wu-i was paying the rents due from the plots of which he was tenant promptly and on time, and Ling must then have been charging these actual cultivators rent as subtenants a little higher than the rent which he was paying as tenant-in-chief.³⁸

Ling Wu-i's name is entered in the rent-books with the annotation *k'o-min* 客民 'immigrant'. From similar annotations to the names of other tenants listed in the rent-books we know that many immigrants were at this time coming into the fertile Kiangnan region, especially from the Chiang-pei area north of the Yangtse where the drier climate and alkaline soils permitted far poorer average crop-yields. This Chiang-pei region later became one of the major sources of the supply of unskilled labour in the industrial and urban complexes of Shanghai and Nanking.

In many cases the annotation 'immigrant' appears with the name of new tenants who had replaced former tenants in the rent-books, and there is evidence to show that such immigrants were willing to be content with rather poor conditions to get a start in life as tenant farmers. For example, the Kung-shou-t'ang of the Feis (bursary no. 1) held eight plots in Nan-fu-yü, 6th *t'u*, 24th *tu*, of Wu-chiang county (吳江縣二十四都六圖南富圩), four of which were newly reclaimed land from which, naturally, poorer yields were to be expected. Three of these inferior plots were tenanted by immigrants from north of the Yangtse (*Chiang-pei k'o-min* 江北客民).³⁹ But none the less some of these people were able, by hard work and by exercising economy, quickly to improve their economic condition. In the rent-books of the Kung-shou-chan bursary we can find many immigrant tenants other than Ling Wu-i who, like him, had collected a large number of plots under their single tenancy, and were presumably subletting the lands to subtenants.⁴⁰

Among the landlord documents held by the Tōyō Bunko are land books and tax registers connected with the landholdings in Wu-hsien and Ch'ang-chou counties by bursary no. 7 (the name of which is unknown).⁴¹ There are among them eight volumes entitled *Chang-i ch'u-yü kuei t'u-ts'e* 長邑出由歸圖冊 dated 1885 which list the plots held in Ch'ang-chou county, under each *t'u* and *tu*, giving their site (*yii* 圩 or *ch'ü* 坵), dimensions,

³⁷ See Muramatsu (1), 74-7.

³⁹ See Muramatsu (1), 88-93.

⁴¹ See Muramatsu (2), 135-8.

³⁸ See Muramatsu (1), 83-4.

⁴⁰ See Muramatsu (1), 91-2.

tenants, and amount of rent. The total area of land held by the bursary in Ch'ang-chou county and rented to tenants was 3189-96 *mou*, from which the total amount of rent due was 3269-357 *shih* of rice. There are no similar land books for the bursary's holding in Wu-hsien.

We do, however, have at our disposal another source of information, three volumes which are untitled, but which for convenience I will call the 'land books B' of bursary no. 7. These 'land books B' record the acquisitions of land by purchase or mortgage during 1866 and 1870. For each of the 78 transactions completed during the period, the date, name of vendor or mortgager, intermediaries through whom the transaction was conducted, the site (*tu, t'u, yü*), tax-rate classification (*k'o-tse* 科則), dimensions, amount of rent in rice (*yüan-e mi* 原額米), and name of the tenant, are given. The books also record the sale (*shou-ch'u* 售出) or the termination of the mortgage through redemption (*pa-ch'u* 拔去 or *pa-ch'u tzu-chung* 拔去自種) of the land the acquisition of which had been recorded. This record of sales and redemptions covers the period from 1866 to 1910.⁴²

I have so far been unable to prove the identity of this bursary no. 7. But since the covers of some of the documents bear the inscription *Feng Lin-i chan pei-k'ao* 馮林一棧備考 on the cover, it seems very likely that the books have been kept in a bursary owned by Feng Lin-i, better known as Feng Kuei-fen 馮桂芬 (1809-74), an outstanding scholar official of Su-chou, who served as secretary to Li Hung-chang during the years when the latter was engaged in the suppression of the T'ai-p'ing rebellion in the Yangtse delta region in the early 1860's.⁴³ The land books show that the holdings of the bursary, both in Wu-hsien and Ch'ang-chou counties, increased rapidly during the late 1860's and early 1870's, that is directly after the suppression of the T'ai-p'ings.⁴⁴

At this time the bursary was clearly lending money, on the security of lands, and increasing its holdings of land through subsequent foreclosures. In most of these transactions the former owners of the land seem themselves to have been landlords who either sold or mortgaged large amounts of land, often widely dispersed in different localities, to the bursary. If in fact that bursary was that of Feng Kuei-fen, who complained so loudly in his works about the inequalities existing between the gentry 大戶 and the common populace 小戶, and who made such violent attacks in his writings against the tyranny

⁴² The 'land books B' employ only one term for acquisition, *chih-te* 置得, which can mean either purchase or mortgage, since later some of the lands were sold off (*shou-ch'u* 售出) and others redeemed (*shu-ch'u* 贖出). For details on disposal by sale (*shou-mai* 售賣) redemption (*hui-shu* 回贖), and partial cession (*hsi-ch'u* 析出) see Muramatsu (2), 255-68. The 'land books B' record lands acquired between 1866 and 1870. The records of disposals by sale or redemption cover a far longer period, from 1866 to 1910. It seems probable that the land book is incomplete. See Muramatsu (2), 174-6.

⁴³ See Muramatsu (2), 281-95.

⁴⁴ See Muramatsu (2), 295-304.

of the powerful gentry *shen-chin hao-hu* 紳衿豪戶,⁴⁵ there is indeed a remarkable contrast between the discussions developed in the essays in his *Chiao-pin-lu k'ang-i* 校邠廬抗讖 (completed 1861, published 1885) and his literary works *Hsien-chih-t'ang kao* 顯志堂稿 (published 1877), and the actual behaviour of his bursary.

Among the other documents connected with this bursary no. 7 held by the Tōyō Bunko are a variety of tax-books.⁴⁶ These classify the plots held by the bursary in Wu-hsien and Ch'ang-chou counties according to the *tu* and *t'u* in which they were situated, and list their size, tax-rate classification, title holder, amounts of both *ti-t'ing* 地丁 (land-poll tax) and *ts'ao-liang* 漕糧 (tribute-grain) taxes to be paid, and record the actual tax payments made during the year. By comparing the records of these tax-books with the land books of the same bursary, it is possible to find many plots which occur in both sets of records, and it is possible to compare the amount of rent collected from a given plot with the amount of tax paid in respect of the same land.⁴⁷ Selecting only those plots for which both rent and taxes were paid up without any arrears, it is possible to arrive at the figures given in table 5 on p. 58.⁴⁸

The *ti-t'ing*, or land and poll tax was charged in silver, while the *ts'ao-liang* or tribute rice was naturally collected in kind. If we convert the silver paid as *ti-t'ing* in these tables into rice at the contemporary rate of three *liang* of silver = one *shih* of rice, we have an overall average tax payment per *mou* of 0.1350 *shih* compared with average rent receipt of 1.0266 *shih* in Ch'ang-chou county, and an average tax payment of 0.1339 *shih* compared with a rent receipt of 1.0710 *shih* for Wu-hsien. The generally accepted average rice yield in Kiangnan was 2 *shih* per *mou* in the late nineteenth century. We may thus say that the average tenant was paying something more than 50 per cent of his rice crop in rent to his landlord, while the landlords were paying only some 13 per cent of these rent receipts in taxes to the government.

IV

To sum up what has already been said, Chinese landlords during the late Ch'ing and early twentieth century may be said: (1) to have owned large numbers of very small plots of land, widely scattered and often dispersed over several *yii*, *t'u*, and *tu*, or even over more than one county (*hsien*).

⁴⁵ See Huang Ts'ui-po 黃淬伯, 'Ch'i-shih nien ch'ien chih wei-hsin jen-wu Feng Ching-t'ing' 七十年前之雜新人物馮景亭, *Chung-shan Wen-huah Chiao-yü-kuan Chi-k'an*, iv, 2, 1937.

⁴⁶ There are three sets of such books entitled: (1) *Wu-i ko-tu-t'u ts'ao-mi tsung-to'e* 吳邑各都圖漕米總冊 compiled about 1870; (2) *Ch'ang-i wu-jun ts'ao-mi tsung-to'e* 長邑無閩漕米總冊 compiled about 1868-9; (3) *Ch'ang-i wu-jun t'ien-tan ts'ao-mi tsung-to'e* 長邑無閩田單冊 dated 1894, together with some other volumes of the same type which have lost their covers or titles. See Muramatsu (2), 138-46, 176-208.

⁴⁷ See Muramatsu (2), 324-77.

⁴⁸ See Muramatsu (2), 307-18.

TABLE 5

Tax rates and rents on lands in possession of bursary no. 7

A. *Ch'ang-chou county*

Tax-rate classification of land	Acreage (<i>mou</i>)	Tax payments		Rent-receipts	
		<i>Ti-ting</i> (silver: <i>liang</i>)	<i>Ts'ao-liang</i> (grain: <i>shih</i>)	Acreage (<i>mou</i>)	Rent (<i>shih</i>)
<i>kuan-tse</i> (官則)	1673.605	178.506	166.643	1633.795	1729.526
<i>erh-tou-tse</i> (二斗則)	5.006	0.329	0.419	5.006	4.900
<i>min-tse</i> (民則)	20.074	2.712	1.887	20.752	20.805
<i>huang-min-tse</i> (荒民則)	5.283	0.588	0.561	5.283	5.536
<i>hsia-ti-tse</i> (下地則)	2.479	0.118	0.143	2.579	2.470
Total	1706.447	182.253	169.653	1717.415	1763.237

B. *Average tax-assessment and rent per mou (Ch'ang-chou county)*

Tax-rate classification	Tax payments		Rent receipts
	<i>Ti-ting</i> (<i>liang</i>)	<i>Ts'ao-liang</i> (<i>shih</i>)	(<i>shih</i>)
<i>kuan-tse</i>	0.1066	0.0995	1.0272
<i>erh-tou-tse</i>	0.0657	0.0831	0.9788
<i>min-tse</i>	0.1351	0.0940	1.0364
<i>huang-min-tse</i>	0.1131	0.1061	1.0478
<i>hsia-ti-tse</i>	0.0475	0.0576	0.9577
All lands	0.1068	0.0994	1.0266

C. *Wu-hsien county*

Tax-rate classification of land	Acreage (<i>mou</i>)	Tax payments		Rent receipts	
		<i>Ti-ting</i> (silver: <i>liang</i>)	<i>Ts'ao-liang</i> (grain: <i>shih</i>)	Acreage (<i>mou</i>)	Rent (<i>shih</i>)
<i>kuan-tse</i>	672.595	78.956	64.890	674.095	722.036
<i>i-tou-tse</i> (一斗則)	35.200	2.722	3.050	35.200	38.510
<i>erh-tou-tse</i>	12.000	0.877	0.930	12.000	12.000
Total	719.795	82.555	68.873	721.295	772.546

D. *Average tax-assessment and rent per mou (Wu-hsien county)*

Tax-rate classification	Tax payments		Rent receipts
	<i>Ti-ting</i> (<i>liang</i>)	<i>Ts'ao-liang</i> (<i>shih</i>)	(<i>shih</i>)
<i>kuan-tse</i>	0.1173	0.0964	1.0711
<i>i-tou-tse</i>	0.0763	0.0866	1.0940
<i>erh-tou-tse</i>	0.0730	0.0775	1.0000
All lands	0.0888	0.0868	1.0550

(2) These plots were rented to numerous peasant tenants, a few of whom managed to concentrate a considerable amount of land under their individual tenancy, but most of whom worked their individual plots and engaged in farming on a very small scale. (3) Many of the landowners were engaged in business other than agriculture, and moved their residence to the towns or cities. They continued, however, to be landlords and often invested the profits from their urban businesses in land. (4) Since such absentee landlords could no longer exercise direct personal control over their lands and tenant peasants, they usually deposited these lands for management with a bursary *tsu-chan*. Such bursaries were set up and owned by gentry landlords who held great local influence by virtue of their official backgrounds. (5) Their tenants paid annually a rent of about one *shih* of rice, or its equivalent, per *mou* of land, out of which the landowner had to pay some 0.13 *shih* or 13 per cent of the total rent received to the government in taxes, including both the land and poll tax (*ti-ting*) and tribute grain (*ts'ao-liang*). (6) The bursary collected the rents and paid the taxes due on the lands owned both by the bursary owner and by other landlords who had entrusted their lands to the bursary for management.

The rather high level of rents placed a very heavy burden on the tenant farmers, who had to pay slightly more than half of their total crop to the bursary. Tenant farmers entered into their contracts freely and voluntarily, and that they should have been willing to accept such unfavourable conditions is a reflection of the very high density of rural population and intense demand for cultivable land.

On the subject of rent payments, we have available two distinct types of source material, the procedural documents such as the *tsu-yu* (租由 or 租繇), *ch'ieh-chiao* (切脚), etc., and the various account books recording rent payments and arrears. The *tsu-yu* (see plate v) were the notices issued by the bursary to its tenant farmers notifying them that the storehouse would be opened for the receipt of rents (*k'ai-ts'ang shou-tsu* 開倉收租). The National Diet Library has such documents issued by the Charitable Estate of the Fan clan dated 1875,⁴⁹ while the Harvard-Yenching Institute has 25 *tsu-yu* from the period 1920-30.⁵⁰ There is no noticeable difference in form between those issued under the Ch'ing in the 1870's and those issued in Republican times. In either case they are single-sheet documents of regular form, on which is stated the date when the storehouse will be opened, the site and acreage of the plot and the rent due from it, and the name of the tenant. They are marked with the name and situation of the bursary⁵¹ and carry its seal. Sometimes

⁴⁹ See Muramatsu (4), 141-2.

⁵⁰ See Muramatsu (6), 1-9.

⁵¹ See Muramatsu (6), 3-9, and photographs 1-4. The site of the bursary storehouse or the place where payment is to be made is always clearly stated on the *tsu-yu*. For example, 交租在閩門內桃花塢東第二百五十號 'Rent is to be paid over at No. 250, east of T'ao-huah-wu, inside the Ch'ang-men gate (of Su-chou)' or 飲馬橋東張思良巷內棧門收納 'Rent will be accepted at the bursary gate in Chang Ssu-liang hsiang lane at the east end of Yin-ma-ch'iao bridge'. The bursary storehouses and granaries of the Fan Charitable Estate can be seen on the plan of the clan buildings in Su-chou reproduced in Twitchett, *Asia Major*, NS, VIII, 1, plate 2.

they prescribe fixed time-limits known as *na-hsien* 納限, *fei-hsien* 飛限, *t'ou-hsien* 頭限, *erh-hsien* 二限, or *san-hsien* 三限, and promise a discount⁵² on rents paid before the expiration of the time limit. They are often written in an authoritative tone, and order that the tenant be informed (by the rent-collector, *ts'ui-chia* 催甲) to bring in in good time well dried, clean and high-quality rice for his rent, so that it can be straightway transferred as tax payment, and warning that non-payment or arrears will be punished without mercy.

The sites of the bursaries which issued the *tsu-yu* in the Harvard-Yenching Library were almost always in big cities like Su-chou, usually on a canal. They were not necessarily in the business district, but were more often situated in the residential quarters, and probably annexed to some large gentry mansion, as was the case with the Fan Charitable Estate (see map).

The *tsu-yu* were issued at the bursary, and the rent-collectors delivered them to the tenants in the countryside. We possess daily journals of the bursary storehouses of the Ts'ai clan (bursary no. 3) entitled *ju-ao* 入厰⁵³ for 1865, 1878, 1891, and 1894, and of the Fan Charitable Estate, entitled *jih-shou* 日收 for 1865 and 1903.⁵⁴ These show a rather prosperous situation, with many tenants actually paying rents into the bursary even before the opening date, and most rents being paid well on time. But other rent-books, such as those of the Kung-shou-chan (bursary no. 1), parts of which we possess for various dates in the twentieth century, show a very different picture.

Table 6 (p. 588) shows the frequency of arrears (*pu-ch'ing-ch'i* 不清訖), successive failure to pay rent (*li-nien ch'ian-ch'ien* 歷年全欠), and demands for payment (*ch'ai-chui* 差追) shown in the rent-books of the Kung-shou-chan.⁵⁵ The frequency of rent arrears shown here is really very considerable. For example, 50.6 per cent of the lands belonging to the Hung-hsin-hao managed by the bursary were in arrears in 1909, 87.5 per cent of the I-tai lands in 1910, and 47.7 per cent of the Chün-hao lands in 1929. Even on the lands which were the actual property of the bursary owner, the Fei Kung-shou-t'ang, there were from 20 to 30 per cent of the plots in arrears from 1906 to 1909, and in 1906 10 per cent had failed to pay rent for successive years. But repeated demands

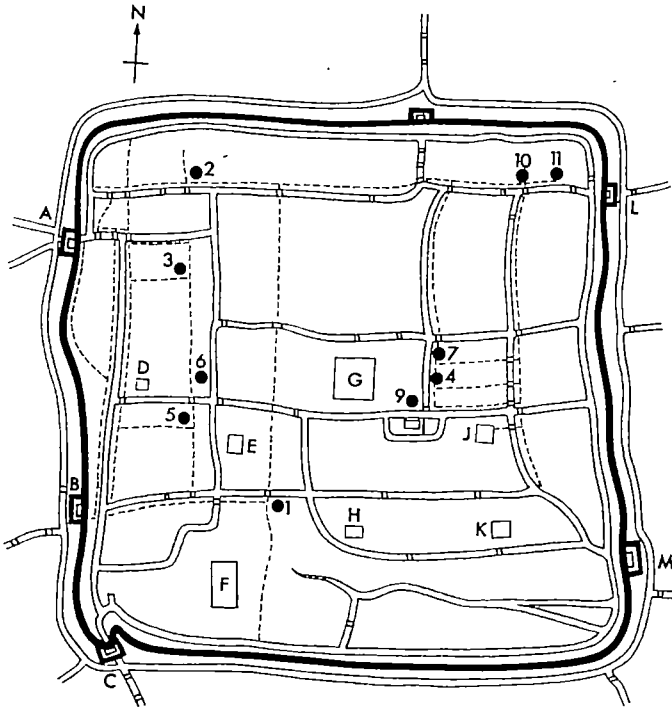
⁵² The promise of discount was not always honoured, or at least some of the tenants who paid up promptly actually had to pay more than those who reluctantly paid rent after being called upon to do so by the rent collectors. Although it was stated that after the expiry of the time-limit the payment of rent in full would be demanded without mercy, in practice this could not be enforced. On the basis of my recalculation of the data in the rent-books, it is clear that the bursary clerks always treated carefully, and often underestimated, the rents due from substantial tenants holding a number of plots, such as Ling Wu-i mentioned above. Poverty-stricken tenants who were really incapable of paying in full within the time-limits were also carefully watched, and treated considerately. They were given credit, allowed extension of the time-limit for payment, and their rent underestimated to lighten their burdens. For my detailed calculations see Muramatsu (1), 102-16.

⁵³ These documents, entitled *Ching-yü-t'ang li-chi* 經畚堂利記, are possessed by the Jimbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo, Kyōto.

⁵⁴ These, entitled *Fan-shih i-chuang jih-shou* 范氏義莊日收, are possessed by the National Diet Library.

⁵⁵ See Muramatsu (1), 150-1.

by the rent-collectors were apparently effective in producing eventual payment. Arrears and non-payment of rents were particularly frequent in the case of lands deposited with the bursary by other landlords. In these cases there is virtually no record of the issue of demands for payment.⁵⁶



LANDLORD BURSARIES IN SU-CHOU CITY

● Site of landlord bursaries

- | | | |
|----|-----------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1 | Wu Chiu-te chan | 吳 舊 德 棧 |
| 2 | Wu Kuei-keng chan | 吳 歸 耕 棧 |
| 3 | Li Tun-jen chan | 李 敦 仁 棧 |
| 4 | Ku Chuan-yen chan | 顧 傳 硯 棧 |
| 5 | P'an T'ung-yü chan | 潘 通 予 棧 |
| 6 | Chiang Ch'eng-en chan | 蔣 承 恩 棧 |
| 7 | Ting Shu-shan chan | 丁 樹 善 棧 |
| 8 | Li Shih-te chan | 李 世 德 棧 |
| | | (outside city wall, not shown on map) |
| 9 | Ku Hui-yü chan | 顧 惠 譽 棧 |
| 10 | Han Lei-feng chan | 韓 屢 豐 棧 |
| 11 | Cheng Shu-te chan | 鄭 樹 德 棧 |

- | | |
|---|---|
| A | Lü-men Gate 閩門 |
| B | Hsiu-men Gate 胥門 |
| C | Pan-men Gate 盤門 |
| D | Wu-hsien County Offices |
| E | Su-chou Fu Prefectural Administration Offices |
| F | Prefectural School |
| G | Yüan-miao Taoist temple |
| H | Ch'ang-chou County Offices |
| I | Yüan-ho County Offices |
| J | Examination Halls. |
| K | State Silk Manufactory 織造府 |
| L | Lou-men Gate 婁門 |
| M | Feng-men Gate 葑門 |

It was essential for the bursary to employ the services of rent-collectors to press tenants to pay their rents. For example, in 1909 the Kung-shou-chan bursary employed 27 rent-collectors to supervise their own Kung-shou-t'ang

⁵⁶ See Muramatsu (1), 148-56.

TABLE 6
*Kung-shou-chan bursary : frequency of rent arrears, non-payment,
 and demands for payment of rent*

Owner	Year	Number of plots	Rent in arrears	Rent unpaid	Demands for payment		
					once	twice	more often
Kung-shou- t'ang	1906	165	32	12	56	3	0
	1907	165	34	3	25	12	1
	1908	165	63	3	26	7	0
	1909	151	46	1	33	0	0
Ku Lo-shou- t'ang	1906	95	33	13	21	6	0
	1907	95	19	3	17	17	6
	1908	95	23	3	4	8	0
	1909	105	42	3	7	0	0
Hung-hsin- hao	1907	659	311	68	0	0	0
	1908	660	305	55	0	0	0
	1909	662	335	59	0	0	0
	1910	660	314	54	0	0	0
Ho-hao	1908	178	76	5	0	0	0
	1910	177	86	6	0	0	0
	1911	178	68	0	0	0	0
	1912	177	72	5	0	0	0
I-tai	1909	40	15	0	0	0	0
	1910	40	35	0	0	0	0
Chün-hao	1922	314	98	0	0	0	0
	1927	314	87	0	0	0	0
	1928	314	94	0	0	0	0
	1929	314	150	0	0	0	0

lands, which comprised 165 plots scattered over 31 *yü*. But in the same year 7 collectors were employed to supervise the lands of the Ku Lo-shou-t'ang lands, comprising 95 plots in 10 *yü*, and only 7 more to deal with the far larger Chün-hao properties which included 314 plots dispersed over 90 different *yü*. It is clear that some collectors were responsible for collection only from one or two embankments (*yü*), while others had to collect rent from dozens of plots scattered in many different *yü*. It is also apparent that the bursary exercised far closer control over its own lands than over the properties entrusted to it for management.

The Kung-shou-chan bursary employed two quite distinct types of rent-collector. The first category were themselves tenants of bursary land, whose own arrears of rent sometimes appear in the record. Among them are to be found the widows of former tenants, Buddhist priests, and the priests of village shrines (*miao*) who could usually be expected to belong to the lowest income

groups in Chinese rural communities.⁵⁷ The second category of rent-collector included many headmen in charge of embankments (*yü-chia* 圩甲) and other official underlings employed in the collection of taxes. The former type of rent-collectors naturally undertook responsibility for a smaller area and fewer tenants than the latter, each of whom exercised control over a wide area, sometimes including a dozen or more *yü* embankments scattered over several *t'u* or even several *tu*.⁵⁸

The National Diet Library in Tokyo possesses 53 letters written by rent-collectors employed by the Yü-ching tsu-chan of the Wu clan (bursary no. 2) and addressed to the clerks *shih-ye* 師爺 in the bursary at Su-chou. These were discovered placed between the pages of a book kept by the bursary entitled *Ch'u-ch'ieh pei-ch'a* 出切備查 which was a register of the issue of documents called *ch'ieh-chiao* 切脚 or warrants for the arrest of tenants who either could not or would not pay their rents on time. The letters (plates VI-VII) illustrate the actual mechanism by which surplus agricultural production was bled off from the villages to the cities and towns. They also show, in vivid detail, how tenants were pressed for rents not only by the bursary rent-collectors, but also by official underlings and village elders acting with the authorization of the local government.⁵⁹

The letters, which are without any fixed form and are written on irregular-sized sheets of paper, mostly report the arrival in the small town or *chen* 鎮 where the rent-collector was living of yamen runners (*ch'ai-yü* 差友) or boatmen (*chou-p'an* 舟盤) from the *hsien* city. These runners and boatmen were minor employees or retainers of the local government whose original duties were to act as messengers, collect taxes, maintain law and order, watch and arrest dissidents, and to perform miscellaneous services around the local yamen. However, in these letters from the bursary rent-collectors it is clear that they were employed as a coercive force to press tenants to pay their rents. They appear to have been dispatched from various *hsien* governments in the area,⁶⁰ and are referred to as 'Ch'ang-ch'ai' 長差, i.e. runners from Ch'ang-chou *hsien*, 'Yüan-ch'ai' 元差, i.e. runners from Yüan-ho *hsien*, or 'Fu-ch'ai' 府差, i.e. runners from the prefectural government at Su-chou.

These official runners brought with them a list of tenants who were in arrears or had defaulted, the *Ch'ien-tien k'ai-tan* 欠佃開單, which had been prepared for them by the bursary clerks, and called upon each tenant for payment. If they wanted to take a tenant into custody and thus force him to pay his rent they required the warrant (*ch'ieh-chiao*) referred to above, and

⁵⁷ See Muramatsu (1), table 20, pp. 138-9, and table 21, pp. 142-4.

⁵⁸ See Muramatsu (1), 135-47.

⁵⁹ See Muramatsu (4), pp. 149-163, where I reprint in full the texts of the available letters.

⁶⁰ Presumably the runners came from the county yamen in whose jurisdiction the lands lay. The register of warrants of arrest of the Yü-ching tsu-chan bursary of the Wu clan mentions not only runners from the local authorities mentioned in the text, but also those from Wu-hsien (Wu-ch'ai 吳差). It thus seems that the bursary's lands were scattered over the *fu* of Su-chou, and in the three counties of Ch'ang-chou, Yüan-ho, and Wu-hsien.

they also had to carry an official tablet (*kuan-p'ai* 官牌) authorizing their mission. The village elders such as *ching-ts'ao* 經造 and *ching-pao* 經保, who were also responsible for the maintenance of order and for the collection of taxes, also regularly collaborated with the bursary rent-collectors and yamen runners, especially in the case of arresting defaulting tenants.⁶¹

The official underlings employed in the private task of collecting rents on behalf of a landlord bursary naturally tried to claim the most pretentious official authority for their mission. But at the same time the entire expense of their trip to collect rents was borne by the bursary, and was usually paid in advance by the rent-collectors and recovered from the rents remitted to the bursary. The runners were given daily remuneration according to a roughly fixed scale,⁶² varying according to whether they were travelling alone by land (*tan-han* 單旱) or in pairs by land (*shuang-han* 雙旱), alone by boat (*tan-shui* 單水) or in pairs by boat (*shuang-shui* 雙水). The rent-collectors paid all the expenses of their accommodation 'food, room, oil, and firewood' (*fan-fang yu-huo* 飯房油火). A special customary charge also had to be paid for their carrying the official tablet of authorization (*kuan-p'ai*), known as 'tablet charge' (*p'ai-fei* 牌費), and those carrying these tablets were also entitled to a special personal *pourboire* known as *jun-chih* 潤志.⁶³

Thus official duties and the serving of private interests were very closely interrelated. Some authors, such as T'ao Tzu-ch'un (1821-91) 陶子春, a scholar official, poet, and philanthropic physician of Su-chou, claimed that 'the official lictors of the county yamens (*hsien-shu li-i* 縣署隸役) were always in short supply during the winter month when the collection of rent arrears was usually carried out, because so many of them had had to be sent out into the countryside to collect rents for so many landlords. As a result, the *hsien* government usually had to hire city layabouts (*ch'eng-shih chiu-pu wu-lai-jen* 城市酒博無賴人) who were sent to the bursaries to act as official runners. When the landlord or bursary sent out to collect rents in the villages, the collectors were always accompanied by such "lictors". The boat by which these people travelled along the canals was commonly called the

⁶¹ See Muramatsu (4), 183-6. See also Naitō Kenkichi 內藤乾吉, *Rikubu seigo chūkai* 六部成語註解, reprinted Tokyo, 1960, 41, and Hsiao Kung-chuan, *Rural China: imperial control in the nineteenth century*, Seattle, 1960, 63-6.

⁶² The *Ch'u-ch'ieh pei-ch'a* register mentioned in the text gives (on p. 60b) the following rates of remuneration paid to runners from Ch'ang-chou county in the winter of 1897. One runner going alone by land 425 cash *per diem*; a pair going by land 750 cash; fee for taking one tenant into custody, 600 cash; fee for putting one tenant in a cangue, 490 cash; accommodation for one runner *per diem* 80 cash. For further detail, see Muramatsu (4), 190-1.

⁶³ Among the documents from the Yü-ching tsu-chan in the Diet Library was found a bill requesting the payment of such *jun-chih* consideration of two silver dollars for the runners bearing the official tablet entitling them to collect rents (*chui-tou-p'ai* 追租牌). This bill was addressed by a certain Wan Ch'ing-hsian of the Office of Rites in the yamen of Su-chou fu, to a graduate named Wu En-ch'ing, who must have been the owner of the bursary, and the *shih-yeh* or clerks of the bursary, at its office in She-chia hsiang lane, Su-chou. See Muramatsu (4), p. 163, and document no. 68.

"lictors' boat" (*ch'ai-chuan* 差船), and everybody was frightened and disturbed by its appearance.'⁶⁴

V

The landlord bursaries, then, sometimes had their tenants arrested when they defaulted in paying rent. But of course not all tenants who fell into arrears with their rent payments were automatically arrested. For one thing there were so many of them that it would have been impossible to confine them all in any 'tenants' lock-up.'⁶⁵ For another, such action would in the long run have been counter to the interests of the landowning class. In the four volumes of rent-books from the Kung-shou-chan bursary listing payments of rent from lands owned by the Kung-shou-t'ang and Ku Lo-shou-t'ang for the four-year period 1906-9, 175 out of a total of about 250 tenants fell into arrears with their rent, while 19 were continuously in default. None the less, during these years only 7 tenants were actually arrested.⁶⁶

TABLE 7

Cases of arrest of tenants of lands of the Kung-shou-t'ang and Ku Lo-shou-t'ang estates administered by Kung-shou-chan bursary

Case no.	Acreage of plot (<i>mou</i>)	Rent paid current year	Rent paid previous year	Period of detention	Remarks
1	3.10	nil	paid	11 Dec.-?	
2	1.35	none until arrested	paid	16-23 Nov.	rent paid 20 Nov.
3	4.80	none until arrested	nil	16-24 Nov.	rent paid 24 Nov.
4	0.76	none until arrested	paid	?-16 Nov.	rent paid 29 Nov.
5	3.80	nil	arrears	21-24 Nov. 22-24 Nov.	tenant's wife, and son also arrested
6	3.26	nil	arrears	20 Nov.- 4 Dec.	
7	3.50	nil	arrears	?	

As is shown in table 7, in each of these seven cases no rent whatever had been paid for the current year until the time of arrest, but apart from the third case, some at least of the previous year's rent had been paid. I have attempted to trace the history of the families involved in these seven cases, and have found that all were very poor peasants whose rents had in the past fallen into

⁶⁴ See T'ao Tzu-ch'un 陶子春, *Tsu-ch'ueh* 租權, 1a-4a, 11a, 12a-b, 14a.

⁶⁵ See Amano Motonosuke, *Shina nōson zakkō* (p. 568, n. 3), chapter entitled 'So-shū no kosaku-seido' 蘇州の小作制度.

⁶⁶ See table 6 above, also see Muramatsu (1), 150-1.

arrears in successive years, and some of them were tenants of lands which had been flooded. None the less, none of them had defaulted completely for successive years (*li-nien ch'üan-ch'ien*) and most had paid at least something every year. At the same time the same rent-books include many other tenants who had paid nothing for several successive years without suffering arrest.⁶⁷ In three of the cases recorded, the rent was paid after the tenant had been detained for a few days, but in the other cases there is no statement that rent was paid, and yet the tenant was released. In the fifth case the bursary had the tenant's wife and then his second son, who was still young, arrested.

Case no. 3 is particularly interesting. It concerns a tenant called Wu Yüan-chang, who was tenant of two plots in different *yü*. His rent fell into arrears both in 1905 and in 1906. In 1906 he did not pay when the rent collector demanded payment for the second time, and was arrested. Now Wu Yüan-chang was not only himself a tenant, he was also a rent-collector for the bursary, and the headman of a *yü* 圩 甲. He was thus certainly not among the poorest class of tenants, and it is possible that he was arrested not because he was too poor to pay his rent, but because he was too independent to do so.

It is clear that the bursary clerks and the rent-collectors gave considerable thought to each case before ordering an arrest. But when an arrest was considered feasible, and when it was judged to provide an example to others and to correct the offender, they did not hesitate to have not only the tenant but members of his family and even the local headman taken into custody. Sometimes the arrested man was placed in a cangue or wooden collar *chia* 枷⁶⁸ and imprisoned in a tenants' lock-up, in an attempt to force the tenant, his family, or his neighbours to pay the rent and have the hostage released.

The regular legal process for taking a tenant into custody was as follows. (1) The bursary clerks prepared a list of defaulting tenants who were further described in such terms as 'disorderly tenant' (*luan-tien* 乱佃), 'intractable tenant' (*han-tien* 悍佃), 'bad tenant' (*pi-tien* 秕佃 or 庇佃), or 'bad tenant who refuses to pay his debts' (*pi-k'ang tien-hu* 庇抗佃戶). (2) The prefect or magistrate then issued a warrant (*ch'ieh-chiao* 切脚) (see plate VIII), ordering the headman of the locality to apprehend the tenant. (3) The runners from the local yamen went out to the countryside to serve the warrant. (4) The runners, local headmen, and rent-collectors jointly went to make the arrest.

The actual warrant was served upon the local headman, *ching-ts'ao* or *ching-pao*, and it is thus unlikely to have found its way into library collections. I have only located one incomplete *ch'ieh-chiao*, issued by the Fan Charitable Estate in 1878, which is in the National Diet Library. However, both the National Diet Library and the Tōyō Bunko possess blank forms for making out such warrants, which are cast in almost exactly the same form as the example issued by the Fan Charitable Estate. The blank in the National Diet

⁶⁷ See Muramatsu (1), 159-60.

⁶⁸ See H. G. H. Woodhead, *A journalist in China*, London, 1934, 24; Naitō Kenkichi, *Rikubu seigo chūkai*, 104.

Library has been cut in half and the reverse side used to make a memorandum of rents received. At the Tōyō Bunko I also discovered about 20 blank forms of a Republican period document which, although cast in very different form, clearly had the same purpose as the *ch'ieh-chiao* employed in the Ch'ing period.

These Republican period documents were found between the pages of the rent-book for the lands owned by the Chün-hao estate and administered by the Kung-shou-chan bursary in 1929. Although they are blank forms rather than actual warrants, almost all the wording is printed on them with spaces left only for the insertion of concrete details such as the name of the tenant to be arrested, the title of the bursary, and the site of the lands involved. These *pro forma* warrants are thus valuable evidence about the arrest of defaulting tenants.

The blank form comprises a statement addressed to the county (*hsien*) authorities that a certain refractory tenant (*wan-tien* 頑佃) named . . . had dared to resist the collection of his due rent and refused payment (*t'ing-kang pu-wan* 挺抗不完), followed by a request that the authorities should strictly enforce his arrest (*ch'ih-t'i yen-chui* 飭提嚴追). It then states that a list of tenants in arrears had already been placed on file, and that, none the less, the tenant had persisted in refusing to pay his rent. It then continues that, since the taxes due on the land come from the rents paid by the tenant, unless the bursary requested the aid of the authorities in arresting him and forcing him to pay his rent there would be no way for the landlord to meet his tax liability. The local authorities were thus requested to order the yamen runners responsible for rent collection (*ts'ui-tsu li* 催租吏) quickly to take the tenant into custody at the local branch police post (*kung-an fen-chü* 公安局), and there together with the head of the local watch, press him to pay. If he still refused, he should be detained for a while and ordered to complete his payment within a specified time-limit. If by any chance he still continued to resist, his case was to be referred to the committee for settling rent payments (*tien-tsu chu-fen wei-yüan hui* 佃租處分委員會) and punished in accordance with the law, so as to teach him a lesson.⁶⁹

The most important feature of this wording is the rationalization which it gives for the exercise of official authority, by the employment of the police and the police lock-up, to collect private rents and enforce the payment of private rent liabilities, on the grounds that failure to collect rent would lead to non-payment of taxes. This same theorization was also to be found on the *tsu-yü* documents, and must have been repeated, often explicitly, in many other instances. But even when it was not spelled out, it was always tacitly understood in dealings between local authorities and landlord bursaries.

The *ch'ieh-chiao*, then, was an official warrant for the arrest of a private person on official authority. It should thus have been lawfully drawn up and issued by the local government. But on close examination the surviving examples of *ch'ieh-chiao* not only show some variations in wording, which

⁶⁹ See Muramatsu (1), 170-4.

would not be expected in an official document, but also each bears a *printed* seal of the bursary or the charitable estate on whose behalf they were to be issued.⁷⁰ It would thus appear that blank forms of *ch'ieh-chiao* warrants must have been printed and kept ready in the bursaries. This assumption is supported by the large number of loose blank warrant forms found between the pages of the Kung-shou-chan rent-book, and by the other example where the reverse of one of these forms had been used to write a memorandum. It would seem that not only were the local authorities co-operating with the bursaries to collect rents, but that the bursaries themselves were not simply pressing their tenants for payment, but were exercising a pseudo-official authority over their tenants by themselves drawing up and issuing warrants for official execution.

The *Ch'u-ch'ieh pei-ch'a* (plates IX-X) of the Yü-ching tsu-chan bursary was, as I have said, a register of the issue of such warrants, and gives us valuable and detailed information about the employment of official employees in the collection of rent. One section of the book is an account⁷¹ of the number of days spent by the runners from various county offices in calling upon defaulting tenants, and of other incidental expenses⁷² which this involved, such as costs of accommodation and customary fees for carrying the official tablet (*chih-p'ai* 執牌), for putting the refractory tenant in a cangue (*tsu-t'i-chia* 租提枷 or simply 枷), and for making an arrest (*chiao-chu* 叫拘), etc.⁷³

Another part of the register lists tenants (佃), bad tenants (*pi-tien* 庇佃), or bad refractory tenants (*pi-k'ang tien-hu* 庇抗佃戶) with their addresses, and the name of the headman (*ching* 經 or *ching-ts'ao* 經造) of the sub-district where they lived. This list is a chronological one and is clearly a memorandum of the tenants who were to be arrested, and the local headmen who were to be requested to assist. A third section of the register gives details of the arrest of various individual tenants.

Through this register, the arrest of tenants of the bursary can be traced in vivid detail. For example, in the autumn of 1890 the bursary had 17 tenants arrested, and in 1891 more than 20.⁷⁴ In the spring of 1900 31,200 cash were paid out in expenses and fees for the runners from Ch'ang-chou county, and no less than 82,175 to those from Yüan-ho county.⁷⁵ We can also follow in detail the process of such an arrest.

For example, because of non-payment of rents by a tenant called Han Lao-hu 韓老虎 holding land in the 11th *t'u* of the 24th *tu* of Yüan-ho county, a certain Wang 王⁷⁶ was taken into custody on 20 October 1890. On 28 October, 5 November, and 9 November the local headman was called to

⁷⁰ See Muramatsu (4), 142, (6), 25.

⁷² *ibid.*

⁷⁴ See Muramatsu (4), 177-80.

⁷⁵ See Muramatsu (4), 186-8.

⁷⁶ Several surnames, such as Wang 王, Yü 虞, Chou 周, Ch'eng 程, etc., repeatedly appear in the documents as sureties. These must be the names of local elders or headmen who went surety not only for the payment of taxes, but also for the payment of rent within the prescribed time-limit.

⁷¹ See Muramatsu (4), 186-95.

⁷³ See Muramatsu (4), 193-5.

account (*pi* 比)⁷⁷ and on the last date somebody (presumably the detainee) was put in a cangue (*chia* 枷). On 12 November the *pi* order was rescinded (*k'ai-pi* 開比), but the obstinate tenant was exhibited to the populace at the gate as an example (*fa-t'ou-men* 發頭門).⁷⁸ The headmen and constables of various *t'u* connected with the case were called to account (*pi*) again on 17 and 20 November and 2, 8, 12 December. On 13 February of the following year Wang was again arrested. *Pi* orders were issued to the local headmen on 19 and 26 February and 3 and 16 March. On 3 March Wang was again put in a cangue and exhibited to the populace at the gate.

Obviously a single case could cause a great deal of trouble, and in addition many arrested tenants became ill during their detention, owing to the very bad conditions of confinement, and had to be released through sickness (*ping-shih* 病釋). In the spring of 1892 three of the bursary's tenants were arrested, all of whom had subsequently to be released because of illness.⁷⁹ The reason why this was done is made clear by a case recorded in another rent-book, of an unidentified bursary, held by the Tōyō Bunka Kenkyūjo.⁸⁰ Here a tenant called Chang A-ts'ao, who had been cultivating 11·2 *mou* of paddy and paying 11·9 *shih* of rice as rent, had fallen into arrears and in 1931 failed to make any rent payment. He was arrested and detained in a tenants' lock-up (*tien-tsu ch'u fen so* 佃租處分所) where he fell sick and died. The rent-collector who had had the tenant detained then consulted with the relatives of the deceased man, who agreed not to press a case against him on condition that 100 silver dollars Mex. should be paid to them in compensation, and all outstanding liabilities for rent cancelled. The deceased's son also accepted a coffin for his father's burial from the rent-collector, and the affair was settled.

VI

The landlord bursary in late Ch'ing Kiangnan thus functioned as a little state within the state, and its owner and even his clerks could exercise real authority. We find, for example, letters written by local officials to bursary owners and bursary clerks⁸¹ in which, even when the authorities were demanding taxes due from bursary land, the tone and wording usually remains very courteous and respectful.⁸²

We have seen how the bursaries arrogated official authority in the issue of warrants. There is a further field where they may have usurped official responsibility. There are already a number of excellent and thorough studies

⁷⁷ The precise meaning of *pi* 比 is obscure. But it seems to mean 'to call a local headman to account'. See Giles's dictionary, p. 1092, under 比差.

⁷⁸ The meaning of *fa-t'ou men* is also unclear. The interpretation given was suggested by Professor L. S. Yang.

⁷⁹ See Muramatsu (1), 196-9.

⁸⁰ This book has no title. The block-centre of each page is inscribed *Cheng-tsu ts'e* 正租冊.

⁸¹ See Muramatsu (8), 22-3, and documents from the Ching-yü *tsu-chan* in the National Diet Library.

⁸² See Muramatsu (8), 22-3.

on the documents known as 'Fish-scale maps' (*Yü-lin t'u-ts'e* 魚鱗圖冊), the official cadastral registers and plans which had been compiled since Sung times as a basis for land-tax collection.⁸³ But recently I have formed the impression that some at least of the surviving 'Fish-scale maps', some at least of those Ch'ing period land books listed by libraries in this category, were not in fact such documents compiled officially by the state for the purpose of tax collection, but were rather private compilations made by landlord bursaries for the purpose of their own private collection of rents.⁸⁴

The landlord bursary exercised a semi-state power over its lands and tenants, then, in various ways.⁸⁵ But this should not be taken to imply that the state gave any formal and explicit recognition to the political or legal independence of the bursary within its own lands as a result of the limited power of local authorities to exercise strict control over remote districts. The bursaries' control of their lands and their peasants depended in fact upon the theory that the payment of taxes to the state was a common duty of both the landlords and their peasant tenants. It was only on these grounds that the bursaries could invoke the aid of the state in their dealings with tenants who had defaulted in payment of their private liabilities, have them arrested, detained, sometimes even killed, and treated as criminals.

The bursaries remained really powerful at least until the early 1920's. Until then, it was the accepted thing for a scholar or official who had had a successful career and managed to save some capital, to invest this in land and settle down as a gentry landlord. In the social and institutional situation of the late nineteenth century this was the most easy, secure, and respectable way of living a prosperous, independent, and influential life.

But, as we have seen from the case of the Kung-shou-chan bursary and its owner Fei Chung-shen, in the present century the situation was radically changed. Immediately after the Nationalists came to power in 1927-8 Fei's landlord enterprise ceased to be profitable, and in the early 1930's he was petitioning the state to confiscate his lands in payment of his tax liabilities. His sons did not dream of becoming landed gentlemen or bursary owners. Two became engineers after studying in Shanghai and abroad, the third became a university professor. It is clear that the tremendous radical fundamental transformation of Chinese society as a whole which began to gather momentum in the 1920's had also deeply affected landlordism.

⁸³ See Niida Noboru, *Chūgoku hōseishi kenkyū 2. Tochi-hō: Torihiki-hō*, Tokyo, 1960, 277-321.

⁸⁴ See Muramatsu (3), especially 247-50, 252-61, 267-73, 278-9, and 317-23. The reasons for my belief that some of these *Yü-lin t'u-ts'e* are private compilations made by landlords or bursaries are as follows. First, the numbers of the *sh'iu* 畝 embanked areas in which the land-strips are listed are not consecutive, and are often very discontinuous. This would certainly mean that the listing of land-strips in these books is not exhaustive but selective. Next, the amounts of rice given against each plot are often as large as one *shih* per *mou*. This can hardly represent tax, but would on the other hand make sense if interpreted as rent. See Muramatsu (5) on this problem.

⁸⁵ See the works of Amano Motonosuke and Chou Ch'i-chung cited above, p. 568, n. 3.

TABLE 8

Change in the net profit from lands belonging to the Chi-hao and under the management of the Ching-yü tsu-chan bursary, 1893-1928

	Acreage (<i>mou</i>)	Income		Expenditure		Net gain paid to the owner (1,000 cash, <i>yüan</i> *)
		Rents (<i>shih</i> of rice)	Monetary equivalent (1,000 cash, <i>yüan</i> *) ^a	Tax (1,000 cash, <i>yüan</i> *)	Total (1,000 cash, <i>yüan</i> *)	
1893	55-338	44-380	97-635	28-648	40-712	56-923
1899	55-338	40-144	116-415	35-497	46-589	69-826
1900	55-338	42-849	108-076	33-896	46-174	61-902
1901	55-338	37-596	114-704	34-322	51-185	63-519
1902	55-338	41-203	135-972	41-717	58-165	77-807
1903	55-338	35-514	121-520	44-854	53-248	68-277
1904	55-338	42-366	130-254	41-711	63-366	66-888
1905	54-261	41-605	118-976	39-743	57-121	61-815
1906	58-029	33-045	146-143	46-441	65-844	80-299
1907	58-029	43-712	190-203	59-705	79-436	110-767
1908	58-029	40-408	243-010	58-248	89-808	153-202
1909	58-029	36-005	213-464	62-652	90-943	122-521
1910	58-029	45-325	252-093	69-709	101-133	150-960
1912	58-029	37-832	*169-046	*40-843	*56-969	*112-077
1913	58-029	45-633	*193-797	*41-793	*51-995	*136-201
1914	58-029	39-626	*176-347	*45-118	*61-630	*114-715
1915	58-029	45-416	*211-317	*46-258	*62-447	*148-870
1916	58-029	49-392	*219-564	*46-258	*62-784	*156-770
1917	58-029	39-641	*175-799	*37-614	*56-372	*119-427
1918	58-029	43-922	*196-074	*40-649	*59-720	*136-326
1922	58-029	45-473	*301-045	*36-273	*57-627	*243-418
1923	58-029	49-533	*347-749	*49-187	*63-783	*283-966
1927	58-029	41-447	*344-010	*79-707	*121-380	*230-072
1928	58-029	43-029	*368-539	*82-196	*154-691	*213-848
Total	1,370-091	1,005-771	1,988-465	597-143	843-724	1,144-701
			*2,703-289	*545-796	*909-408	*1,895-690
Average	57-057	41-907	152-958	45-934	64-901	88-053
			*245-753	*49-617	*73-582	*172-335

^a After the beginning of the Republic in 1911 the standard unit of currency was changed from the copper cash to the silver dollar (*yüan*).

The last material which I wish to present directly illustrates this transformation. It comprises 24 volumes entitled *Pao-hsiao ko-hao pei-ch'a* 報銷各號備查, which are possessed by the National Diet Library, Tokyo. These are account books compiled by the Yü-ching tsu-chan bursary between 1893 and 1928, which preserve an almost unbroken record of the annual balance of land managed by the bursary for various outside landowners. The bursary made an annual report to each owner of rents received, taxes paid, and expenses incurred by the bursary including bursary commission (*chan-fei* 棧費) and the various payments made to the local authorities or to their employees.⁸⁶

Of the 34 landowners (*hao*) depositing lands with the bursary in 1893, three at least are still to be found in the list for 1928, and had kept their land

⁸⁶ See Muramatsu (5), 3-21.

continuously under the bursary's management.⁸⁷ The information given in the accounts about the lands managed on behalf of these three owners have made it possible for me to trace their profits and losses for 24 years in the period 1893-1928. The results show some of the startling changes in the economics of landed investment, which undoubtedly were a vital factor in preparing the stage for the land reforms later undertaken by P'eng Pai and Mao Tse-tung.

In table 8 (p. 597) I have taken one of these three owners, the Chi-hao 祭號, as a representative case, and try to give a balance sheet of the profits from their lands over this period.⁸⁸

These changes can be seen even more clearly in the graph below.

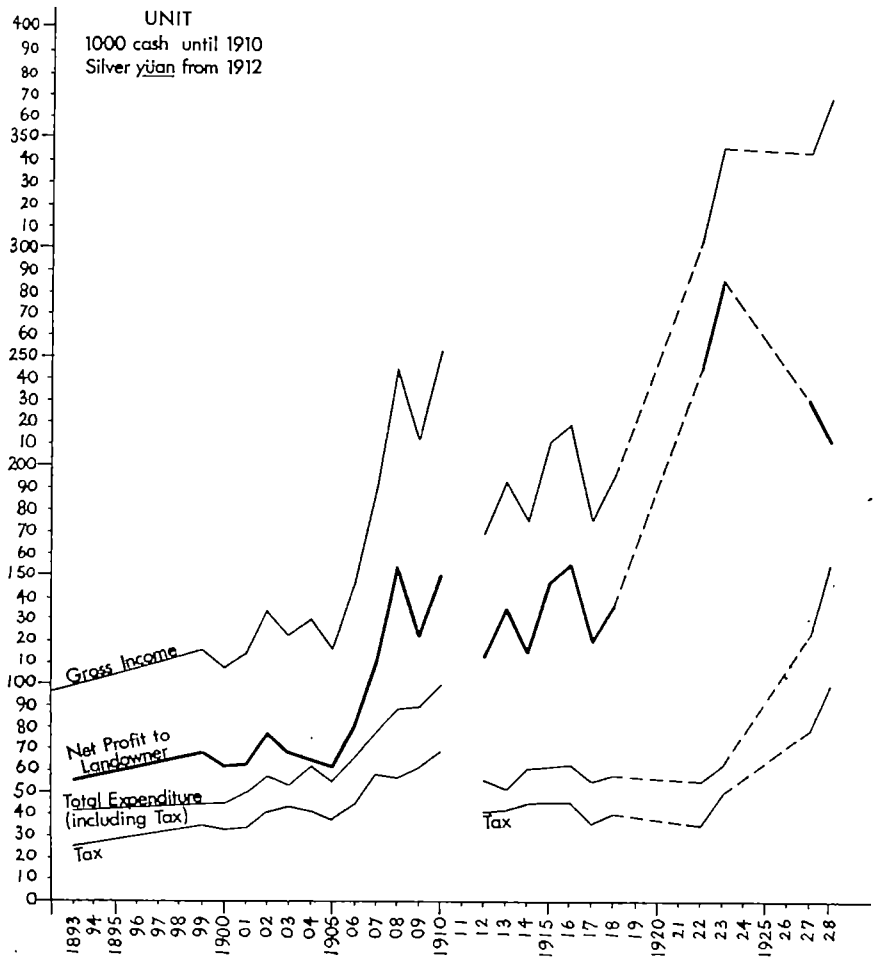


FIG. 1. Change in net profit from landed property of Chi-hao managed by Ching-yü tsu-chan bursary, 1893-1928.

⁸⁷ See Muramatsu (5), 27-30.

⁸⁸ For my detailed argument on the reasons for selecting this particular property as representative, see Muramatsu (5), 38, 51.

It is clear that the period falls into at least four stages. (1) During the years down to 1905, income, tax, and other expenses of the landlord all remained relatively stable and roughly in equilibrium. (2) During the period from the Russo-Japanese War to the 1911 Revolution, rents rose steeply, but taxes and other expenses lagged behind, resulting in a rapid increase in net profits. (3) The period 1912-17 remained very profitable for the landlord with rising income from rents and relatively steady tax rates and other expenses. (4) After 1918 or 1919 the growth of income from rents evened out and stopped, while expenses, particularly tax demands, grew suddenly and ever-increasingly, resulting in a sudden and dramatic decline in net profits during the 1920's.⁸⁹

On the surface landlordism in the late nineteenth century and the 1920's and 1930's shows many of the same features, and in reading the procedural documents connected with rent-collection and tenants' arrests from before and after the 1911 revolution I have always been impressed by the apparent lack of change in the attitudes of the authorities towards the landlords and bursaries, and in the powerful domination which landlord and bursary were able to exercise over their lands and tenants. But it seems clear that this surface lack of change in fact masks the steady advance of fundamental economic changes which suddenly became manifest in the period immediately after the first World War, and set the scene for the decades when China at last plunged into fundamental and revolutionary social changes.

⁸⁹ See Muramatsu (5), 38-61, for a detailed analysis of these figures.

THE GLORIOUS VICTORIES OF 'AMDA ŞEYON, KING OF ETHIOPIA

By EDWARD ULLENDORFF

'Amda Şeyon was one of the most outstanding Ethiopian kings of any age and a singular figure dominating the horn of Africa in the fourteenth century. Almost alone among Ethiopian rulers he was fortunate in having his principal campaign against Adal chronicled in a manner worthy of this exploit, for, in contrast to much of the literature preserved in Gə'əz, 'Amda Şeyon's chronicler could wield his pen with dexterity and some literary panache.

Though Muslim traditions mention friendly relations between Muḥammad and the Negus, the principal expansion of Islam occurred at a time when the Aksumite state was in a period of decline. The Persians had disrupted the sea and trade routes in the Red Sea, and the Muslim conquests soon enveloped the whole of Arabia and North Africa. Ethiopia was thus severed, at least temporarily, from its spiritual source, the Patriarchate of Alexandria. In fact, Islam had knocked on the very gates of the Christian kingdom : it had occupied the Dahlak islands. The isolation of Abyssinia, which was to last for many centuries, had now begun. Trade and conquest were a thing of the past, and in the face of the great Islamic expansion there was nothing left to the people but to retire within their impregnable mountain fastnesses.

While the internal upheavals in the heart of Ethiopia were at their height (towards the close of the first millennium A.D.), Islamic encroachment along the fringes of the kingdom became bolder and more dangerous. The internal troubles were eventually checked, and ground lost, both territorially and in the propagation of Christianity, was regained, but the effects of the disturbances on the periphery could not be mitigated in the same manner. Here the losses along the coastal plains proved irremediable ; the Islamization of the lowlands continued at an accelerated pace, and Muslim powers succeeded one another in establishing their sovereignty, with varying degrees of effectiveness, over the African Red Sea littoral. But Islam threatened not only the coastal areas from which the Abyssinian kingdom had been cut off ; it spread its militant faith also among the nomadic groups who lived and moved between the sea and the eastern slopes of the escarpment until, finally, it began to encroach even upon eastern Shoa and the Sidama country. The period from the tenth to the twelfth century, the time of greatest internal weakness, saw the systematic penetration of Islam on a wide front : in the Dahlak archipelago, the Dankali and Somali coasts, among the Bedja in the north and the Sidama in the south, in the Ifat sultanate of eastern Shoa, at Harar in the east and near Lake Zway in the west, where Arabic inscriptions and Islamic tombs attest the radius of Muslim expansion.

The slave-trade proved to be a powerful agent in the Islamization of the coastal plains, for it maintained the link with the Arab world and established or

supported such centres as Zeila or Mogadishu with their Dankali and Somali hinterland. Moreover, the slave-raids undoubtedly accelerated the diffusion of Islam among the pagan peoples of East Africa, as conversion was the easiest way of escaping this recruitment. The organization of this lucrative trade was enormous : it set up bridge-heads deep in the interior of the country and what had begun as a raiding expedition developed into permanent control of entire areas and the establishment of a series of petty states and sultanates.

It is impossible to say with any degree of certainty whether the origin of the Muslim state in eastern Shoa is due to slaving expeditions. Its beginnings are shrouded in impenetrable darkness, but it must have existed for a considerable period and have been under the rule of the Makhzumi sultans, probably since the late ninth century. The overthrow of this Shoan sultanate, in 1285, and its absorption within that of Ifat, the predominant Muslim state in Ethiopia, is described in a document published by Enrico Cerulli (*RSE*, I, 1941, 5-42). The sultanate of Ifat under the Walasma dynasty had become the focus of Islamic expansion in Ethiopia and of all those southern nuclei of resistance to Abyssinian and Christian encroachment who saw in the spread of Islam the lesser evil. Ifat was firmly established on the south-eastern fringes of the Shoan plateau and has impinged on many points and at several stages in the subsequent course of Ethiopian history.

The war of attrition between the central Christian highlands and the Muslim sultanates, entrenched all along the eastern and southern fringes of the Abyssinian plateau, is the principal feature of Ethiopian history during the period from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century. Proceeding from east to west we first encounter the sultanate of Adal on the Dankali and Somali coast. At times Adal formed part of the state of Ifat ; its ruler was styled *Amīr* or *Imām* (*Negus* in the Ethiopian chronicles), and one of them who opposed the Ethiopian king 'Amda Şeyon's march against Zeila, in 1332, was defeated and slain. Harar became a Muslim city-state and a great centre of Islamic commerce and cultural propagation. Ifat held the south-eastern part of the Shoan plateau and the slopes of the Awash rift-valley ; it was the most important of the sultanates. To the west of Ifat, in what is now the Arussi region, the Dawaro kingdom controlled large tracts of southern Ethiopia. It bordered upon the Bali sultanate, while the small principalities of Sharkha and Arababni lay between Dawaro and the most westerly Muslim state, Hadya, which comprised the territory of the Sīdama and Gurage.

Those were the Muslim sultanates ranged against the Emperor 'Amda Şeyon (1314-44). They covered a greater area than that controlled by the Christian king, but the latter had the advantage of a geographically compact state, while the Islamic peoples were spread in a vast semi-circle without proper communications or political cohesion. 'Amda Şeyon seized the initiative, attacked Ifat and Hadya, and defeated both. He had thus gained the entire plateau down to the Awash river. And though these Muslim principalities displayed great powers of recovery, for the time being 'Amda Şeyon had relieved the pressure of Islamic

encroachment. Victory brought mass conversions to Christianity in its wake ; many monasteries and churches were founded at that time, and the name of 'Amda Şeyon himself was registered among the saints in the Synaxarium.

It is the chronicle of 'Amda Şeyon's glorious victories which has now been rendered into eminently readable English by Dr. Huntingford.¹

The Oxford Library of African Literature has made an excellent beginning with volumes by W. H. Whiteley, B. W. Andrzejewski and I. M. Lewis, I. Schapera, and H. F. Morris. A case can certainly be made for the inclusion in this series of the narrative of 'Amda Şeyon's campaigns against the Muslims in the fourteenth century—provided that the annotated translation is accompanied by 'the complete text in the original language' (as suggested on the back of the dust wrapper of the series as a whole). This, alas, is a most serious omission in the present case, for without first establishing a sound Ethiopic text it is impossible to produce a convincing translation. The Clarendon Press has been uncharacteristically remiss in describing this work, on the title-page, as having been 'translated and edited' when, in fact, no edition of the text has been attempted and the correct description would have been 'translated and annotated'.

Dr. Huntingford, well-known from his previous writings, especially in collaboration with Professor Beckingham, has entered into the spirit of 'Amda Şeyon's time and has lavished much work on the preparation of the present volume.

The introduction of some 40 pp. deals with the background of this military venture and provides much of the information on which H.'s translation is contingent. It is followed by a very helpful synopsis of the text and by the full translation of the narrative of the war. We are also offered, in addition, a translation of a summary written in Portuguese by Pero Pais early in the seventeenth century (= vol. II, pp. 246-57 of the 1945 edition) which corroborates the essential accuracy of later copies of our text. The volume concludes with a rendering of four of the 12 (or 13) famous Amharic royal songs, of which two expressly refer to 'Amda Şeyon, while a further two, in the opinion of Dr. Huntingford, appear to do so. There are several illustrations, useful maps (always a particular strength of H.'s), five indexes, and a short bibliography which clearly does not aim at completeness.

The most satisfactory parts of the book are those which deal with the historical geography of Ethiopia. This chronicle contains a great number of place-names which previous translators have largely left unidentified. H.'s systematic attack upon them is particularly valuable. While he would probably be the first to admit (see p. 31) that some of his suggestions are rather desperate guesses, many of them are helpful and indeed convincing. And although H. might be more chary of random resemblances and facile etymologizing, we

¹ G. W. B. Huntingford (tr.): *The glorious victories of 'Amda Seyon, king of Ethiopia*. (Oxford Library of African Literature.) xii, 142 pp., front., 6 plates. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965. 38s.

cannot but hope that he will undertake much further work in the field of historical geography. Meanwhile, it will be generally accepted that a translation must be judged primarily on its linguistic and literary merits.

The 'Victories of 'Amda Şeyon' had been rendered into French by Perruchon (*JA*, 8^e Sér., xiv, 1889) and into Italian by Bruno Ducati (1939). In addition, there is the summary translation into Portuguese (referred to in the present volume) as well as the detailed English paraphrase by Bruce (*Travels*, *Third ed.*, 1813, III, 43-91). H. makes no reference at all to the best translation, i.e. Dillmann's 'Die Kriegsthaten des Königs 'Amda-Şion gegen die Muslim' (*Abh. d. K. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1884, 1007-38). The advantage of this translation does not only lie in Dillmann's mastery of language and subject but also in his use of a much earlier MS (Dillmann, Bodleian catalogue, no. XXIX) belonging to a different filiation. It is hard to see how H. could have failed to notice this rendering which is so frequently referred to in the literature consulted by him. Acquaintance with Dillmann's work would have saved H. from many a pitfall.

H.'s translation gives an adequate impression of 'Amda Şeyon's campaign, but as a translation it commits many elementary blunders and a large number of mistakes; there is also a great deal that betrays the amateur linguist and which can only be described as neither right nor wrong. H. follows Perruchon's French rendering much too slavishly and is thus frequently led into error by his predecessor. Closer attention to the Ethiopic original would have obviated many of these difficulties. The translator never really tells us what sort of translation he is aiming at, but the many brackets and footnotes make it clear that it is meant to be a fairly literal rendering. The detailed observations below will show that H. faithfully reproduces the errors of earlier translations (adding a generous sprinkling of his own), but unhappily it cannot be averred that there are many independent felicities which compensate for these shortcomings. The present reviewer has reached this conclusion with much reluctance, sincere regret, and a good deal of anguish—especially in the case of so scholarly and congenial a colleague.

At the same time it must be admitted that no translation could have been completely satisfactory without first establishing a text based on a careful collation of the existing MSS. Huntingford was, therefore, ill advised to embark on yet another translation (or at times a translation of a translation) before producing an acceptable text. H. knows of three MSS (p. 25): (1) BM Or. 821 (= Wright 392) which was copied about the middle of the nineteenth century; (2) Bibliothèque Nationale, Éth. 147 (= Zotenberg 143) copied a little earlier but made from the same recension as the previous one; (3) d'Abbadie 118 (= Conti Rossini 197) of the same provenance as the other two. As these three MSS all derive from Dejazmatch Haylu's recension, collation of these MSS with each other and, above all, with others of a different origin would have been essential. In fact, there are at least six other MSS, some of them very important, known to the present reviewer:

- (4) d'Abbadie 52 (= Conti Rossini 194);
 (5) Mondon-Vidailhet 27 (Chaîne catalogue);
 (6) " " 61 (" ");
 (7) " " 62 (" ");
 (8) Ruppellsche Sammlung (Rüppell, *Reise in Abyssinien*, II, 336 ff.; cf. also L. Goldschmidt, *Die abess. Handschr. d. Stadtbibliothek zu Frankfurt am Main*);
 (9) Bodleian XXIX (= Bruce 88).

It is particularly surprising that H. does not refer to no. (9), for this MS contains the Amharic royal songs which form part of an appendix to the present volume. Collation of these MSS would have advanced our knowledge beyond the text produced by Perruchon who used BM Or. 821 with some variants from BN Éth. 147. Not surprisingly, these variants are of a very minor character, since both MSS derive from the same redaction.

On his own evidence, H.'s translation was made from the text *as printed by Perruchon* (p. 33) and only 'doubtful passages' were checked by reference to the MS itself. Yet, how is one to know which passages are doubtful? And what prevented H. from using at least the BM MS, for Perruchon's version is marred by innumerable printing mistakes which undermine confidence in this text?

Since at least two of the Old Amharic royal songs expressly refer to 'Amda Šeyon, inclusion of a translation is clearly justified and indeed to be welcomed. Although a number of scholars have tried their hand at a translation (see below), Littmann's *Die altamharischen Kaiserlieder* (Strassburg, 1914) has remained the only complete rendering. Littmann himself was very conscious of the inevitable imperfections of his translation (cf. *RSO*, xx, 1944, 474 ff.). In view of the fact that by general consensus these songs constitute the most important as well as the most difficult document of early Amharic, it would have been entirely satisfactory to reproduce Littmann's translation as it stands. To ask an untrained Ethiopian student to make a translation of these remarkably complex songs borders on levity. The result is, of course, a mere rehash of Littmann's rendering (without express acknowledgement of this fact) marred by a good deal of retrogression on that great Orientalist's version. At a time when we possess at least seven MSS of these songs (see below), it seems pointless to translate without first preparing a text which is sufficiently sound to allow of such translation.

Every system of transcription or transliteration that is consistent in itself should prove to be acceptable. But H. does not seem to be completely clear about the distinction between transliteration and transcription. The ambiguity of the 6th order and the absence of a sign for gemination have led H. into many errors (transcriptions such as *makuannen* (p. 24 *et passim*) or *pāppās* (p. 100) run counter to his own rules—p. 40) and indeed into such monstrosities as *mazāgbeta* (for *mazāgebta*—p. 60) or *asayfet* (for *asyeft*—p. 82).² The transliteration of all Gə'əz words in the book (in addition to their representation in Ethiopic

² *mazāgbeta* or *asayfet*, perhaps more than anything else, show H.'s distance from Semitic Ethiopia.

characters) was completely superfluous and has quite unnecessarily produced countless mistakes. Moreover, what is the point of adding diacritical marks (and frequently wrongly) to such common words as Amḥara, Ḥarar, Ṭana, or 'Ezrā ?

There are some curious omissions in the bibliography. Apart from Dillmann's 'Kriegsthaten' (already mentioned), one misses many of Conti Rossini's relevant writings. d'Abbadie's MSS have received magisterial treatment at the hand of this great savant (*JA*, 10^e Sér., XIX-XX, 1912. 11^e Sér., II, VI, 1913, 1915) and ought to be assessed in the light of his observations. Very important for 'Amda Şeyon's campaign are Conti Rossini's *Note per la storia letteraria abissina* (1900). The edition and translation of the *Maşafa berhan* by Conti Rossini and L. Ricci (*CSCO*, CCL-CCLI, 1964) may have come too late to receive consideration in the present context. But Mauro da Leonessa's 'Un trattato sul calendario redatto al tempo di re Amda Syon' (*RSE*, III, 3, 1943) is of considerable relevance to chronological problems.³

In fact, the chronology of 'Amda Şeyon's reign and campaign differs in H.'s book from that generally accepted. He appears to agree (p. 3) with Bruce (*Travels, Third ed.*, III, 43) who, if I am not in error, is the only one to date his reign 1312-42. The weight of evidence seems to be on the side of Dillmann ('Kriegsthaten', 1008), Wright (*BM Catalogue*, vi-vii), Conti Rossini (*Note*, 15), and Cerulli (*Storia della letteratura etiopica*, 35) who all posit 1314-44; and only the most cogent considerations should persuade one to dissent from these scholars. Again, H. gives the date of the Adal campaign as 1329 (p. 25 *et passim*) in contrast to everyone else's 1332. To justify his date he resorts to the oddest piece of reasoning (n. 2 on p. 53) in asserting that the author of the narrative must have 'miscalculated' the Ethiopian year in arriving at 1332 when he ought to have reached 1329! H. is fortified in his belief by his calculation of the date of Easter, but he appears to overlook that these considerations do not apply to the dating of the Ethiopian Easter. In any event, I know of no valid reason why we should abandon the year 1332 as that generally agreed for 'Amda Şeyon's Adal campaign.

The indexes appear to be very suitably arranged, but on closer inspection it will be found that there is an enormous number of omissions. Over a specimen of two or three pages these omissions were in excess of 30 per cent. Such central entries as Agawmedr (16), Bahrdar (26), Dambya (16), Marab (19), Abay⁴ (15, 17, 19), Conti Rossini (13), Dawit I (38), Heruy (39), Mahdara Maryam (26), Rinck (24), Tana (16), Tigre (1, 19), etc., are missing altogether, while very many other entries are listed incompletely.

³ As an example of H.'s insufficient command of the relevant literature one might take pp. 27-9 where he argues that Tewodros and Galawdewos are not the kings by that name but the two martyrs of Antioch. But all this had already been established by Conti Rossini (*Note*, 15-17), with greatly superior arguments, and by Devos (*Analecta Bollandiana*, LXII, 1944, 306-9). Conti Rossini in particular has pointed out that, if Theodore and Claudius were the emperors by that name, they would be likely to be interpolations which could be ascertained from the comparison of MSS of varying filiation. This important aspect was never investigated by Huntingford.

⁴ All these entries are given in Huntingford's spelling.

I have found myself in much difficulty *vis-à-vis* the footnotes to the translation (pp. 53–110). Most of them seem to me quite redundant, for they generally state the obvious but do not deal with genuine difficulties in the text: pp. 66, 69, or 101 are cases in point. ሙደዩ: [should read ሙዳዩ:] አሕፃ: is stated to be ‘receptacle for arrows’ (p. 106) or *bāhira ērtrā* ‘the Erythraean sea’ (p. 98)—but what else could it be? These explanatory notes are not only superfluous but they also contain many errors, either of printing or of interpretation (e.g. p. 109). Quite a few such notes are mere repetitions (e.g. pp. 80 and 104, 89 and 105).

An excellent feature of the book is the careful cross-referencing between the Pais summary and the Ethiopian chronicle (pp. 111–28). In view of these detailed cross-references it is not clear to me what the list of parallel passages (pp. 41–3) is meant to add, particularly as it contains a number of mistakes (I think the first fol. 39 should read fol. 40, while the second reference should be fol. 41).

Finally, the value of the work could have been greatly enhanced by closer attention to the available Muslim sources, especially ‘Umarī and Maqrīzī (*Ilmām*). It would have been interesting to compare the information provided by these sources with the details contained in the Ethiopian narrative.

If the tone of these observations is predominantly critical, it should not be thought that Huntingford’s work is devoid of value. If much of the translation, in the absence of detailed work on the preparation of an acceptable Ethiopian text, must unhappily be regarded as a gallant failure, Huntingford has at least drawn renewed attention to this important text and has provided much information in his introduction.

Now to some details.

p. v: not ‘all’ the Ethiopic MSS of ‘Amda Šeyon’s war were copied in the nineteenth century. Bruce 88 (Bodleian XXIX) is among some important MSS of an earlier date.

p. 1, n. 2: the reference to *The Ethiopians* should read 98 (not 78).

p. 2: is the Muslim area in the north not somewhat overstated on this otherwise excellent map? In the fourteenth century Islamic influence is unlikely to have embraced so much of the Tigre province.

p. 3: ‘The decline of Aksum coincided with the establishment of Islam (A.D. 622)’. This seems to me somewhat sweeping. May I refer to the complex causes mentioned on p. 57 of my *The Ethiopians* (second edition)? I think the conflict between Christians and Muslims was not ‘continuous’ but rather ‘intermittent’; there were fairly quiescent periods as well. In n. 1, for rock-hewn ‘church’ read ‘churches’.

p. 4: Frumentius’ brother is referred to as Aedesius and Sedrakos in Ethiopian sources. *Gerañ* is not an acceptable spelling for *Grañ*; otherwise one has to write ‘*Ameda Šeyone*. Note 1 does not reflect the religious situation quite correctly. Cf. Guidi, *OM*, II, 3, 1922, 187–90; *The Ethiopians* (second edition),

105. Note 2: the Council of Chalcedon (451) is called ግገበር፣ ዕልጥጉ፣ 'council of heretics'.

p. 5, n. 3: I do not understand the contrast to which H. refers here: 'eqbeta should, of course, read *eqebta*.

p. 8: read *aramawyan* (for *aramaweyan*). The passage at the foot of this page appears between quotation marks. In fact, however, it is not a translation but a paraphrase with omissions (from *CSCO*, xxxii, 31).

p. 9: again, this is a paraphrase with omissions.

p. 10, n. 1: I fail to see the object of this observation. Note 2 is an unfortunate piece of etymologizing; by this process one can arrive at almost any explanation. For *Gor* see *CSCO*, lvii, 106 (= lvi, 118): 'Gor is the idol of Egypt and Samaria'.

p. 11: the translations here were clearly made from other translations and *not* from the originals. Šedenya are not 'rustic demons' (as Huntingford, misled by Perruchon's translation, supposes) but 'oppidum Aegypt.' (Dillmann, *Lexicon*); for the city of Šedenya cf. also the Synaxarium for 10 Maskaram and Breasted, *History of Egypt*, 351. To describe Damot as 'a province lying to the south-west of Mugar' is tantamount to saying that London is south-west of Epping.

p. 12: curiously enough, H. omits to say that the 'Laws and institutions of the kingdom' are also included in his own BM MS Or. 821. There are some important mistakes in the translation which could have been avoided by consultation of Guidi's article in *RRAL*, Cl. sc. mor., Ser. 5, xxxi, 1922, 69. *Dābāna* is not a proper name but the Amharic for 'royal tent'. There is a caesura after *Behul*, and *Aqambale* should read *Aqambase*. Note 1: Arabic *nuššāb* is a sing. of which the plur. form is *našāšīb*.

p. 13: the translation here has serious flaws and is again very largely a translation of a translation. I cannot find the first line in the Gə'əz original. *hedug* is variously rendered in the same passage as 'district' and as 'chief'. It was not 'Amda Šeyon who 'set over their land beings who were not of the race of Adam and Eve', but the rebels themselves had done that. Note 2: da Maggiora's dictionary is largely derivative and is not a source worth quoting. *ahbay* is the plural of *həbay*, a Tigrinya word.

p. 14: for *Eskender* read *Eskender*. The second paragraph here derives directly from Cerulli's *Storia della lett. etiop.*, 53 and 59. This ought to have been stated, for some of it is opinion rather than fact.

p. 16, n. 2: the term 'literally' is often used in a rather curious way; *hagar* is 'country' as well as 'city'.

p. 17: *bahāwrt* should read *bahāwərt*.

p. 18: The disquisition on *mā'kala* is very odd.

p. 19, n. 2: it is quite clear that Amano is a *nom. prop.* In n. 3, the date of Rinck's edition should read 1790.

p. 20: أمّ الوطن means 'metropolis'. Note 1: I do not believe there is any substance in H.'s view that Wifat refers to the Shoan part, while Ifat relates to

the lowlands. See Trimmingham, *Islam in Ethiopia*, 58 (cf. also Isenberg *Amharic dictionary*). In fact, the forms Ifat, Efat, Wifat, Wafat, Yefat are mere graphic variants.

p. 24 : without checking the original one could not possibly guess that the transliteration *Hatä*' (the designation of the Ethiopian Emperor) stands for حطى .⁵ Also, the Arabic rendering does not reflect حٲ : but حٲٲ : which is of great importance for the development of Amharic.

p. 25 : details about further MSS of our text have been given in the introductory part of this review.

p. 26 : why is *Beta Mangest* rendered as 'Treasury' and not as 'Palace' ? Why is the position of Mahdara Maryam described as 'about 35 miles east-north-east of Bahrdar Giyorgis' instead of '7 miles south-west of Debra Tabor', a very important centre ? It is much too sweeping to assert that most of the known royal chronicles belong to the redaction of 1784 (MS Bruce 88 = Bodl. XXIX is one of many earlier MSS). The wars of Grañ were much more destructive than the loss of the *beta mangest*. Note 1 : cf. the Masoretic text of Judges xviii, 30, for the Manasseh : Moses substitution.

p. 27 : since there exist several earlier recensions of our text, the questions raised on this page have a factual answer and require no speculative treatment. Line 17 : for 43 read 41. Note 3 contains some factual inaccuracies as well as some errors of transliteration and translation. Incidentally, the translation 'glorious' for ዓቢይ : requires no supporting argument, but H.'s reasoning is circuitous.

p. 29, l. 1 : the correct rendering of ከሐዲያን : is 'infidels' ; H.'s 'heathen' is again influenced by Conzelman's 'païen' rather than by the original. Should there not be a fourth group of sources for the place-names of the sultanate of Shoa, i.e. 'other Arabic documents' ?

p. 30 : H. is inclined to be much too cavalier in his treatment of the linguistic aspects of Ethiopian place-names. To take just one example which he quotes here from an earlier article of his (*African Language Studies*, III, 1962, 186) : Manquarir (Moncorrer) is explained *simpliciter* as 'the cold place' (allegedly from *mā'en* 'breadth' and *quarir* 'cold') ; yet it is obviously 'the cold spring' (from መንቀሶ : ዲራር : or ዲራር : , depending on whether it is used as masc. or fem.). To connect Tumḥa (in Damot) with Tankua requires an act of faith rather than linguistic discipline.

p. 31 : read *Futūḥ al-Habaša*.

p. 32 : read *tambālāt*. Why Bequlzār in view of بقل زر (Basset's ed. of *Futūḥ al-Habaša*, fol. 15) and $\text{ብቁላ} : \text{ዘር} : ?$ In l. 3 of the final paragraph, add : in BM MS 392.

p. 33 : the reference to n. 2 has disappeared in l. 14. To quote from the Bible is not the prerogative of the ecclesiastical profession in Ethiopia.

p. 34 : the substance of the first three lines also appears at pp. v, 27, 41. Section VI : does the gist of this not already appear in sections II and IV ? For n. 1 cf. Zanutto, *Manoscritti etiopici*, 68-9.

⁵ P. 16 of the Arabic text of Rimék's edition of Maqriẓi's *Imām*.

p. 36: the identifications of place-names here seem to be very largely guess-work. For *das* cf. Amharic ዳስ : 'hut'.

pp. 38-9: the importance of the Amharic royal songs warrants a few observations. In addition to the four MSS mentioned by H. there are at least three others:

- (5) Mondon-Vidailhet (Chaîne catalogue) no. 45;
- (6) d'Abbadie 118 (= Conti Rossini 197);
- (7) Ruppell (Frankfurt) (= Goldschmidt catalogue, p. 60).

It is of the utmost importance to produce a critical edition, making use of all known MSS of these songs, on which alone a reliable translation can be based.*

Guidi's publication of the text (*RRAL*, Ser. 4, v, 1889) was based on Bodl. MS Bruce 88 with variants from BN Éth. 147 (and *not* the other way round—as Huntingford states). Huntingford also avers that 'Guidi's text and Littmann's version show that there is a certain amount of divergence between the manuscripts', but since Littmann's version was made from Guidi's text, knowledge of these divergences (and they do exist and make an edition imperative before translation is attempted) cannot derive from this source.

It would have been of the utmost importance to refer to Praetorius's remarks on p. 11 of his *Amharische Sprache* and, above all, to his part-edition and translation in the appendix to his great masterpiece.

The division of verses varies somewhat between Bodl. Bruce 88 and BN Éth. 147 (= Zotenberg 143), and the latter also has an additional section (listed under (l) in Zotenberg's catalogue). The reviewer is in agreement with the views expressed by S. Strelcyn (*JSS*, ix, 1, 1964, 257), and before anything else is written on these songs, it would appear essential to explore the precise linguistic status of the language in which they are couched.

Apart from the translations by Littmann and Praetorius, the reviewer is aware of the following part-translations: Pereira, *Canção de Galandevos*, Lisbon, 1898; Conti Rossini, *RSO*, x, 1925, 494, 514; *L'agiografia etiopica e gli atti di Yafqeranna Egzi'*, 1937; Littmann, *Gesch. d. aeth. Lit.*, 263 ff.; Cerulli in *R. Accad. d'Italia: Conferenze e letture del Centro Studi per il Vicino Oriente*, I, 75-6; Basset, *Futūḥ al-Habaša*, 189.

p. 39: 'Ethiopic, more properly called Ge'ez' seems odd and is tantamount to 'German, more properly called Deutsch'.—'Ge'ez . . . a Semitic language from South Arabia' is a remarkable over-simplification and in this form certainly not correct.—'Ethiopic . . . ceased to be spoken about a thousand years ago, though it has a large body of literature . . .'. The logic of this statement seems rather strange.

p. 40: Ethiopic 'has three daughter languages'. The term 'daughter' may not necessarily do justice to the full complexity of the situation—but why 'three'? What about Gurage, Harari, Gafat, and Argobba?—'Ethiopic' is

* A critical analysis of all known MSS of the Amharic royal songs has been undertaken by Mme. J. Mantel-Niéčko (in an—alas still unpublished—diploma thesis at the University of Warsaw, 1956). Cf. S. Strelcyn in *Proceedings first Int. Congr. of Africanists*, 1964, p. 106, n. 2.

Gə'əz, the general adjective being 'Ethiopian'. The *Oxford English dictionary* rightly admits Ethiopic 'now only with reference to the language'. 'Syllabic alphabet' is a *contradictio in adjecto*. For 'alphabet' read 'script'. 'Radical letters' is nonsense; read 'consonants'. For the purposes of transcription it is customary to use l.c. forms only. Correct the second character to read **Λ**. The first *p* should read *p*. To transliterate **h**, etc., as *ku* is wrong; read, instead, *kya*, *gya*, *qya*, *hya* or better: *ka*, etc.

p. 53: H. almost invariably fails to distinguish between indicative and subjunctive in Ethiopic: 'let us write' is wrong. Perruchon correctly renders 'nous écrivons'. In l. 8 'seeks help' is a mistranslation for 'while we seek'. In l. 11 read 'let us seek' for 'we also seek'. In l. 12 'they' should read 'He': this has some doctrinal significance. In the second paragraph, read: 'the arrogant and perfidious King of the Infidels had revolted against him' and delete H.'s misconstruction. Incidentally, 'rebels' should read 'infidels' throughout the book whenever used to characterize the Muslims.

In the following I shall pick out a few random points only, as it is clearly impossible to correct the entire translation.

p. 54: write: 'Sabraddin' for 'Sabradin' throughout. Note 4: **ጸሐፊ ላም**:

p. 55, n. 1: the distinction which H. makes between **ነጋሢ** and **ነጉሥ** is not, in this form, accurate. Note 4: the form **መንገሥ** is interesting for the development of Amharic. Read **ነግሠ**: H. often follows Perruchon in an erroneous paragraph division; on this page, l. 10 is, in fact, part of the sentence with which the paragraph in l. 9 ends.

p. 56: Huntingford: 'and (it is) a gift which he sent to the king. [paragraph division]. And he gave permission to his soldiers to kill everyone . . . '.

Correct rendering: 'the tribute, which he had levied for the king, he gave to his soldiers that they might fight for him' (cf. also Dillmann, 'Kriegsthaten', 1013).

p. 57: Dillmann ('Kriegsthaten', p. 1014, n. 2) had already adduced cogent reasons why the translation now proffered by Huntingford in ll. 6-8 could not be correct. In l. 22 H.'s translation 'the constitution of the Holy Spirit' confuses **ሥርዓት**, 'constitution' (\sqrt{sr}) with **ትርጉት**, (\sqrt{rsy}) 'quality, disposition'. **ወለርግሐ ሐፅ** cannot mean 'with javelins, and with arrows'. Dillmann (op. cit., 1014) reads **አርግሐ ፅፅ**: 'wooden lances'.

p. 61: **ታቦት** and **ጾሥዋፅ** are both translated as 'altar' in the same sentence. It appears somewhat rash to introduce the Falashas (who, as far as I know, are never expressly mentioned) at the first reference to 'renegades who are like Jews'.

p. 62: H. confuses **ቀንኦ** with **ቀነየ** in rendering **ቀኒዖ ለሕገ ክርስቶስ** as 'subject them to the rule of Christ' instead of 'in his zeal for the religion of Christ'. *kababa* in the sense of 'invest a person with an office' is not known to me.

p. 64: H. confuses **ሐቋ** 'loins' with **ሐይቅ** 'bosom'. 'the *sena kini* of his

magic' is, of course, nonsense; the elaborate footnote 2 is quite redundant. ስነ ፡ ኪነ ፡ ሥራዩ ፡ simply means 'his witchcraft' or 'his talisman'.

p. 66 : the object of the footnote eludes me.

p. 69 : ditto.

pp. 70-1 : I find myself in great difficulty here, for I have neither any recollection nor any record of having furnished the translation of the so-called proverb with which Huntingford credits (or, as it turns out, debits) me. I have no idea how I am supposed to have arrived at the translation here offered. One thing, however, is certain : I could not possibly have been aware of the context. Looking at the passage as a whole, it seems to me that some of the unknown words must be proper names of places. In fact, the crucial passage is unlikely to be a proverb but appears to be a simile which the king uses to make his point. There seems every reason to think that Dillmann ('Kriegsthaten', 1023) saw this passage in its proper light and gave a convincing rendering of it. At the same time, it is interesting to record Conti Rossini's view : 'Approfitto dell'occasione per segnalare che, avendo io fatto interrogare i monaci di Debra Dammò sul senso dei proverbi a pag. 42 del testo Perruchon, proverbi che il Ducati salta senz'altro, non mi fu possibile di trarne alcun costrutto : i vocaboli a noi ignoti sembrano ignoti anche al clero del celebre antico convento' ('Pubblicazioni etiopistiche dal 1936 al 1945', *RSE*, iv. 1944-5 (pub. 1946), 40).

p. 72, l. 13 : for 'help' read 'release'. Note 1 will not stand up to closer scrutiny.

p. 73, n. 1 : text and translation here are faulty.

p. 82 : *qast* is 'bow'—not 'arrow'.

p. 97, n. 2 : I know of no evidence to support H.'s statement that 'the form *māryā* is generally used instead of *māryām* when the reference is not to the Virgin Mary'. In fact (as H. himself appears to see), Perruchon, 'Histoire', p. 415, n. 4, immediately springs to mind as a contrary instance.

p. 104, n. 4 : read ሥነ ፡ ኪነ ፡ ፡

p. 109, n. 1 : read ለዘይሰጥጥ ፡. Note 2 : a simpler reason is that *fkr* does not occur in the causative form. Note 4 relates very strangely to the translation 'ornaments'.

NOTES AND COMMUNICATIONS

SOME KHOTANESE PAST PARTICIPLES

One of the difficulties in the study of the verbal system of a language that is comparatively little known can be finding the appropriate past participles to go with present stems or the reverse. This difficulty faces those working with Khotanese. H. W. Bailey has only recently assigned *ārsta-* to *ārīh-* 'to share' and *pārsta-* to *pārīh-* 'to conceal'. Some further suggestions I make here for the first time.

1. *ker-* : *kīlsta-* 'to sow'

This is really a suppletive system **kāraya-* : **kr̥šta-* like Avestan *kāraya-* : *kar̥šta-*, Manichean Middle Persian ¹ *q'r-* : *kyšt*, Buddhist Sogdian ² *kyr-* beside Man. Sogd. *kšt-* (< **kr̥šta-*³). Parthian ⁴ has *kyšt*.

The meaning of *ker-* and *kīlsta-* has never been in doubt. Already E. Leumann ⁵ translated E 23.125 : *hat̥arra ker̥ndi sahye t̥āma daso-gyūnau rrvūt̥ā* '(Nur) einmal säen sie im Jahre den Samen, (und doch) zehnfach er wächst'. S. Konow had bilingual evidence from the *Saṅghāṭasūtra*,⁶ where *kerā* corresponds twice with Tibetan *btub* (perf. < *hdebs-pa* 'to throw, cast'). The *Saṅghāṭasūtra* also contained the phrase : *ṣā uysnorā . . . kye t̥turu bamhyu kālste* (84 a 1) correctly translated by Konow 'that being . . . who planted this tree'. Here the Sanskrit version is now available ⁷ in the Gilgit manuscript no. 37 : *yenāyam vāpito drumah* (78 a 6-7). In the vocabulary, however, Konow has 'to prepare, to plant' and 'cf. Av. *karət*'. But Avestan *karət-* is 'to cut', something quite different from 'to plant, to sow'. The *Suvarṇabhā-sottamasūtra* ⁸ has : *kho uhu pa[dām̥j̥syānu] gyastānu balysānu vātā sūru yādāndā sta kālstāndā sta uhu śādye bāgo* (30 v 5-6, *KT*, v, 108) 'as you have acted well towards former *deva*-buddhas, you have planted a root of merit' (= Sanskrit *yathāpi te yūyam pūrvajīnakṛtādīhikārā avaropitakusalamūlā*, p. 68, 1.9, in the edition of J. Nobel, 1937). Here *kālstāndā sta* is used to translate *avaropita-* 'planted'. In Late Khotanese,⁹ the pp. *kīlsta-* is found spelled *kai'sta-* (P 2741.117, *KT*, II, 91) and *kaista-* (P 2891.19, *KT*, III, 80), with the normal loss of preconsonantal *-l-* in LKh. as in *ba'ysa-* from *balysa-* 'Buddha'.

Two other verbs in Khotanese have an *s*-extension in the participle : *prahaṇy-* 'to put on, wear', pp. *prahaṇṣta-* and *pareh-* 'to restrain oneself', pp. *parausta-*. The detailed analysis of these verbs presents difficulties.

The derivation of *kīlsta-* < **kr̥šta-* is obscured by the fact that the only

¹ W. B. Henning, 'Das Verbum des Mittelpersischen der Turfanfragmente', *ZII*, IX, 2, 1933, 192.

² I. Gershevitch, *GMS*, § 540, n. 1, p. 84.

³ I. Gershevitch, *GMS*, § 147, p. 21.

⁴ A. Ghilain, *Essai sur la langue parthe*, 1939, 98; M. Boyce, *The Manichaean hymn cycles in Parthian*, 1954, 191.

⁵ *Maitreya-samiti*, 83; E, p. 257.

⁶ 27 a 3; 33 a 1 in S. Konow, *Saka studies*, 1932.

⁷ Information supplied by H. W. Bailey.

⁸ See S. Konow, *SPAW*, 1934, 440.

⁹ H. W. Bailey, *AM*, NS, I, 1, 1949, 46.

other past participles ending in *-āsta* are from verbs whose present stem has **-rt* e.g. *hamggālsta-* (E 5.103; 6.27) beside the present (3 sg. mid.) *hamggalte* (E 5.47; 6.84) < **ham-gart-* 'to result' or **-rd* e.g. *pāṣkālsta-* (E 2.108) beside the present (3 pl. act.) *pāṣkālindā* (E 15.36) < **pati-škard-* 'to analyse', cf. BSogd. *ptškrδ* P 21 II 2 (?) and *wyškryrδ-* 'to pierce' (W. B. Henning, *BSOAS*, XI, 4, 1946, 728). Similar difficulty caused Konow¹⁰ to dissociate *nimalys-* 'to rub down' from its past participle *nāmalsta-* by taking the former < **ni-marz-* but the latter < **ni-mard-*. Parthian¹¹ shows the expected **nimarz-* : **nimršta-* as *nurz-* : *nmošt* 'épurér, nettoyer'. Accordingly, H. W. Bailey¹² quotes *nimalsta-* as an example of 'the replacement of OIran. *-ršta-* by *-rsta-*'. He compares the well-known case of *mulyśdi-* 'favour, compassion' < **mryždi-*, already in 1912 compared by E. Leumann¹³ with Avestan *morəždika-*.

Two further words show the continuation of the Old Iranian group **ršt-* : OIr. **ršti-* 'spear' > Kh. *hālštā* (nom.-acc. pl.) (E 5.60) and OIr. **pršti-* 'back' > Kh. *palšti*¹⁴ (nom.-acc. pl.) (E 22.30). These words do not go against the development expected. The palatal *s* (*ś*) is due, not to the OIr. **š* but to the palatalization caused by the final *-i*. It should be recalled that in the Kh. *i*-declension,¹⁵ the normal treatment for the nom. sg. is *-ā* without palatalization e.g. *arātā* (E 2.9) 'envy'; *nārā* (E 25.448) 'wife'; *balysūstā* (E 4.18) 'bodhi'; *māstā* (E 24.22) 'month'; *mulyśdā* (E 2.58) 'compassion'; *śśāratātā* (E 16.4; 24.12, 110, 113) 'goodness'; *hajvattātā* (E 21.26) 'wisdom'; *hūnd* (E 21.54) 'blood'. But in the gen.-dat. sg. the ending is *-e* with palatalization e.g. *arete* (E 24.102, 104) < *arātā-*; *balysūste* (E 14.62) < *balysūsti-*; *mulyśde* (E 4.14) < *mulyśdi-*; *śśāratete* (E 12.5) < *śśāratāti-*; *hajvattete* (E 3.73) < *hajvattāti-*; *hūfte* (E 14.99) < *hūni-*. Similarly, the nom.-acc. pl. shows *-ā* with palatalization, e.g. *māstā* (E 25.201) < *māsti-*. *hālšti* and *palšti* therefore imply stems *hālšti-* and *palšti-*, and we would expect to find the nom. sg. in OKh. as **hālštā*, **palštā*.

The reason for the development of OIr. **ršt-* to Kh. *-lst-* is the palatal nature of Kh. *l*. In loan-words it is used simply to reinforce a palatal, as in *pulña-* for *puṇya-* in E 12.37 or *Kāśava-* for *Kāśyapa-* in E 14.61 et al. LKh. frequently has the spelling *-ly-* for OKh. *-l-* e.g. *piškalyāñā* (Si. 142 v 1, *KT*, I, 82) beside OKh. *pāṣkālindā* (E 15.36); *saṃkhaljāre* (P 3513.48 v 2, *KT*, I, 225, translating °*liptaḥ*) beside OKh. *saṃkhalī* (D III.1 8 v 2, *KT*, v, 69). Loss of *-l-* in LKh. is accompanied by palatalization of the preceding vowel, as in *be'ysa-* < *balysa-* 'Buddha' and further examples below.

2. *drāh-* : *dravtta-* 'to fly'

drāh- was first made known in the fragmentary text E 18.1 : *ma thājsi kyī drrāha hā bikā ttu dāśu*. This verse is still obscure.¹⁶ H. W. Bailey conjectures

¹⁰ S. Konow, *NTS*, XI, 1939, 57.

¹¹ A. Ghilain, op. cit., 53.

¹² H. W. Bailey, *TPS*, 1956, 114.

¹³ E. Leumann, *Zur nordarischen Sprache und Literatur*, 1912, 72.

¹⁴ Explanation of *palšti* is due to H. W. Bailey.

¹⁵ S. Konow, *Primer of Khotanese Saka*, 1949, 38 is quite unreliable.

¹⁶ It has not been noticed hitherto that the phrase *drreha jsū brriyikyā vīrāpšā* in the Staßl-Holstein Miscellany (64, *KT*, II, 75) provides a clear parallel with *drrāha hā bikā ttu dāśu* in E.

the meaning : ' Do not persist in lamentation, speed, as a beloved, to that region '.¹⁷ E. Leumann¹⁸ had conjectured the meaning ' schützen ' for *drāh-*, comparing ' Av. *θrāshay-*, Skt *trāsay* '. S. Konow¹⁹ objected in his review of Leumann, but he could suggest only ' perhaps base *drag-*, *drang-* '. In his ' Languages of the Saka ',²⁰ 154, H. W. Bailey gave for *drāh-* the meaning ' chattering ' or ' disputing ', having in mind the apparent correspondence between *drāh-* and *bajēṣṣ-* in lyrical texts (see below). He now adopts the meaning ' go, run about '.

P 2895.21 (*KT*, III, 40) has the verse : *baī⁷jakyē drāhīdā hamdā spyauysām bamhyau*, which H. W. Bailey²¹ translated : ' the sparrows make noise among the flowering trees '. He now prefers : ' the sparrows dart about among the flowering trees '. The passage is parallel with :

kakva tōirauka u papūška bimjakyē

ita mī bījēṣāra hamdā spyauysām bamhyām (P 2025.16–17, *KT*, III, 46)

' The ducks, *cakravākas*, and hoopoes, sparrows thus sing among the flowering trees '. The same passage, with variant spellings, is found also in Ch. 00266.9, *KT*, III, 34, and P 2956.3–4, *KT*, III, 36. Both meanings suit the context equally, and it is not necessary to equate them.

The 3 sg. pres. is found in LKh. as *drāhe* for older **drāhātā* in P 2936.6, *KT*, III, 108 : *mīraka bīśaurakā cī dīdā kṣarū drāhe* ' the predatory bird which so much cries out and darts about '.²²

Beside a present stem *drāh-* one expects a pp. *drautta-* on the analogy of such verbs as : *ysānāh-* ' to bathe ', pp. *ysānautta-* ; *pārah-* ' to be established ', pp. *pārautta-* ; *eh-* ' to reach ', pp. *autta-* ; *ārūh-* ' to move, shake ', pp. *ārautta-*. With the preverb *uys-*, spelled *ays-* as often in LKh., *drautta-* is found in the Khotanese Rāma story : *aysdrauttā mā⁷ hā pūṣa pastā* (P 2783.181 (20), *KT*, III, 73) ' the fly, having flown up, fell right down '. The translation ' flying up ' and a reference to the information about the word obtained from the different versions of the Sudhana story were given by H. W. Bailey, *BSOAS*, x, 3, 1941, 590. *āśa⁷ hamdrrāysī²³ tsvā* (P 2957.60–1, *KBT*, 33) ' she went through the air ' corresponds with *drautta hamīya* ' she flew ' in P 2025.172 (*KBT*, 17) and *drautta hamī* ' id. ' in Ch. 00266.110–11 (*KBT*, 25).

drāh- and *drautta-* should thus be put together. The pp. points to a base with a labial, cf. *eh-* : *autta-* < **āp-* ' to reach ', and the present stem allows **-f-*, as intervocalic **-f-* > *-h-*, cf. *saha-* ' hoof ' beside Avestan *safa-* etc. Thus, *drāh-*, *drautta-* can be traced back to **drāfyā-* : **drāfta-* from a base **drap/f-* or

¹⁷ Rather ' in the direction of the beloved ', as Kh. uses loc. of the goal of motion (see R. E. Emmerick, *BSOAS*, xxviii, 1, 1965, 32) and *dāsā-* means ' direction ' not ' region '.

¹⁸ E, p. 446, s.v. *drāh-*.

¹⁹ S. Konow, *NTS*, xi, 1939, 55.

²⁰ *Handbuch der Orientalistik, Abt. I, IV. Bd., Iranistik, 1, Linguistik*, 1958.

²¹ *AM*, NS, II, 1, 1951, 39.

²² Reading and interpretation due to H. W. Bailey.

²³ *hamdrrāysī* is LKh. for *hamdrauysī*, already connected with Pahlavi *andarvōd* and Parthian ' *ndrō* 'z by H. W. Bailey, *Zoroastrian problems*, 1943, p. 126, n. 2. This is preferable to his view in *BSOAS*, x, 3, 1941, 598.

**drā-p/f-*. Possibly we have here the Iranian reflex of IE **drep-*, an *-*ep-* extension²⁴ of **der-* (Pokorny, 204) 'to run, hasten'. OInd. has several extensions of IE **der-*: *drāti*, *drāmati*, *drāvati*, all meaning 'runs'. Similar *-*ep-* extensions may be found in Iranian and Indian. Pahlavi *drap-*, found twice in the 3 pl. pres. in the *Nirangistan* (92, 94)²⁵ as *drapēnd* corresponding to Avestan *baramna* 'wearing' and *niva[wh]nti* 'they put on', may be 'to wear' rather than 'to dress'.²⁶ In that case, it could represent an IE **dhr-ep-*, enlarged from IE **dher-* 'to hold, carry, wear'.²⁷ This connexion allows the comparison of OInd. *drāpi-* 'mantle, garment' and Lithuanian *drāpanos* 'clothes' with Greek *δρέπω* < IE **dr-ep-* 'to cut, tailor', yet another IE *-*ep-* extension, in this case < IE **der-* 'to cut' (Pokorny, 211).

3. *pvīys-* : *pvī'sta-* 'to cover'

The meaning of *pvīys-* and *pvī'sta-* was made known by H. W. Bailey in *BSOS*, VIII, 1, 1935, 134, quoting bilingual evidence. In *A locust's leg : studies in honour of S. H. Taqizadeh*, 1962, 35, he said: 'If these are from the one base, it is not yet clear how they are connected'. The following remarks show that this relationship presents no phonological difficulties if LKh. *pvī'sta-* can be identified with older *pūlsta-*. Although the meaning of both words is the same, there is not yet sufficient evidence to give conclusive proof of their identity.

OKh. *pūlsta-* is now found three times. E 22.32 has *prrahonāna pūlstā* 'covered with a garment'. A comparison familiar in Buddhist literature is expressed in E 25.387 :

ttathāggatta-ggarbhā trāmu vaṣṭāte pūlstā
kho ye ratanu nāsta u dī śśandaru prīhā

'The *tathāgata-garbha* is so concealed as one should take a jewel and hide it under the earth'. A further occurrence of *pūlsta-* in OKh. has just come to hand: *klaśyau pūlstā* 'covered with *kleśas*'.²⁸

The LKh. spellings show the subscribed hook in *pvī'sta-* in a number of places: P 2782.2, *KT*, III, 58; P 2906.27, *KT*, III, 98; P 3513.79 r 2, *KBT*, 63; Śi. 1 v 3, *KT*, I, 2. But the hook may be absent, especially in LKh. In the present instance, we have in P 2906.27, *KT*, III, 98, the verse :

khu ji carau pvī'stā pace haṃgarustā na vā harūñe

beside the same verse in different orthography in P 2910.31-2, *KT*, III, 99 :

khva ja carau pvīsta pacai hagarusta na na vā harūñai.

²⁴ On IE *-*ep-* extensions, see F. B. J. Kuiper, *Die indogermanischen Nasalpräsentia*, 1937, 60.

²⁵ *Nirangistan*, ed. A. Waag, 1941, p. 93.

²⁶ As M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, II, 1963, s.v. *drāpīh*, following H. W. Bailey, *TPS*, 1954, 147-8.

²⁷ O.Ind. *dhr-* has all these meanings.

²⁸ V. S. Vorob'ev-Desjatovskij and M. I. Vorob'eva-Desjatovskaja (ed.), *Skazanie o Bhaḍre (novye listy sakskej rukopisi 'E')*, Moscow, 1965, 45. This work provides an important addition to our knowledge of Khotanese. I take the opportunity to note here one or two small points by way of improvement on the text. In 2.139 read *haṃ vāte* 'always', as elsewhere in E. In 2.155 read *raysā hapāra* 'empty distractions', the same phrase as E 6.6. In 2.167 read *mau nā hamatte*. *hamatte* cannot in OKh. be the same as *hamāttā* (E 23.131) 'changes' < **fra-miḍatai*, but is a new verb, < **fra-madatai*. The unplaced folios on pp. 296-7 are folios 267 and 268.

This verse was translated by H. W. Bailey :²⁹ 'as when one puts a cover on a lamp, covered up it shines not'.

The use of a subscribed hook in Khotanese to indicate the loss of a sound is well known. It is especially common in LKh. in *be'ysa* < *balysa* 'Buddha'. The *-l-*, being palatal in nature (see above), causes palatalization of the preceding vowel before it disappears. No other case of *-l-* affecting *-ū-* in this way is known to me. But *-ū-* is palatalized in LKh. forms of *mulyśdā* 'compassion': *mviśde* P 2028.95, *KT*, II, 83; *mve'śdi* P 3513.27 v 1, *KBT*, 58; *mva'śdā* P 3513.82 r 4, *KBT*, 65. Palatalization of *-ū-* to *-vī-*, although not caused by *-l-*, is known in Kh. noun declension. Locative singulars: *ūra* (*Suv.* 63 r 4, *KT*, v, 114) < *ūra* 'belly'; *kīśśa* (E 2.16) < *kūsa* 'hollow vessel'; genitive singular feminine: *gūihā* (*Avdh.* 9 r 3, *KT*, III, 3) < *gūhā* 'cow'; instrumental sg. fem.: *mvire jsa* (E 23.252) < *mūrā* 'coin'. The spelling *pvī'sta-* for older *pūlsta-* seems possible, but it is surprising to find it in a text as old as the LKh. *Siddhasāra*.

pūlsta- may be derived < **pa-bršta-*, pp. < **pa-barz-*. **barz-* 'to cover' has been found in Ossetic Digoron *āmbārzun*, Iron *āmbārzyn* 'to cover'.³⁰ It was shown above that *-lsta-* may represent OIr. **-ršta-*. The treatment of **-abr-* may be seen in *hūda* 'given' < **fra-brta-* beside *hauda* < **fra-barta-* (cf. Sogdian heavy stem *δβrt-*, v. I. Gershevitch, *GMS*, § 486, pp. 72-3). In this case, the present would be in OKh. **pūlys-*, agreeing with LKh. *pvīys-* and caus. *pvīś'*. If, however, *pvī'sta-* and *pūlsta-* were not identical, the present to *pūlsta-* may have been **pūd-* from a stem **pa-vart-*, showing an extension of **var-* 'to cover',³¹ IE **uer-* (Pokorny, 1161-2).

The recently published folios of E contain the verse :

trāmu tvī aymū balysa oṣku vāte vasvātā aggamjśā
samu kho ātāśi vasuśti vāno pyavārvānu patīśu (2.176)

'Your mind, Buddha, is always pure, faultless, just as the sky becomes clear without a *covering of clouds'. Here *patīśu* seems to mean 'covering'. If this is correct, it could be < **pa-kaiz-ya-*, a derivative of a base **kaiz-* 'to cover'. LKh. *pvīys-* could also go back to **pa-kaiz-*. In that case, the pp. *pvī'sta-* instead of **pvīṣṭa-* may be due to contamination with **pū'sta-*, the expected LKh. form of older *pūlsta-*.

4. *bihīys-* : *bihīya-* 'to increase'

It is my intention to give in a separate note the evidence for assigning to *bihīysde* in E 23.113 and *bihīysda* in Ch. 00266.318, *KBT*, 109 the meaning 'increases' instead of 'decreases' as hitherto. Once the meaning 'increase' is obtained, we have a present stem for *bihīya-*, and the group is completed by an inchoative present.

A 3 sg. pres. ending in *-ysde* in Kh. may indicate either a present in *-ys* such as *vahīysde* (E 24.125) 'descends' < *vahīys-* or a present in *-js* such as *vataysde* (E 18.12) 'flows down' < **vatajs-* (< **ava-tača-*) or *dryśde* (E 13.8,

²⁹ *BSOAS*, x, 3, 1941, 579.

³⁰ *JRAS*, 1954, 29-30; *TPS*, 1954, 132-3.

³¹ On this, see H. W. Bailey, *JRAS*, 1953, 110.

47) 'holds' < *drjs-* (< **dr̥ja-*). *js* in Kh. was pronounced [dz], and the group [dzd] was regularly simplified to [zd], written *ysd*.

From a present in *-ys* a pp. in *-šta* is expected, as *vahāšta-* (E 2.86) < *vahāys-* 'to descend'; but from a present in *-js* a pp. in *-īya* is expected, as *padīya-* (E 5.46) < *padajis-* 'to burn' or *bīya-* (E 21.31; 25.416) < *bījs-* 'to pour over'. If therefore we associate *bihīysde* with *bihīya-*, the present stem must be *bihījs-*, not *bihīys-*. This gives a base **x/θ/haik/g-*. But not only is the form ambiguous, the meaning of the simplex is also uncertain. The simplex could mean 'to grow', 'to extend', or 'to move', all giving the meaning 'increase' when combined with a preverb. If the simplex means 'to move', it may be possible to find it in the Sudhana story. There (Ch. 00266.68–9, *KBT*, 23) *gumai hījsara dāva* may mean 'the wild beasts wander at will'. *hījsara* may show the same spelling of the OKh. ending *-āre* for the 3 pl. pres. mid. as is found in LKh. *štara* P 4099.106, *KBT*, 118; *hamara* P 3513.58 r 1, *KT*, I, 230; and cf. *hajsāmāre* Ch. 00277.11 v 3, *KBT*, 71 (= *hamjsāmāri* Ch. 00268.195–6, *KBT*, 68). If the simplex is *hījs-*, the possibilities are reduced to two: **haik-* and **haig-*. Three bases **haik-*³³ are already known in Iranian, but their meanings do not suit.

The 2nd pers. sg. pf. intr. m. occurs in the *Jātakastava*: *udvīyastā ysātī rāysāysña uska bihīvi* (18 v 2(79)). This is translated by Dresden: ³³ 'Full of disgust you were born; upon the royal throne high you were lifted'. There *bihīya-* is derived from **vi-θang-*³⁴ This should, however, mean something like 'to pull apart', as Kh. has *thamj-* 'to pull' and *pathamj-* 'to pull back, restrain'. *bihīvi* should now be translated 'you became greater, increased'.

The pp. used as an adverb has the special sense '(increasedly >) very'. Examples are: *mulyśda-jsera bihīyu* (E 5.87) 'very worthy of compassion'; *stiyāda bāhīyu* (E 11.7) 'very firm'; *bodhicittā pātājsi hāmāte bihīyu* (E 12.49) 'bodhicitta becomes very powerful'. In the LKh. reduced form, *bihī: ni bihī pvāta* (Si. 16 v 3, *KT*, I, 26) 'not very cool', translating Tibetan *ha-can bsil-ba yan ma-yan*. As an adjective, it has the meaning 'increased, intensified', as in *bihītāñe kāšce jsa nrhīya* (Kha. i.187a, 1 b 3, *KT*, v, 156) 'oppressed with intense sorrow'.

The inchoative is also found in the *Jātakastava*: *gara-ttājā . . . bihīśadā-juna* (15 r 2(63)). This was translated ³⁵: 'There was a mountain stream . . . on its extended course'. 'Increasing' will suit this passage well. Formally, the inchoative *bihīs-* is probably a LKh. spelling for **bihīs-*, if such an inchoative is considered as *haspās-* 'to strive' beside the causative *haspāj-* 'to urge', both < **fra-spaik-*. Similarly, with *-ū-* we have the inchoative *vasus-* 'to become pure' beside the causative *vasūj-* 'to purify', pp. *vasuta-* 'pure', both < **ava-sauk-*.

R. E. EMMERICK

³³ H. W. Bailey, *BSOAS*, xxi, 3, 1958, 530–1: 'to pour; to dry; to satiate'.

³⁴ M. J. Dresden, *The Jātakastava*, 432.

³⁴ M. J. Dresden, *The Jātakastava*, 481, s.v. *bihī*.

³⁵ M. J. Dresden, *The Jātakastava*, 431.

REVIEWS

HERMANN VON WISSMANN: *Sammlung Eduard Glaser III. Zur Geschichte und Landeskunde von al-Sūdārabien*. (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Sitzungsberichte, 246. Bd.) 485, 4 pp. Wien: Hermann Böhlau Nachf., 1964. S 560.

A. G. LUNDIN: *Sammlung Eduard Glaser v. Die Eponymenliste von Saba (aus dem Stamme Ḥalil)*. (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Sitzungsberichte, 248. Bd., I. Abh.) 102 pp., 26 plates. Wien: Hermann Böhlau Nachf., 1965. S 164.

With the appearance of the present volumes, the project of publishing the rich materials collected by Eduard Glaser during his travels in the Yemen towards the close of the last century seems to be well under way. At a time when most of the research carried out on South Arabian inscriptions appears to be biased towards the creation of palaeographical schemes and related historical investigations, however important in their own right, the straightforward publication of inscriptions is tending to fall behind. In the Glaser collection there are still many squeezes and copies of texts awaiting publication, and how frustrating it is to find that an inscription upon which some crucial argument depends, is 'unveröffentlicht' or 'inédite'. It is to be hoped that this aspect of the *Sammlung* will not be overlooked in future publications.

It is perhaps often forgotten by those who have not been privileged to inspect Glaser's materials that his diaries also contain rich funds of observations on Yemeni topography, geography, anthropology, religion, and philology. It is the first two categories which underlie Professor von Wissmann's massive study. He has made his name as one of the greatest living experts on South Arabia and this work could not have been put in better hands. Above all, he has personal experience of many of the regions he discusses and an unparalleled knowledge of the published literature, as a glance at his footnotes will reveal. The author has of late years turned his interests to the history and chronology of Saba' and Ḥimyar, on the basis of the chronological scheme established by Professor J. Ryckmans of Louvain. The materials published by the latter have been mainly concerned with the palaeographical justification

of his system and with some of the linguistic and cultural consequences. It must be admitted that, although the latter are very convincing in presentation, it is extremely difficult, particularly through the lack of adequate documentation, to follow the sparse commentaries on the chronological background and to make practical application of the results. Professor von Wissmann, though departing in detail from the Ryckmans chronology, has done a great service by publishing in this book a detailed outline of his system. The first section (pp. 27-77) is an historical analysis designed to illustrate his genealogical tables, and more detailed discussions are placed where appropriate throughout the rest of the book. There then follow studies on the topography and historical geography of three little-known regions of the Yemen Highlands. The largest section (pp. 81-206) is devoted to the northern region of Najrān and to the Amīr, a race of cattle breeders who worshipped the god ḏSMWY and were of importance in the caravan route to North Arabia. Then comes the obscure district lying between Mārib and the Jawf (pp. 209-68), a region of great political importance in the earliest epigraphic period but later turned into virtual desert and now offering a great potential to the archaeologist. Finally, the district of SM'Y in the central plateau, with its associated worship of T'LB, and the home of the Hamdānid dynasty, is examined (pp. 271-383). There are copious and helpful indexes. This is indeed a monument of learning and it is to be hoped that further regions of South Arabia will ultimately receive similar treatment from the author. If any criticism is to be made, it is that the large number of revisions and corrections appended to the text proper, though with adequate references within the text, lends to difficult reading. But it is hard to see how this could have been avoided in a field where opinions are constantly subject to change.

A few suggestions of a minor character may be offered.

p. 29 and throughout: the royal surname YNF might be vocalized Yanāf rather than Yanūf in the light of a Greek legend IANAΑΦ on an Aksumite coin.

p. 62: the fact that 40 coins of 'MDN BYN YHQBI' were found on the Somali coast does not in itself prove that he was of the Ḥimyarite dynasty. The coins all come from one hoard which could conceivably have reached Africa in normal trade.

p. 65: Ptolemy's *Basileion Zabram* may

contain additional evidence of the Aksumite presence in the land of the *Kinaidokolpitai*. If it is in fact to be identified with Marsā Ibrāhīm, it might represent Gə'əz zā-*Abraham*.

p. 67, l. 2: for 'b'lf' read 'bhlf'.

p. 83: the confusion of *h* and ' is possible even for a trained European but it would be very hazardous to base any identifications of place-names on a possible sound shift '> *h* between ESA and modern Yemeni Arabic.

p. 179: in Pliny's 'Chodae Aiathuri' the emendation of the second name to 'Alithuri' etc., and its identification with 'LTWRm of Jamme 636 is convincing, but not the suggestion that 'Chodae' represents *hw'g*. Might it not perhaps be *haw'a*?

p. 378, l. 11: for 'bhḍrn' read 'mḥḍrn'.

Professor Lundin's contribution is of a quite different character, though also concerned with history and chronology. In the Glaser collection there is a large number of *squeezes* of short texts of a rather similar and stereotyped nature, allegedly stemming from the Ṣirwāḥ region of Saba'. Their significance has hitherto been overlooked, but the author, who has several important articles on the social structure of South Arabia to his credit, has established that they in fact constitute lists of eponymous priestly officials. Though the materials were in a very confused state, he has succeeded in reducing them to a semblance of order which greatly facilitates their understanding. Although individually uninformative, as a body they have enabled the author to shed much light on the social and religious functions of the officials. The system behind the eponymate is analysed in detail and an attempt made to establish an order for the individual personages—a task where palaeography is only of very general assistance. According to the chronology proposed they cover the very remarkable period of 1085–327 B.C., which the reviewer must admit to viewing with some misgivings. However, despite the rather forbidding nature of the materials, there is much of general interest in this book, and indeed one new word, *muṣṭin* (Gl. 1743/1), for which the author suggests the translation 'begütigendes Geschenck' (p. 57), with the remark that the root *uṣṭ* is otherwise unknown in Old South Arabian. In a forthcoming article, 'Homocide in pre-Islamic South Arabia', the reviewer makes the suggestion that the verb *ḥṣi* in Jamme 669/24 may derive from this root, and suggests the sense, 'to make a conciliatory offering'.

A. K. IRVINE

HAIM BLANC: *Communal dialects in Baghdad*. (Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs, x.) ix, 204 pp. Cambridge, Mass.: Center for Middle

Eastern Studies of Harvard University, 1964. (Distributed by Harvard University Press. Distributed in G.B. by Oxford University Press. 32s.)

This is an extremely good short comparative study of the Muslim, Christian, and Jewish dialects of Baghdad.

In the fourteenth century the dialect of Baghdad was the *qeltu* type (cf. p. 6), a type now preserved principally in northern Iraq. This study clearly shows that the Jewish and Christian dialects of Baghdad are of the *qeltu* type and therefore represent dialects either lineally descended from the old Baghdad dialect (as seems likely for Jewish Baghdadi), or brought to Baghdad from northern Iraq (as seems likely for Christian Baghdadi). The Muslim dialect of Baghdad on the other hand is of the *gelet* type (cf. p. 6) and would seem to have replaced the older Muslim dialect comparatively recently (pp. 160–70). Rather vague statements have been made on these general lines in the past, but this is the first time that the facts have been adequately isolated, studied, and analysed.

There are too many points of interest to be covered in this review, but some are especially worthy of comment.

p. 22: I have also noted the shift *r* > *g* which Blanc notes as 'reported for Tékrit', in notes made on the Tékriti dialect (as e.g. *ṣḡāb* 'drink!') and also the occurrence of *r* in loan-words (such as *jidīr* = *qīdr* 'pot') and in neologisms (such as *dēris* 'studying'). It may be of interest to compare the Tékriti *aḡūb'a* 'four' with Mosul *ōbā'a* (p. 22; cf. also the Baghdadi forms on p. 90).

p. 27: *kital* ordinarily means 'to hit' and not 'to kill' in Baghdadi.

pp. 38 ff.: since Muslim Baghdadi is a fusion dialect, the study of certain problems and in particular of the sound change *a* > *i* is made a good deal more complex. However, it would seem reasonable to suppose that the treatment of *a* in open syllable is essentially the same in the *gelet*-type dialect which forms the base of the Muslim dialect of Baghdad as in the Shammari-type dialect of 'Anaiza, an analysis of the phonology of which should appear in the next volume of this *Bulletin*, and that deviations are due either to dialect mixture or later developments. In the dialect of 'Anaiza *a* > *i* in (non-final) open syllables except under definable phonetic circumstances.

The rural dialects of southern Iraq would seem to be more conservative than Baghdadi in this respect. Thus in Muslim Baghdadi suffixation does not affect vowel quality. 'She ate it (m.)' in Muslim Baghdadi is '*aklata*, and not '*aklita* which is rural and 'vulgar'.

It can also be reasonably argued that the best explanation of the occurrence of *i* in closed syllables in forms such as *ziḡba* and *kiḡbat* is to assume that at an earlier stage of development *a* > *i* in open syllable in forms such as *ziḡba* (< *zabābah*) and *kiḡbat* (< *katabat*), and indeed such forms still occur in southern Iraqi rural dialects (cf. Meisznar). That these latter were the older forms seems to be argued by the occurrence of forms such as *rukbat* where *i* > *u* in the contiguity of the labial in an older (now 'rural') form *rkubat*. Many such forms have been 'corrected' in nouns, however, as e.g. *ḡiḡba* = (rural) *ḡḡba*.

p. 112: the change *a* > *i* in open syllable as discussed above probably took place later than the elision of *i* in such forms as *tinjarḡin*, *tinjarḡūn*, etc., and similarly for all comparable forms.

p. 147: Jewish Baghdadi *inglēzi* may be influenced by the older *angrēzi*, still current in e.g. Kuwaiti.

p. 153: Jewish Baghdadi *ḡaww* 'fire'. Besides the Central Asian dialect quoted it may be noted that this is the usual word for 'fire' in all of the Eastern Arabian dialects (viz. the coastal dialects from Kuwait to Rās al-Khaima).

p. 156: in the Eastern Arabian dialect *lakk* still retains the precise meaning of '100,000'.

This is a most important monograph in the field of comparative dialectology and the author deserves our thanks.

T. M. JOHNSTONE

A. BEN SHEMAH (tr.): *Taxation in Islām. Vol. II. Qudāma b. Ja'far's Kitāb al-kharāj, part seven, and excerpts from Abū Yūsuf's Kitāb al-kharāj.* vii, 148 pp. Leiden: E. J. Brill; London: Luzac and Co. Ltd., 1965. 63s.

In 1958 Dr. A. Ben Shemesh published Vol. I of *Taxation in Islām*, a translation of Yahyā b. Adam's *Kitāb al-kharāj*. The second volume, now published, contains a translation of the first 18 chapters of part VII of Qudāma b. Ja'far's *Kitāb al-kharāj* with photostats of the text, a translation of a short section of Abū Yūsuf's *Kitāb al-kharāj* based on the Būlāq edition of 1885, and of p. 447 f. of Balādhuri's *Futūḡ al-buldān* (de Goeje's edition). An excellent bibliography is supplied, as well as a list of Qur'ān quotations, a list of legal principles, a glossary, and a general index. The glossary could have been extended.

This work of Qudāma (d. probably before 320/982) is preserved in a unique manuscript (No. 1076) at the Koprülü Library, Istanbul, containing parts V to VIII. Part VII has 19

chapters, the last here left untranslated as it deals with conquests, not taxation. Qudāma describes various forms of taxes, discussing such subjects as the taxation of different types of land, *ḡadaḡāt*, the fifth of the spoils in war, hidden treasures which have been discovered, irrigation, etc. Qudāma's book is of great interest. Emphasizing as it does the necessity of finding one's authority in the earliest sources, it frequently quotes the Qur'ān, *ḡadīḡh*, and writings of early authorities in the different schools. Where the schools differ he mentions the point of disagreement. Occasionally there are remarks about the meaning of words. Dr. Ben Shemesh concludes from Qudāma's summary of religious precepts on taxation that it proves 'that those precepts did not change during the period of about 160 years from the compilation of the first Kitāb al-kharāj by al-Mahdi's wazir (d. 170/786) till the end of the reign of the Caliph al-Muqtadir (d. 320/932)'. Regarding the translation he says he has done his best 'to preserve the meaning rather than attempt a literal rendering'. While this has been successfully accomplished in the main, it has sometimes resulted in the omission of phrases, and even in a slight misrepresentation of the original. Attention may be drawn to some matters.

The text on p. 133 says that if a Muslim gets a lease of some land, the owner has to pay the *kharāj*, whereas the Muslim pays *zakāt* if his crop amounts to five *wasqs*. On p. 26 the translation omits the reference to the owner's payment of *kharāj*. On p. 29 the translation 'The divergence concerns the right to take more than what was agreed upon from *kharāj*-paying 'anwa lands, whereas there is no difference of opinion as to the prohibition of taking more than what was agreed upon from *ḡulḡ-land*' should rather go, 'A difference of opinion has occurred regarding [the right of] people on 'anwa land to own their land, but no difference has occurred regarding [the right of] people on *ḡulḡ-land* to own their land'. It is questionable whether 'waterwheels worked by a camel' is the correct translation of *ḡawwānī* (p. 37). This word, which is explained as the camels which pull the buckets, more likely refers to a method of drawing water which I have often seen, in which a camel walks down a ramp pulling up water from a well. On p. 49 the translation speaks of the *muḡaddaq* as the taxed one, and *muḡaddiq* as the *ḡadaḡa*-collector. The Arabic (p. 109) says, 'al-muḡaddiq without *tashḡid* is the one who takes the *ḡadaḡa*, and al-muḡaddiq with *tashḡid* is the one who pays it'. The translation did not take account of the fact that the presence of the *tashḡid* referred to the assimilation of the *ḡā* of the fifth form to the *ḡād*. Some smaller points also may be mentioned. On p. 25

āya muhkama is translated 'a proclaimed verse' instead of 'a precise (or unambiguous) verse'. At the top of p. 26, in a quotation from the Qur'ān, *ilā qawāhī* has the curious translation 'supplemented by'. On p. 39, in the phrase translated 'some add cotton and similar kinds of cereals', the word translated by 'cotton' is *al-qafānī*, a kind of pulse. Some terms relating to traditions are not quite accurately translated. '*an*' is translated 'on behalf of' (pp. 28, 44) instead of 'on the authority of'. On p. 112 *wa-laisa bi'l-muṣabḥab* '*anhu*' is used of a tradition from 'Alī. This is translated, 'and there is no rectification concerning it'. It is more likely that it means the tradition is not verified as coming from 'Alī. Finally *wariq* is variably translated: 'agricultural land' (p. 43); 'vegetables' (p. 56); correctly, 'coined silver' (p. 65). A mistake which occurs throughout with one exception is Mālik b. Anās (for Anas).

There is a displacement in the photostats, pp. 115 and 114, i.e. f. 91v and 92, following f. 90. According to the system of numbering they should follow p. 112. The photostats are correctly arranged from right to left, but the page numbering goes right through the book from left to right, which is a little confusing.

This is a work of great interest, by producing which Dr. Ben Shemesh has performed a useful service. He hopes to publish a third volume, a translation of Abū Yūsuf's *Kitāb al-kharāj*, thus completing the translation of the three early books extant on the subject.

JAMES ROBSON

S. M. IMAMUDDIN: *Some aspects of the socio-economic and cultural history of Muslim Spain, 711-1492 A.D.* (Medieval Iberian Peninsula. Texts and Studies, Vol. II.) vii, 238 pp., 15 plates, map. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965. Guilders 56.

It is indeed difficult to pass judgement on this work, the result of the devoted labours of an author who disarmingly admits in his preface that the book may have 'flaws and shortcomings' and who invites 'suggestions for its improvement'. Such phrases are, of course, usually little more than conventional expressions of modesty: in this case they are fully justified. The charitable thing would be to dismiss the book in as few lines as possible as a well-intentioned failure, but it is published under the respected imprint of E. J. Brill and forms part of a series—MIP (Medieval Iberian Peninsula. Texts and Studies)—edited by C. Marinsson, José Millás Vallicrosa, and Hussein Monés: as such it is likely to be taken as deserving of trust. Unfortunately this trust

would be misplaced. The book is a complex tissue of errors, misunderstandings, careless mistakes, and schoolboy howlers, all so intimately confused that correction would be impossible. A complete list of errors would occupy many pages, and has no *raison d'être*, since we may hope that there will not be a second edition. The points made below are selected to show why the book is utterly unsatisfactory.

Dr. Imamuddin has a splendid disregard for the forms of names. Of the 14 writers mentioned in his preface, no less than six have their names wrongly spelt! If this happens to authors to whom Dr. Imamuddin is expressing his indebtedness, one may guess what is the fate of the generality of names and terms. No attempt is made to ensure that proper names, etc., are given their standard English forms, they are simply transcribed from secondary sources in a jumble of Spanish, French, Latin, and Arabic. The well-informed reader will pick his way through the maze, but it is unfair to confront the Pakistani undergraduate student of Spanish Islam (for whom the book really seems intended) with forms like Virgilio and Quidio (?), Isidorous Pacensis, etc.; and one wonders what such a reader would make of the word 'Gerarqia' on p. 195. He will not find it in an English dictionary, nor yet in a Spanish one, for it is the Spanish for 'hierarchy' doubly misspelt. Nor could the Pakistani general reader be fairly expected to spot the confusion which makes Heloise the mistress of Adelard (identified by the index with Adelard of Bath)! Conversely the non-orientalist Western reader will not be helped by the occasional Persian (or presumably Urdu) forms which in error crop up in place of Arabic: 'arsenal' is said to derive from *dār-i-sana'* (p. 69). It is perhaps a minor matter that patronymics are given a curiously Indian flavour by the use of the spellings *bin* and *ebn*.

The Western reader might be inclined to take Dr. Imamuddin's competence in Arabic on trust: he should beware. *Alif* and not *ʿAlif* is the first word of the title of the 'Arabian nights' (no isolated slip this, see the entry *ʿAlif Laylah* in the subject index p. 217, where, characteristically, there is another slip: for 191 read 192). The form *Bayt al-Mal al-Muslimin* (pp. 50 and 57) is a solecism. The ruling family in Granada were the Naṣrids and not the Nāṣirids (p. 47 *et passim*). The Bunū Taifas (*sic*, p. 194, but Banū in the index) are a tribe that never was. The Arabic for watch-tower is *fali'a* and not *faliyah* (p. 195). *Ḥay bin Yaḡdān* is no way to transliterate that well-known title—but I fail to do full justice to the author's idiom by merely picking on this detail: read the whole sentence. 'A number of commentaries were written on the works of

Avempace, Averroes, Ibn al-'Arabi and *Hay bin Yaqdān* of Ibn Ṭufayl (12th century) or the philosophy *autodidacto*' (*sic*, p. 193).

At first it is an amusing intellectual exercise to untangle the muddles created by the author. How, for example, did the following sentence come into being: 'Alvaro of Cordova, another Zealot chief, wrote in Latin the biography of his brother Eulogio and some poems on confession'? If we turn to José Madoz's contribution to the *Historia general de las literaturas hispánicas*, Madrid, 1949, I, 264 (a work to which no acknowledgment whatsoever is made), we find that, speaking of Eulogius, Madoz refers to 'la vida que de él escribió su fraternal amigo Paulo Alvaro', and we see how a fraternal friend has turned into a brother. But after a time one tires of the game, one simply becomes sad or angry. One does not care how *latifundia* has become a social class, or Koine the name of a 'species of Hispano-Romance used almost all over the country' (p. 29), one merely thinks that howlers of this order should not appear in the production of a scholarly press.

A great deal is said of words in Spanish derived from Arabic, but all the splendid work of modern scientific linguists is unknown to the author. Simple assertion will not make 'carro' come from Arabic! Because *alpargata* and *gaita* have cognates in Arabic, we cannot assume that they come from that language. Borrowings can take place in two directions. And in a discussion of the origins of words, it really is worth while to spell them correctly; there is, for example, no such word as *kilate* (influence of *kilo*!). *Acequia* (not *azequia*) does not mean in Spanish 'a camel carrying water for irrigation'! Some of the words which are given as in current Spanish use (e.g. *almoxarife*, p. 193) have not existed outside the pages of history books for centuries, and indeed some of the supposed borrowings never had currency except in the special vocabulary of Spanish Muslims (e.g. *azaque*, p. 194).

The author wrote a doctoral thesis on the economic history of Muslim Spain, but on such matters his book is as defective as on all others. No use is made of modern methods of analysis, and a large proportion of the space devoted to 'commerce' consists of lists of miscellaneous odds and ends mentioned somewhere or other as being exported or imported ('green marble basins from Syria'; 'pelisses, moety made of marten's fur from Khurasan'), with no attempt to determine the fundamental structures of the economy, to see what was important and what was not.

On technical matters the author is ill-informed. If his sources really did say that glass was made from clay (p. 116), then that snippet of misinformation was not worth

repeating. And mercury, *pace* Dr. Imamuddin, is really a metal (p. 99).

One would like to think that this book had some merits to counterbalance its defects. The fact that the author comes from East Pakistan might have given him the ability to stand back from his subject and present it in perspective. Here again we are disappointed. As a historian his methods are very similar to those of the medieval Arabs: the various conflicting views of his very mixed bag of (mostly secondary) sources are presented side by side with little critical evaluation. The title gives a very good indication of the contents of the book, but although quite a lot of potentially valuable material is assembled, such is the lack of method that little or nothing is done to advance the cause of learning: serious work will continue to be based on Lévi-Provençal.

It is uncertain to which periods the map is meant to refer: place-names are confused (e.g. Ifriqiyah is here—as throughout the book—taken in its Modern Arabic sense of Africa, the continent, and not in the Classical and Medieval sense of Tunisia; the town east of Oran ought to be labelled Algiers and not Algeria, etc., etc.). There are also 15 photographic plates. No acknowledgement is made, but several seem to be taken from José Guerrero Lovillo's *Miniatura gótica castellana*, Madrid, 1956, and are of dubious relevance. 'Reproduction from a 13th century manuscript' is a curious way to refer to the famous manuscript of Alfonso's *Cantigas*; in any case, to judge from the loss of definition, these plates would appear to be copied from Guerrero Lovillo's photographs and not made direct from the MS.

There is a bibliography in a very curious order; some authors are listed alphabetically under their first names, some under surnames, at least one author is under his initials only: P. Boissonade follows after Pareja, Felix M.! There is an erratic subject index that is a surrealist bad joke. Question—Why is there in the subject index an entry 'Bellver p. 73'? Answer—Because, although that author (*not* subject) is not mentioned by name, a work by him is referred to in footnote 3.

One can imagine only one function that this book might fulfil. Furnished with suitable line drawings, it might yet become a schoolboy classic under the revised title of *711 and all that*.

L. P. HARVEY

R. BAYLY WINDER: *Saudi Arabia in the nineteenth century*. xiv, 312 pp., front., 7 plates. London, etc.: Macmillan; New York: St. Martin's Press, 1965. 42s.

This book is a survey of Saudi history, not

strictly during the nineteenth century, but from Ibrāhīm Paasha's capture of Dir'iyya in 1818 to Muḥammad ibn Rashīd's victory at Mulaida in 1891. It is therefore concerned with a phase of central Arabian history which has attracted little attention, being obviously of more limited interest and more local in importance than either the rise and fall of the first Wahhābī state or the dramatic revival of Saudi power that followed the coup d'état of 1902. On the confused events of the period Dr. Winder has written the best book to date. Philby's pioneer work *Arabia* (1930) conveys the Wahhābī atmosphere admirably and sympathetically, but Dr. Winder is much more reliable about chronology, and he has used a number of sources, Arabic, European, and occasionally Turkish, that were not available to his predecessor. These include Arabic MS material and unpublished American doctoral dissertations. Some of the latter evidently contain valuable information, but it is useless to refer to them, as is sometimes done here, for fuller details about particular topics. The author carefully describes Saudi relations with the British, the Omanis, the Trucial states, and the Āl Khalifa, and, as we might expect, gives considerable attention to the history of Buraimi, relying extensively on the Saudi Government Memorial of 1955. A welcome feature of the book is that some consideration is paid to the administrative and financial system, to literary activity, and to the careers of the most prominent 'ulamā'.

The book is pleasantly produced, though the maps are hardly adequate. The text is broken into short sections with headings in italics, in a way that recalls a textbook, though the writing is often impressionistic. Dr. Winder includes some colourful quotations of questionable accuracy. Mignan's account of the death of Raḥma ibn Jābir (pp. 39-40), for example, is one of those 'eyewitness' descriptions of an incident in which all the participants perished. There are some misprints of which a few are disconcerting, e.g. 'mortality' for 'morality' (p. 12, l. 1) and 'received' for 'achieved' (p. 83, l. 7). There is a very good bibliography, which might usefully have included the *Reports on the Administration of the Persian Gulf Political Residency and Muscat Political Agency*, which are available in print from 1874-5 until after the end of the period with which this volume is concerned.

A few remarks call for question. Like Philby himself Dr. Winder is apt to write 'Arabia' when he means Saudi Arabia or Najd. The statement that 'aside from the . . . labours of the late H. St. J. B. Philby, little serious research has been published on the history and culture of Arabia since 1937' (p. vii) is grossly unfair to Rossi, Serjeant, and

Thesiger, to name only a few. Ibadis are not 'now limited to Oman and certain pockets in North Africa' (p. 34); there are some in East Africa. The 'outsider's discovery of and eager search for fine Arabian horses' (p. 214) does not date from the reign of Faṣāḥ ibn Turki. Dr. Winder ignores the earlier activities of Count Waclaw Rzewuski, perhaps because Hogarth, in his classic *Penetration of Arabia*, disguised him so effectively as Rzewuski.

C. F. BECKINGHAM

V. MINORSKY: *Iranica: twenty articles*. (Publications of the University of Tehran, Vol. 775.) xxvi, 332 pp., front., 3 plates. [Tehran: University of Tehran], 1964.

To the University of Tehran has fallen the melancholy privilege of publishing the last of Professor Minorsky's work which he saw through the press. The mere collection into one volume of 20 of the great scholar's articles would of itself have earned the gratitude of specialists in many fields of study. Even the nine contributions to the *Bulletin* are rendered much more accessible for consultation and reference, to say nothing of papers published in more specialized journals or in *Festschriften*. One thinks in this connexion of such articles as 'La domination des Dailamites' (a paper read to the Société des Études Iraniques in 1931) and 'L'épopée persane et la littérature populaire russe' (read at the celebration of Firdausi's millennium in Tehran in 1937 and published in 1944 in *Hazār-sāla-yi-Firdausi*), both of which the reviewer has now seen for the first time. So too 'The older preface to the *Shāh-nāmah*' from *Studi in onore di G. Levi della Vida* (Rome, 1956) is at last available to a wider readership. However, with typical conscientiousness, the author was not content simply to reproduce the articles as they stood: he has been concerned to incorporate the results of his own and others' subsequent researches, and the consequent additions and alterations have in some cases (notably the two articles on Vis and Rāmin) led to a drastic revision of the original text. Thus the present volume may be consulted with profit even by those scholars (and they must be few and far between) who have easy access to all these articles elsewhere.

There is little indeed that one can add to the author's own corrections and amendments. The following are four very small points.

p. 85: for *uzān* substitute *uz*, the *-ān* being simply the Persian plural ending. On *uz* 'artisan, craftsman' see now Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, II, 144-5 (No. 593).

p. 196: on the 'queer story' about Fakhr-al-Din Gurgāni at the court of the 'shāh' of Gurgān see now the *Ilāhī-nāma* ed. Rouhani, 83-8, transl. Rouhani, 148-52.

p. 283: the highest class of *paizas* or 'tablets of authority' had a *tiger's*, not a lion's head upon them. Marco Polo's mistake is due to the ambiguity of the Persian *shīr* (*shēr*). See Pelliot, 'Notes sur le "Turkestan" de M. W. Barthold', *TP*, xxvii, 1930, 12-56 (at p. 17).

p. 284: the word *shīre* is actually Mongol and means both 'table' and 'desk'. See Leasing, *Mongolian-English dictionary*, s.v. *sirge*, also Doerfer, op. cit., I, 367-8 (Nos. 248 and 244).

The 20 articles in the present volume constitute only a small portion of the author's *scripta minora*. Perhaps a second selection might be made, in which the reviewer would suggest the inclusion of 'Tamīm ibn Bahr's journey to the Uyghurs' and some of the *Caucasica* and *Mongolica* series. This would be a tribute to Minoraky's memory such as he himself would have greatly appreciated.

JOHN A. BOYLE

RAOUL CURIEL and GÉRARD FUSSMAN:
Le trésor monétaire de Qunduz.
(Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan, Tom. xx.) 93 pp., 60 plates. Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1965. Fr. 48.

The great find of Graeco-Bactrian coins known as the Qunduz Treasure is probably the largest of the kind that has ever come to light. It is certainly the only one to have been recorded intact. It contained 627 coins, of which 5 were double-decadrachms weighing more than 84 grammes; and 12 were Attic-weight tetradrachms of rulers previously known only for the smaller bilingual issues. Now by a far-sighted decision the DAFa has issued a publication of the find in which every coin is illustrated. The 53 plates of coins provide an invaluable body of reference material, far more comprehensive than any collection previously catalogued, and representing a substantial proportion of the ancient dies.

Whilst the illustration is therefore rich, the text by contrast, is economical. This balance is no doubt an appropriate one, since the full implications of the Qunduz Treasure will only emerge in the light of future discoveries. None the less, in the five concise chapters are discussed the main problems of the find: its date of burial, the new coins appearing for the first time, the double-decadrachms of Amyntas, the significance of the monograms which appear upon the coins, and 'problèmes divers' which include the possible political significance

of the dotted and reel-and-bead borders. The problem of kings who bear the same names is discussed in an appendix.

These discussions are generally well-balanced, and maintain a healthy attitude of scepticism, but a few points invite comment. In discussing the date and circumstances of the deposit, weight is placed on the question of whether it represented a current fund, or was in fact a savings hoard. The latter view is preferred. This conclusion is felt by the author to be a dissent from opinions once expressed by the present reviewer, but the outcome of the argument is little different. 'Si cette vue est juste, les considérations que l'on pourrait être tenté de faire sur les circonstances de l'enfouissement perdent de leur intérêt. M. Bivar est amené par son hypothèse à placer l'enfouissement vers 100 avant J.-C., au moment probable de l'invasion nomade, et à l'expliquer par celle-ci. Mais s'il agit d'un trésor de théaurisation, cette hypothèse ne s'appuie sur rien.' It seems a trivial point to decide whether the nomad invasion caused the coins to be buried, or merely prevented the owner from retrieving a pre-existing hoard. Yet if on p. 59 the relevance of the nomad threat seems to be denied, on p. 60 the logic of the evidence leads back to an identical conclusion. 'On peut donc songer à une date d'enfouissement plus basse (than 140 B.C.), ce qui nous rapprocherait de la date de l'invasion Yueh-chih.' In substance, therefore, there is no conflict of opinion.

A spectacular feature of the find was the discovery of new denominations and new types, discussed in ch. ii. The Attic tetradrachm of Theophilus with the title *Autokrator*, and the type of a seated Athena—apparently based on the issues of Lysimachus of Thrace, though the connexion is unexplained—and the Attic tetradrachms of Lysias, Archebius, Philoxenus, and Hermaeus, were previously unknown. The last issue, that of Hermaeus, suggests an important historical conclusion, that Greek rule in some parts of Bactria persisted after the first nomad incursions in 130 B.C. M. Fussman, no doubt correctly, endorses the view that these coins of Attic standard circulated north of the Hindu Kush, whilst the bilingual issues of 'Indian' standard were meant for circulation south of the watershed. There is, however, strangely no comment on the two new types of king Plato occurring in the find—the sun-chariot to front (no. 388), and the standing Mithras (no. 399). A chapter (ch. iii) is naturally devoted to the amazing double-decadrachms of Amyntas.

Various points arise from the discussion of the monograms, in which a position of extreme scepticism is taken. 'Nous pouvons dire avec quelque vraisemblance ce qu'ils ne sont pas

mais non ce qu'ils sont.' The reason for this impasse may be a misinterpretation of one decisive piece of evidence—that coins from the same obverse dies, and therefore presumably struck at the same mint, are found to bear varied monograms. This is seen as a proof that the monograms are not indications of mint. However, the true explanation may be more complicated. Whilst the general outline of the monogram could indicate the mint of issue, minor changes of detail could at the same time differentiate successive periods of the coinage. These successive periods might naturally be linked by shared obverse dies. Another unsatisfying argument is that the Attic-weight and the bilingual issues of Lysias, Antialoidas, Philoxenus, and Hermaeus (also indeed Amyntas), which in each case have the same monograms, cannot be issues of the same mints since the different denominations were intended to circulate on opposite sides of the Hindu Kush. If all were struck at Alexandria-of-the-Caucasus, the relatively rare Attic denominations could well have been a trade currency for export to the north. One has only to recall the great silver mine of Panjshir a few miles from the site of this Alexandria.

Macdonald's hypothesis that the reel-and-bead border on coins of Eucratides indicates links with the Seleucid dynasty is re-examined in the light of the Qunduz coins. It is shown that the use of this border is not confined to the dynasty of Eucratides, nor the dotted border to the dynasty of Euthydemus. The argument from this feature is therefore weakened, though the linking of Eucratides with the Seleucid dynasty remains an attractive hypothesis. In discussing the problem of 'les souverains homonymes', the conclusion reached is one of scepticism, but it is interesting to see that the strong case for two Apollodoti is here accepted. Also right, we are convinced, is the admission of only a single Heliocles; but it is possible that the case for acknowledging two rulers each with the names of Euthydemus, Demetrius, and Eucratides is stronger than is represented here.

The interesting annexe by M. Le Berre describes the site of Khisht Tepe on the Oxus, findspot of the Qunduz Treasure, and also nearby the important fortified enclosure of Qal'a-yi Zāl on the lower Qunduz River. Thus the full story of the find is here reported for the first time. The book is in all respects a worthy record of the most significant recent coin-discovery in Afghanistan. It encourages the hope that resources may one day be available to present in similar style the contents of the Mir Zakah hoard, with its promise of comparable illumination for the Indo-Bactrian coinage.

A. D. H. BIVAR

J. NÉMETH: *Die Türken von Vidin: Sprache, Folklore, Religion.* (Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica, x.) 420 pp. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1965.

This attractively produced book is of far wider scope and importance than its title suggests, since it draws upon all other work done in the field of Balkan dialects of Turkish and is, in consequence, a major contribution to comparative dialectology. It is the culmination of half a century's work devoted to the task of studying and classifying these dialects by one of the acknowledged experts in the field.

It comprises a detailed description of the sounds and grammar of the dialect of Turkish spoken in Vidin, a town on the Danube, now in Bulgaria, and the original texts on which this linguistic study was based, which in themselves provide a welcome addition to the collections of Turkish tales already published and are a valuable source of information about the life of a Turkish community in a Bulgarian town.

The texts consist of 18 *Märchen* (pp. 121–226), including a version of the well-known minstrel tale *Elif ile Mahmud*, 5 *Erzählungen* (pp. 235–53), 49 songs (pp. 257–71) of which 40 are in *mani* form, 55 riddles, and accounts of the customs and popular beliefs and practices of the Turks of Vidin which are rapidly becoming forgotten (pp. 284–373). They are presented in a transcription based on that used in *Philologiae Turcicae fundamenta*; a German translation of the entire corpus of material is also supplied. The texts were noted down mainly during the years 1931–8, the greater part of the material being dictated by a single informant, an elderly widow who supported herself by telling fortunes, dispensing homely cures, and performing the *Mevlud*; she is revealed as a story-teller of talent, for a liveliness of expression is evident in her narration in spite of the restrictions imposed by the method of recording.

Apart from a very useful illustrated glossary (pp. 377–413), the rest of the book is devoted to a description of the speech sounds of the dialect of the texts (pp. 24–77), and of the special features of its grammar (pp. 77–105) and syntax (pp. 108–15). At the time of the investigation, three types of Turkish were spoken in Vidin: that of the gypsies; that of the educated Turkish people, i.e. those who studied Turkish at school and read books written in the literary language of Istanbul and looked on it as the ideal; and the colloquial language whose speakers had very little contact with the literary language. It is the third of these which forms the subject of this study.

Professor Németh had observed a clear phonetic distinction between the dialects of western Rumeli, which includes Vidin, and of eastern Rumeli, which includes Istanbul. Since the same distinction exists in Anatolia, he feels able to use this purely linguistic evidence as the basis for a theory that the Turkish colonization of western Rumeli was from north-eastern Anatolia, i.e. the Pontic region, and of eastern Rumeli from western Anatolia.

The sound system of the western Rumeli dialects as exemplified here by that of Vidin differs from that of Istanbul Turkish in four main respects : (i) the final *i/t/u* of Istanbul, whether as a suffix or as the last syllable of a stem, is represented by *i* only, e.g. *guyi* 'well', *küpri* 'bridge'; (ii) the vowel of the verbal suffix *-miş* is invariable; (iii) the plural suffix is invariably *-ler*; (iv) the voiced velar plosive represented in the orthography but not pronounced in Istanbul Turkish is always pronounced in Vidin. The author insists, however, that these sound features cannot be attributed to the influence of Bulgarian, even though all speakers of this dialect are bilingual, since they are identical with those of north-eastern Anatolia.

Syntax, along with vocabulary, is seen as the sphere in which Bulgarian has had a strong influence upon this form of Turkish. Here, however, a flaw can be detected in the argument: Professor Németh assumes the rules of the literary language to be the 'correct' form; consequently, for him, *kendimi jorurum ihtiyar, dogri gider ahci dukkanina, elinde bir elma var—alın, duvay başına urterler gızın* represent 'bold inversions', due either to the influence of Bulgarian syntax or to the artistic needs of the narration. These constructions, however, and indeed almost all of his many examples, would be perfectly normal in Istanbul, given the appropriate sound changes. Such constructions, e.g. complement or attribute in sentence final position, are normal, and therefore correct, in the colloquial language generally (C. S. Mundy, *BSOAS*, xvii, 2, 1955, 279-305); they are much exploited by modern writers and are even widespread in prose writings of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Thus, what is here identified as a regional feature is rather a feature of a particular style.

In grammar the most interesting phenomenon of this dialect is the absence of the *-yor* present tense and its replacement by a present tense in *-ay*, e.g. *yazay* 'he is writing', *çığayınız* 'you go out'.

The value of this scholarly and stimulating book would have been further enhanced had the exhaustive references in the body of the text been brought together into a single bibliography, but even without this, the work is

extremely useful and of the greatest interest to Turkologists and folklorists alike.

MARGARET BAINBRIDGE

GOKUL CHANDRA JAIN (ed.): *Satyasāsan parikṣā of Āchārya Vidyānandī*. (Jñānapīṭha Mūrtidevī Jaina Granthamālā, Sanskrit Grantha, No. 30.) 48, [8], 34, 62 pp., plate. Varanasi: Bharatiya Jnanpīth, 1964. Rs. 5.

The author of this hitherto unpublished work is Āchārya Vidyānandin, the great Jaina logician of the ninth century A.D., author of the famous *Aṣṣahasrī*. The present edition is based on a Nāgarī MS found in the Jaina library of Arrah. The editor has also utilized two other MSS in Kannaḍa script found in the Jaina Bhaṇḍāra of Moodbidri. All the MSS are undated and incomplete.

The work forms a series of similar *parikṣās* (critiques) by Vidyānandin, e.g. the *Āptaparikṣā*, *Pramāṇaparikṣā*, and *Pātraparikṣā*, and, as noted by the editor, shows an unmistakable impact of similarly entitled Buddhist works, e.g. the *Alambanaparikṣā* of Dignāga, the *Sambandhaparikṣā* of Dharmakīrti, and the *Pramāṇaparikṣā* of Dharmottara. In his *parikṣās*, as well as in his more famous works like the *Aṣṣahasrī* and the *Yuktyanuśāsana-śikṣā*, Vidyānandin builds up a formidable criticism, initiated by Samantabhadra and Akalaṅka, of the Indian schools in general and of the Buddhists in particular. The present work contains a thorough and sustained examination of Vedāntic Monism (including the Śabdādvaita and the Citrādvaita), Buddhist Idealism (Vijñānavāda), the Sautrāntika Fluxism, the Cārvāka Materialism, the Sāṅkhya Evolutionism, the Mīmāṃsā Realism, the categories of the Vaiśeṣika, and finally the Nyāya theory of salvation. Although brief and incomplete, the work is in essence a compendium of Indian philosophy and is a forerunner of similar later works like the *Syādvādamāñjarī* of Malliṣeṇa or the *Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍa-khāḍya* of Śrīharṣa.

The work abounds in a large number of hitherto unidentified quotations from contemporary texts. It also contains several less familiar technical terms and definitions, e.g. the *aśāṅgika-mārga* of the Buddhists: *Tathā mokṣahetubhūtā mārgaṇā. Sā ca samyaktva - samjñā - samjñī - vākkāyakarma - antar-vyāyāma-ājivasthiti-samādhi-lakṣaṇā aśāṅgāḥ. Patra samyaktvaṃ padārthānāṃ yāthātmyadarśanaṃ. Samjñā vācakāḥ śabdāḥ. Samjñī vācyo 'rthāḥ. Vākkāyakarmaṇī vākkāyavyāpārau. Antarvyāyāmo vāyudhāraṇā. Ājivasthitiḥ āyuravāsanāpariyantaṃ prāṇadhāraṇā. Samādhir nāma sarvaṃ dukkhaṃ . . . śūnyam iti satyabhāvanā* (p. 21).

This is scarcely a mere adaptation of the traditional Buddhist *mārga*: *samyagdṛṣṭi*, °*samkalpa*, °*vāc*, °*karmānta*, °*ājīva*, °*vyāyāma*, °*smṛti*, °*samādhi*. The terms *karma-antarvyāyāma* and *karmānta*. . . *vyāyāma* correspond; the former may be associated with Vedic *antaryāmā* (a derivative of *Vāyu*, *prānarūpāpanna*) and its false etymology *udānd* 'ntār *ātman* *yatāh*, while the term *karmānta/karmānta* lacks a satisfactory linguistic explanation. The position of *vyāyāma* in the traditional list, separating *ājīva* and *smṛti*, is then probably secondary, and an original **ājīvasmṛti/ājīvasati* 'lifelong reflexion' seems likely. Vidyānandin's explanation of *sthiti* is as forced and tautologous (beside *vāyudharaṇā*) as the standard explanation of *ājīva* (duplicating *karmānta*, although Sk. *ājīva* 'being lived on by, etc.' requires an *upapada*). The remaining terms *samyakva-saṃjñāsaṃjñivākkāya* and *samyagdṛṣṭi-samyaksamkalpa-samyagvāc* may be derived from a hypothetical **samyaksamjñāsaṃjñivākkāya* 'correct speech (*śabdārthasāhitya*)'; standard sources would reflect the interpretation **samyaksamjñāsaṃjñāsaṃjñivākkāya-kāyākarma*, while Vidyānandin's version looks for the eight elements thereby established.

A certain similarity between the underlying formula **samyaksamjñāsaṃjñivākkāya-karmāntarvyāyāma-ājīvasmṛti-samādhi* and the Vedic 'logogonic' series (VS 13.55) *vīśvā-karman* (*Vāyu*)—*mānas* . . . —*antaryāmā*—*paścādabā* (*Stoma*)—*brhāt* might suggest that the Buddhist *mārga* originally specified three constituent factors in *samādhi*. The nature of the postulated corruptions and the location *ājīva*° (Vd. *yāvajjivām*, late Sk. *ājīvam*) tend to suggest that the formula is of Middle Indian origin.

The edition contains useful notes and indexes and is rendered the more valuable by a scholarly essay by Dr. N. Tatia on some issues raised in this treatise.

P. S. JAINI

R. DESSIGANE and others: *Les légendes givaites de Kāñcipuram: analyse de textes et iconographie. Par R. Dessigane, P. Z. Pattabiramin et Jean Filliozat*. (Publications de l'Institut Français d'Indologie, No. 27.) [i], xviii, 152 pp., 49 plates, map. Pondichéry: Institut Français d'Indologie, 1964.

This interesting study may be associated with the same authors' *La légende des jeux de Śiva à Madurai* and Claude Jacques' *Gayāmahātmya* (Nos. 19 and 20 in the same series, 1960 and 1962); all provide a wealth of poorly

accessible localized ancient legendary material which has evidently developed over the centuries in concert with the arts and customs of the regions. After a discussion of early literary references to Kāñci, the present volume offers a full résumé of an eighteenth-century Tamil version (*Kāñcipurāna*) of a *sthānamāhātmya* of the city, together with over 100 photographs of buildings and reliefs relevant to the text. A Sanskrit version (*Kāñcimāhātmya*) became available in time to provide some material for the introduction and for the index of proper names; we may hope that the writers will have more to say about this and another Sanskrit *Kāñcimāhātmya* in their possession.

They seem to be mistaken in regarding the Sanskrit text as the source of the more developed Tamil version. The Sanskrit colophons tend to identify an 'Ekāmraṇāthapurāna' (~ ch. 62-7 of the Tamil version), consisting of 'jeux de Śiva' and standard appendixes, and supplementing the *sthānamāhātmya* proper; the divine mango tree, corresponding to the fig tree of Gayā and the *Gītā*, is editorially prominent and is associated with a Vedic train of thought (which reappears in the preamble 7.26-8—p. xvii, n. 3 requires correction): 62.27-86 *brahmamantra*, *brahmapura*, and *brahmapūjita* (glossing *kāñci*). Two other treatments of Tam. *Ēkampa* ~ Sk. *ekāmra* appear, however, to be subjacent. An association with Kampai (62.40-53, cf. the 'brahmapūjita' Veḷḷakkampa ~ *svacchāikāmravāra*) is also taken for granted in the *sthānamāhātmya* (Tirukkampa ~ *śryekāmra* and *Kampavāna* ~ *ekāmra* *vāna*, beside *Tiruvēkampa* and *Ēkampa* *vāna*). Another, restricted to the 'Ekāmraṇāthapurāna', involves Sk. *ambara*, or rather Pk. *diambara* which more credibly represents **divyambara* (~ *ekavāsas* and *divusitra* in Sk. *Sūtras*) than 'dig-ambara': of 62.44 *Ēkāmra* *paranāta* following explicitly pentasyllabic *Ēkampanāta*, and 63.169 *Citampara* 'sitāmbara, svētāmbara' (cf. Veḷḷakkampa). The Sanskrit, with uniform *ekāmra* it seems (p. xvi), is obscuring significant variation and must therefore be based on a forerunner of the Tamil version. *Citampara* ~ *cidambara* p. 122 and the like would support this, but the index has not made full use of the Sanskrit (*Aṅantapāpanāpa* ~ *Ananta*° p. 119, but Sk. *ānanda*° p. ix).

We should rather see in *Ēkampa* ~ *ekāmra* an **ekāmba* 'having one mother' beside *Tiriyampaka* ~ *tryambaka* in the preamble and *Ampikai*, *Ammai* ~ *ambikā*, *ambā*. The missing link **divyamba*, RV *divimāṣṭ*, may be involved in the history of *diambara* and *siambara*, if these, like *vaikhānasa*, *kāpālīka*, etc., are basically divine epithets giving rise to sectarian designations. The spelling *Ēkampa* reappears in the final episode of the story (64.79) where

he marries Durgā, born of Gauṛī's dark aspect ; *āmra*, *kampai*, and *ambara* are here irrelevant, and it seems probable that the incestuous marriages of *Svetāmba-Dvyamba narrated in an 'Ekāmbapurāṇa' represent the oldest material contained in the *Kāncīpurāṇa*. The symbolism of incest and plural mothers (light, dark, and mottled), as well as the dual *śāsas* of light and darkness, and the primordial tree (not, however, specifically mango or fig) may be observed in the Ṛgveda, but the immediate source of the Tamil original will have been proto-Jaina Prakrit.

J. C. WRIGHT

LALLANJI GOPAL : *The economic life of northern India, c. A.D. 700-1200*. xxiv, 306 pp. Delhi, etc.: Motilal Banarsidass, 1965. Rs. 15.

In this book (originally his doctoral thesis for the University of London) Dr. Gopal has produced a useful study, throwing much-needed light on the economic life of a confused and confusing period of Indian history. It is but one more proof that the conditions of what Dr. Gopal calls the 'early Medieval period' are at last receiving the scholarly attention they merit. The period was not very original, putting off those who prefer to search out origins ; its political life was a tangled skein, requiring patience to unravel ; and the picture it affords is largely one of pettiness and decline. Its great advantage, on the other hand, is the wealth of sources, in contrast to earlier periods, which it offers the historian, and Dr. Gopal has cast his nets very wide indeed : besides the more usual documents, romances, narratives, poetic anthologies, lexicons, and even mathematical treatises have provided grist for his energetic mill. Yet, as Dr. Gopal remarks, his study is important for determining the causes which rendered Indian resistance to Muslim invaders so weak, and the historical processes which took place are moreover worthy of study in their own right. While one may demur from his belief in the 'fundamental unity of the period from Harṣa to the establishment of British rule' (p. 232) and its implication that Muslim rule wrought no qualitative changes in Indian life, one nevertheless feels that A.D. 700-1200 forms a convenient and coherent 'period', with characteristic political and economic arrangements, architecture, and religious life.

Ch. i deals with the ownership of the land controversy into which the author quite rightly brings feudalism, using the inscriptions to show the increasing royal claim to proprietary rights which were then made over to religious donees and feudatories. The second

chapter provides the specialist with a glossary of revenue terms employed in the inscriptions. In his chapter on slavery, the author finds more of it, and a worsening of the slave's lot, compared with earlier times, though no evidence of slave markets. Guilds (ch. iv) declined in importance and became fossilized into low occupational sub-castes (merchant guilds, which in some cases got royal charters, are not dealt with). Inland trade (ch. v) was hampered by petty feudal chiefs who plundered the highways and caravan routes. Ch. vi and vii, dealing with foreign trade by land and sea, make dramatic reading. Central Asia is fought over by Turks, Tibetans, Arabs, and Chinese, India abstaining. Arab, Chinese, Ceylonese, Sumatran, and Javanese ships ply the Indian Ocean, while with some exceptions Indians are content with the plunder of foreign ships or the fruits of the distribution trade. The author accounts for the vast number of horses imported to India by lack of expertise in breeding, and the collusion of foreign merchants in keeping farriers out of India (a conclusion that wants further investigation—climate might have been a more decisive factor). In ch. viii, 'Credit and banking', Dr. Gopal finds an entrenchment of the creditor's prerogatives and higher interest rates. The coins of the period, few, unoriginal in design, and crude in execution, are surveyed in ch. ix. Though the right to mint was a royal prerogative, it would seem to have been rarely exercised, judging from the scarcity of coins, and sometimes it was conferred on wealthy merchants. In his concluding chapter the author remarks on the prosperity and pomp of the upper crust and the worsening lot of the villager under feudal oppression.

This interesting study provides a wealth of detail, but the picture that emerges is fragmentary, and some of the conclusions seem doubtful. For example, Dr. Gopal rejects the 'taboo on travel' theory as an explanation for the decline in Indian participation in overland trade, on the grounds that the taboo applied only to brāhmins, and whether it was observed cannot be determined (p. 118), while he seems to accept the 'taboo on sea voyage' theory in explanation of the decline in Indian shipping in the teeth of Professor P. V. Kane's judgement that this, too, applied only to brāhmins (p. 130), and without specifying his grounds. The chief difficulty, however, is that economic history demands statistics and medieval Indian sources offer none, or only partial statistics. Thus questions such as the volume and balance of foreign trade are especially refractory. (Dr. Gopal denies an unfavourable balance of trade in India, if I understand him aright, but believes India suffered a decline in profits.) Dr. Gopal is to be commended for

producing a book, in spite of this and other obstacles, of value to all historians of the period.

THOMAS B. TRAUTMANN

RAM SHARAN SHARMA : *Indian feudalism : c. 300-1200*. (Centre of Advanced Study in Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta. Lectures and Seminars, No. 1-A (Lectures).) xiii, 320 pp. Calcutta : University of Calcutta, 1965. Rs. 15.

This excellent series of essays (originally lectures) deals with the origins of Indian feudalism (A.D. 300-750) and feudal polity and economy among the Pālas, Pratihāras, and Rāshtrakūtas (A.D. 750-1000), pauses to re-examine the problem of individual, communal, and royal land rights in medieval India, and goes on to consider feudal polity and economy in the two centuries preceding the establishment of the Sultanate (A.D. 1000-1200).

Professor Sharma finds the origin of Indian feudalism in the land grants made to learned brāhmins, temples, and monasteries for which epigraphic evidence begins in the first century A.D. In early times these grants, judging from the *Arthasāstra*, were in the form of fields of waste or virgin land, free of tax, made in perpetuity to the recipient and his heirs. 'Waste' (*khila*) land had become a legal fiction by Gupta times. Villages together with their fields and inhabitants, rights of taxation, administration, the dispensation of justice (with the right to enjoy fines received), and immunities from the interference of royal officials were increasingly made over to religious beneficiaries. Such was the pattern on which the relations between the sovereign and his dependants, both subject rulers and officials, were based, with the difference that while religious grantees owed no revenue or other secular obligations, other grantees owed their overlord various obligations of which the most characteristic were regular tribute and military aid. The evidence for service grants is admittedly thin before the tenth century, and the obligations of feudatories must be determined through a study of belles-lettres and inscriptions, the legal texts being strangely silent on this. All other relations were forced into the feudal mould: royal charters conferred on merchant guilds in sixth-eighth century western India granted them immunities and required of them obligations analogous to those of feudal barons. The peasantry was reduced to a kind of serfdom, in some instances tied to the land, through mounting tax burdens, increasing obligations to perform forced labour, the evils of

subinfeudation and the transfer of communal rights in theory to the king, in practice to the feudatory. Here, too, the feudal pattern, once established, engendered itself: artisans were in some cases tied to temples, in some others to merchant guilds. The typical picture was one of local, self-sufficient economies, local centres of power, wealthy barons and poor peasants.

Professor Sharma re-examines the perennial question of the king's ownership of the land in the context of these developments and finds that early, undefined communal rights gave way in the post-Gupta period to, paradoxically, individual proprietorship on the one hand and royal proprietorship on the other. The theory of royal ownership is not to be confused with that of eminent domain: the medieval Indian king was considered the greatest landowner with rights to the land superior to the rights of lesser landowners. The irony of this development is that the theory of royal ownership was evolved to justify the transfer of proprietary rights to religious and secular beneficiaries. The king gave away in practice what he had gained in theory; the peasant lost in practice what he had lost in theory; and the landlords—temples, monasteries, brāhmins, ministers, barons—were the real winners.

These essays, excellent as they are, occasionally betray signs of haste. The author, for example, may want to revise his opinion on the inadequacy of medieval legal texts concerning the obligations of a feudatory in the light of Medhātithi's comment on Manu VII.202: the conqueror shall install a member of the same family on the throne and conclude with him a treaty, the terms of which are, 'You and I shall have equal shares in your income, you shall consult me in all that you do or do not do, at the proper time you shall come and help me with your treasury and army', etc. Indeed relations of this sort between conqueror and conquered must have been as ancient and as formative for feudalism as the practice of making religious grants. On the other hand when (p. 119) he refers to the *Agni Purāna* ('a work of about the 10th-11th century, and what it states is mainly based on the *Kāmandaka Nītisāra*, ascribed to the 8th century A.D.') on the obligations of the feudatory, he should note that although the passage in question occurs in M. N. Dutt's translation, it occurs neither in Kāmandaka nor in the Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series edition of the *Agni Purāna* on which Dutt's translation appears to have been based.

For the next edition (the book deserves several) the author will want to put right the juxtaposition of 'religious' and 'secular', top of p. 113, and change 'grantee' to 'grantor' on the subsequent page, as well as the numerous

typographical errors to which a first edition is prone.

The polity of medieval India is beginning to get the systematic treatment it deserves. Independently and almost simultaneously with this book, Mrs. Krishna Kanti Gopal has produced a University of London Ph.D. thesis under the title *Feudalism in northern India* (c. 700–1200), covering some of the topics treated by Professor Sharma, and others he has not. It is to be hoped this fine thesis will soon be published as a complement and supplement to the book under review.

THOMAS B. TRAUTMANN

KHUSHWANT SINGH: *A history of the Sikhs. Vol. I: 1469–1839.* xiii, 419 pp., 4 plates. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1963. 50s.

FAUJA SINGH BAJWA: *Military system of the Sikhs during the period 1799–1849.* xx, 387 pp., 6 plates. Delhi, etc.: Motilal Banarsidass, 1964. Rs. 20.

The Sikh community and its transformation through the ages offers much food for thought to the historian as well as the sociologist. Starting as a religious movement deeply imbued with humanism, pacifism, and eclecticism, Sikhism gradually developed into a closed society with a marked predilection for militarism. While its founder had especially decried the forms and rituals of religion, his successors evolved an elaborate theology. As Khushwant Singh has observed in an earlier work, 'It is certain that none of these forms or symbols were observed or enjoined by Guru Govind Singh's nine predecessors (a fact incorrectly assumed by some Sikhs)' (*The Sikhs*, London, 1963, 178). But once the faith had evolved its symbols, these came to occupy far greater importance than the original spiritual content of the faith. While Sikhism is not the only faith to have undergone this exteriorization, its transformation is unique in the sense that it had begun as a movement of protest against the externalism of other contemporary religions. Regrettable though it may be, it is not without reason that external forms marking out a religion from others come to assume greater importance than its spiritual content. For the former are identifiable while the latter is not. The *langars* and later on the five *takkas* have been far more instrumental in building up the sense of community among the Sikhs than the spirit of Nānak's original teachings.

A history of the Sikhs stands midway

between serious research and popular writing. It is highly readable but rather weak in documentation. The historical background in ch. ii has many errors. The reviewer disagrees with the author's assessment of the fifteenth century in India. The period, far from being especially marked by anti-Hindu spirit, was more eclectic than the previous centuries. The fifteenth century indeed witnessed the growth of the Hindu element in the army and the revenue department of the Delhi Sultanate. It is also inaccurate to say that during this period 'the Hindus reverted to the worship of idols' and 'The Caste system came back into its own' (reviewer's italics). The two elements were too deeply rooted in the Hinduism of northern India to weaken from the impact of the monistic as well as devotional trends spreading out from the South. There is no dearth of evidence to show the prevalence and persistence of idol-worship and the caste system in Hindu society in the centuries preceding the fifteenth.

The sources of Guru Nānak's life and work need very careful and critical evaluation. There is much in the *Janam Sākhis*—as in the Sūfistic hagiologies—which needs to be heavily discounted. The story of the flower petal and the bowl of milk (p. 47, n.) is a travelling tale. Accounts of Guru Nānak's travels to Baghdad—agreed upon by 'all sources', according to Khushwant Singh—and to Dacca, Chittagong, and Ceylon are very much open to doubt and need to be closely checked with non-Sikh sources. A definitive reading of the Baghdad inscription will clear up the mystery of the Guru's visit to that city. A rational criterion for evaluating hagiological evidence is a desideratum. Recent work on Guru Nānak, done at SOAS, will, when published, largely fill this need.

The account of the encounters between the Sikh gurus and the imperial Mughuls is also not altogether unbiased. The author has ignored the sober and rational view taken by Beni Prasad of Jahāngir's dealings with the Sikhs (*History of Jahāngir*, London, 1922, 148–50). It is one of the most regrettable accidents of history that in 1606 as well as 1658, the respective Sikh gurus backed the wrong horse in the struggle for the Mughul throne. The two fateful executions in 1606 and 1675 made the Sikhs feel they were being persecuted. Guru Govind Singh's ambitions for power and his exhortation to his followers to destroy the 'Turks' finally aligned the Sikhs as a community against the Mughul government. The Sikh transformation—so much be-moaned by Tagore and Jadunath Sarker—was complete. Thereafter much of Sikh history is disfigured by violence and bloodshed. In this respect, however, there seems not much to

choose between them and their main adversaries, the Afghans. There is considerable irony in the identity of explanations offered for Sikh savagery by Khushwant Singh and for Afghan savagery by a Muslim historian. Khushwant Singh alludes to 'a Sikh like Gyan Singh, exaggerating the reports in a spirit of anti-Muslim exultation'. The author of the chapter on Shah Abdālī in the *History of the Freedom Movement* (Vol. 1, Karaahi, 1957, p. 274, n.) remarks, 'Some of the contemporary Muslim writers have given exaggerated accounts of the Afghan campaign'. Undoubtedly there was a strong element of exaggeration in these reports. Some historians, however, are carefully selective which exaggerated report to discount and which to accept at face value.

Khushwant Singh is certainly at fault in identifying the story of the Sikhs with 'the story of the rise, fulfilment and collapse of Punjabi nationalism'. Nor is there any historical evidence for the emergence of 'Punjabi consciousness' by the end of the fifteenth century. The Sikhs constituted a minor, although a distinct, section of the population of the Punjab and their struggle for political supremacy can in no way be represented as an expression of the Punjabi consciousness or of Hindu resistance to Muslim rule. It is also remarkable that as late as 1822, the Sikh army was predominantly non-Punjabi (*Military system of the Sikhs*, 71).

The author does not seem to have used the extensive Persian sources of the period in the original. This is evident from references to Elliot and Dowson and from the author's reproducing the errors of earlier writers. Thus, following Edwardes and Garret (*Mughal rule in India*, 155), the author renders Aurangzēb's remark as *mā ast hama fasād bāgi* as a prophecy that after him only turmoil would remain.

These blemishes notwithstanding, the book when completed is sure to command a wide readership. It has on the whole a sober historical approach, has assimilated much of the earlier writings on the subject, and, above all, reads remarkably well.

Fauja Singh Bajwa's book, though not as well written as Khushwant Singh's, is a more solid work. The first chapter provides a succinct and perspicacious summing up of the situation on the eve of the rise of Ranjit Singh. When the latter set about reorganizing the Sikh army, he had the advantage of learning from the Mughul failures as well as from British successes. He worked his way carefully to a radical reorganization of the Sikh army. It will be always a matter of controversy whether Ranjit Singh acted wisely in partially Europeanizing his army. Fauja Singh Bajwa

has examined the issue carefully but has avoided giving a categorical verdict. Perhaps none can be given. The author traces the growth of the Sikh military machine in six phases. He has discussed in minute detail and yet with much clarity matters relating to the constitution and composition of the Sikh army and to its recruitment, discipline, leave rules, pay and allowances, cantonments, transport, and supplies. The two chapters on tactics and strategy make interesting and thought-provoking reading. The author has treated the various aspects of his subject methodically. His approach is objective and he records, as a matter of course, the Sikh partiality for stratagems, bribery and false pretexts in the conduct of sieges, and their 'great propensity for plunder' and for foraging.

The two books constitute a valuable addition to modern historical literature on the Sikhs.

RIAZUL ISLAM

WING-TSIT CHAN (tr. and comp.): *A source book in Chinese philosophy*. xxv, 856 pp. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1963. 63s.

There has long been a need for a comprehensive anthology of Chinese philosophical texts in translation, particularly where students of philosophy with little or no knowledge of Chinese are concerned. The present anthology satisfies just such a need, and there is no doubt that for many years to come it will remain the standard work in the field. In the words of Professor C. A. Moore in the foreword, 'Few scholars could have—or would have—undertaken it; no one else could have handled it so well'. Since the merits of this work are obvious, I may be permitted to turn my attention, rather, to its limitations and shortcomings, as the student is likely, when forewarned, to be in a better position to make the best use of this substantial anthology.

Professor Chan is well known as an authority on Neo-Confucianism. It is, therefore, not surprising to find that for him the history of Chinese thought is centred round Neo-Confucianism. This approach affects the treatment of the ancient period in two ways. Firstly, more space is allocated to whatever has greater bearing on Neo-Confucianism. The 'Four books' for instance, take up 100 out of the 300 pp. devoted to the ancient period down to the end of the Han. The 'Great learning' and the 'Doctrine of the mean' are given in their entirety, covering, between them 30 pp., while Legalism gets a mere 10, and the *Huai nan tzu* less than 4. Secondly, in translating

the Confucianist works, Chu Hsi's interpretation is generally followed. Even with the *Chuang tzu*, it is often its significance for Neo-Confucianism that is singled out for comment.

This approach is a perfectly legitimate one, but it does raise a fundamental issue which any translator of ancient Chinese texts has to face. Is he, to borrow a phrase from Arthur Waley, to produce a 'scriptural' translation, or is he to attempt to produce an 'historical' translation? Each has its use. We need the first kind for understanding the subsequent tradition, but we need the latter if our concern is with what the texts originally meant. The reader of the present anthology should bear in mind that, in the main, the translation is 'scriptural' and will prove much more useful for him if his interest is in Neo-Confucianism than if he is interested in the ancient period for its own sake.

The general arrangement of the book is as follows. Each chapter begins with a short introductory passage, followed by the selections, with short comments inserted wherever the translator thinks fit. There is an appendix which discusses difficulties encountered in finding English equivalents for Chinese philosophical terms. There is also a limited bibliography and a glossary with Chinese characters.

The introductory remarks and the comments are too short to present anything like a reasoned statement. The comments, in particular, sometimes degenerate into dogmatic assertions not always helpful and sometimes positively misleading. For instance, on the story about Chuang Tzu dreaming that he was a butterfly, we find this comment: 'A beautiful story in itself, it is a complete rejection of the distinction between subject and object and between reality and unreality' (pp. 190-1). But is it? What has the story to do with 'subject and object'? There is no question of Chuang Tzu losing his own identity in the contemplation of the butterfly. The point of the story has to do with truth. There are two propositions: (a) Chuang Tzu dreamt that he was a butterfly, and (b) the butterfly dreamt that it was Chuang Tzu. Chuang Tzu is saying, firstly, that we can never be able to say which of these propositions is true. Secondly, he is saying that, since there is definitely a distinction between Chuang Tzu and the butterfly, metamorphosis is involved. This again has nothing to do with 'subject and object'.

Again, on Kung-sun Lung's discussion of the separation of whiteness and hardness, the comment is: 'The problems discussed are strikingly similar to those of seventeenth-century philosophers in Europe, namely, primary and secondary qualities' (p. 242). It is difficult to see where the similarity lies. Kung-sun Lung has not mentioned any 'primary' qualities, even less is he drawing

a distinction between them and 'secondary' qualities. It is true, whiteness and hardness happen to be two of the so-called 'secondary' qualities, but whatever Kung-sun Lung is saying, he certainly is not saying that they are in the mind of the percipient. This kind of arbitrary identification of Chinese philosophical problems with totally unconnected problems in Western philosophy not only betrays a lack of philosophical sensitivity but does a positive disservice to the reader by putting red herrings in his way.

One further example. In the translation of Wang Ch'ung's discussion of the position taken by various thinkers on the issue of human nature, we find: 'Liu Tzu-cheng (77-6 B.C.) said, "Man's nature is inborn. It is in man and is not expressed. His feelings, on the other hand, are what come into contact with things. They are revealed externally. What is revealed externally is called yang and what is not expressed is called yin"... According to his words, nature is yin (evil) and feelings are yang (good). But don't man's endowed feelings, after all, have both good and evil elements?... ' (p. 295). Notice that the words 'evil' and 'good' are inserted by the translator, and these are then taken as a basis for the statement that according to Liu Hsiang 'man's nature is evil but his feelings are good' (p. 296). This a total misunderstanding of what Wang Ch'ung said. Partly this has been helped by the omission of some crucial sentences in the translated passage, but it is mainly due to a misinterpretation of the final sentence. In the omitted part, Wang Ch'ung says, 'To ignore the goodness or badness of nature and to consider only whether it is internal or external and consequently *yin* or *yang*, is to deal with the problem in a way difficult to understand'. We can see from this that the insertion of the words 'evil' and 'good' is totally unjustifiable. The final sentence, correctly interpreted, means 'In considering nature as *yin* and feelings as *yang*, is he or is he not saying that there is good or bad in nature?'. In Wang Ch'ung's view, Liu Hsiang, as opposed to Tung Chung-shu who held nature to be good and feelings to be bad, contented himself with merely stating that nature is *yin* because internal and feelings are *yang* because external, thus avoiding the crucial question of whether they are good or bad.

The introductory remarks are not completely free from factual errors. There is one in particular which deserves comment. Professor Chan says that 'the practice' of coupling the names of Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu 'did not begin until the fifth century' (pp. 177-8), and gives the *Hou Han-shu* by Fan Yeh (398-445) as the earliest text in which the term occurs. In doing so Professor Chan is, once again,

repeating an erroneous statement which has often been made before. The term 'Lao Chuang' is to be found in the final chapter of the *Huai nan tzu* (SPTK ed., 21.3a), and while the first chapter of the *Huai nan tzu* contains an exposition of Lao Tzu's thought, the second contains an exposition of Chuang Tzu's thought. What better proof can there be that 'Lao' and 'Chuang' were linked together even by writers of the Western Han? At any rate, the term occurs in the *San kuo chih* (ch. 21, Chung Hua Shu Chū punctuated ed., p. 605) by Ch'en Shou (d. 297) who antedated Fan Yeh by a century and a half.

In a volume of translations accuracy is of the first importance. My general impression is that the quality of the translation is somewhat uneven. Professor Chan seems not altogether at home in the ancient language. From time to time he is baffled by a construction or an idiom. Here are a few examples.

孔子曰，'生而知之者，上也；學而知之者，次也；困而學之，又其次也。困而不學，民斯爲下矣' (*Lun yü* 16/9). 'Confucius said, "Those who are born with knowledge are the highest type of people. Those who learn through study are the next. Those who learn through hard work are still the next. Those who work hard and still do not learn are really the lowest type"' (p. 45). Was Confucius really such an intellectual snob as to pour contempt on those who fail to learn in spite of hard work? The passage in fact means 'Next come those who try to learn after being distressed by their ignorance. Failure to make any attempt to learn even after being distressed by their ignorance is the reason for the common people being the lowest'.

子曰，'聽訟吾猶人也。必也使無訟乎' (*Ta hsüeh* 4). 'Confucius said, "In hearing litigations, I am as good as anyone. What is necessary is to enable people not to have litigations at all"'¹ (p. 88). Again, the translation makes Confucius sound as if he were bragging. This is because the word *yu* is mistranslated and the idiom *pi yeh* misunderstood. *Pi yeh* is a common idiom in the 'Analects', and is to be found in 3/7, 6/30, 7/11, and 19/17 besides the present passage. The passage should be translated: 'In hearing a case I am no different from other people. If some difference must be found, it is perhaps that I get them not to go to litigation in the first instance'.

有弗學，學之弗能弗措也... (*Chung yung* 20). 'When there is anything

not yet studied, or not yet understood, do not give up' (p. 107). This should be taken to mean 'Either you do not try to learn a thing at all, or you should not put it aside until you have mastered it'.

自貴且智者爲政乎愚且賤者則治；自愚且賤者爲政乎貴且智者則亂 (*Mo tzu*, SPTK ed., 2.4a-b). 'When the honorable and the wise run the government, the ignorant and the humble remain orderly, but when the ignorant and the humble run the government, the honorable and the wise become rebellious' (p. 229). It seems odd that 'the honorable and the wise should become rebellious'. Professor Chan has misunderstood *wei cheng hu* which takes an object. The passage should be translated: 'There is order when the ignorant and lowly are ruled by the exalted and wise; there is disorder when the exalted and wise are ruled by the ignorant and lowly'.

Professor Chan has a rather high-handed way with grammatical words. In some instances, no great harm is done, but in the case of logical arguments, this can be misleading. In the first three paragraphs on p. 237, the words *yu* and *wu* are overlooked in the translation seven or eight times. Thus, 'That one cannot say "there is no horse"' when there is a white horse...' becomes '[When we say that] a white horse cannot be said to be not a horse...' (l. 11). Again, *fei chih* is translated on pp. 237 and 238 variously as 'there were no marks', 'without marks', and 'are not marks', when only the last is a correct rendering of the word *fei*.

In his translations, Professor Chan sometimes adopts suggestions made by eminent Ch'ing scholars, but just as often he does not. There does not seem to be any fixed rule. One suspects that this depends rather on the edition Professor Chan uses. For instance, in the case of the 'Four books', he has used hardly any of their suggestions, while in the case of the 'philosophers' he does use them, presumably because in the case of the former he has followed Chu Hsi's edition, while in the latter case, he has followed the collected commentaries of the late Ch'ing. Sometimes, Professor Chan dismisses a suggestion by a Ch'ing scholar too hastily. For instance, in connexion with a passage in ch. 26 of the *Mo tzu*, Professor Chan dismisses a suggestion by Wang Nien-sun that 幽門 should be emended to 幽閑, in a curt note which says, 'Wang Nien-sun . . . reads *men* (gate) as *hsien* (leisure) . . . without improving the text'. Does he really think that a scholar of the calibre of Wang Nien-sun is capable of making such an inane suggestion? What Wang actually said is: 門當爲閑，閑讀若閑 (*T'ing pen*

¹This is in fact a quotation from the 'Analects' 12/13.

Mo tzu chien ku, 7.2a). What he is suggesting is, firstly, that 幽門 should be emended to 幽閑, to bring it in line with other texts and other parts of the *Mo tzu*, and secondly, in the phrase 幽閑 the word 閑 is to be taken in the sense of 閑. Presumably he did not think it necessary to tell the reader what the meaning of the word 閑 was. It means 'door bar, a barrier'. Hence the combination *yu hsien* means 'shut off, remote'. It probably never occurred to him that anyone would accuse him of proposing that the word should mean 'leisure'.

These are but minor blemishes in a work conceived on such a grand scale, and I am sure it will, in spite of them, prove to be a most useful work to the student of Chinese philosophy.

D. C. LAU

BURTON WATSON (tr.): *Han Fei tzu: basic writings*. (Unesco Collection of Representative Works, Chinese Series.) ix, 134 pp. New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1964. \$1.65, 12s.

Having given us selections from both the *Mo tzu* and the *Hsun tzu*, Dr. Burton Watson has produced yet another volume, consisting of selections from the *Han Fei tzu*. It follows the same pattern as its predecessors. There is a short introduction, followed by the translation, consisting, in this case, of 12 out of the 55 chapters of the original. There is also an index and an outline of early Chinese history which serves for all volumes in this series.

The introduction is lucid and succinct, giving the few facts known about Han Fei's life, an account of the historical background, and a summary of Han Fei's philosophy. I find this introduction wholly admirable. There are only two minor points on which I wish to comment. Firstly, the treatment of Han Fei's predecessors in Legalism, whose ideas he incorporated into his own system, could be a little fuller. Shen Tao, in particular, is barely mentioned, but nothing is said about *shih*, the key concept in his thought. In the case of Shen Pu-hai, the term *shu* is, indeed, mentioned and characterized as 'the policies and arts which he [i.e. the ruler] applies in wielding authority and controlling the men under him' (p. 8), but in the translation it is often rendered simply as 'policies' (e.g. p. 81), which seems hardly adequate when the term is used in this technical, as distinct from a more general, sense. The second point is the statement, in connexion with ch. 20, *Chieh Lao* 'Explanation of Lao Tzu', and ch. 21, *Yü Lao* 'Illustrations of

Lao Tzu': 'Two other sections, not translated here, are actually cast in the form of commentaries upon passages from Lao Tzu's *Tao-te-ching*. They give the Taoist classic a purely political interpretation . . .' (p. 13). This seems to me to be a misleading statement, particularly where ch. 20 is concerned, for in this chapter is to be found a most profound statement of the type of Taoist thought very prevalent at the end of the Warring States period. It is possible that Han Fei used this kind of Taoism as a basis for his Legalist thought, but it would be going too far to think of this kind of Taoism as 'a purely political interpretation' of the *Lao tzu*.

When the selection covers barely over one-fifth of the original work, there is bound to be room for disagreement over the choice of material for inclusion. Nevertheless, I think there are legitimate grounds for dissent in the present case. Firstly, the inclusion of ch. 5, 'The way of the ruler', and ch. 8, 'Wielding power', is of questionable value. Both these chapters are written in the cryptic style, with rhymes for the most part, meant presumably for the initiate and, perhaps, to be read with a commentary. They are difficult for the translator and unrewarding for the reader.

One of the most interesting features of the *Han Fei tzu* is the skilful use of stories to illustrate his ideas. Even excluding ch. 21, there are nine chapters of such stories, and ch. 10, 'The ten faults', seems an odd choice, for though the stories are fairly attractive they are not particularly apt as illustrations. I should have thought that any one of the six chapters, from 30 to 35, would have been preferable.

Lastly, it is difficult to see why neither ch. 43, *Ting fa*, which discusses the relative importance of *fa* advocated by Shang Yang and *shu* advocated by Shen Pu-hai nor ch. 40, *Nan shih*, which defends Shen Tao's advocacy of *shih* against his critics is included in the present selection.

The translation is exceedingly readable, but this is something we have come to expect of any translation of Burton Watson's. There are many places where the rendering is felicitous. This being the case, it is unfortunate that on the score of accuracy the book leaves something to be desired. There are quite a number of instances where Burton Watson has gone astray when his predecessor W. K. Liao, whose complete translation he has consulted, is essentially right. There are also cases where Burton Watson has followed Liao in his mistakes. One or two instances will have to suffice.

國平養儒俠，難至用介士，
所利非所用，所用非所利 (Chen

Ch'i-yu, *Han fei tzu chi shih*, Shanghai, 1958, 1058). 'The nation at peace may patronize Confucian scholars and cavaliers; but the nation in danger must call upon its fighting men. Thus those who are of real profit to the state are not used and those who are used are of no profit' (pp. 107-8).¹

The second half of the passage is incorrectly translated. The mistake lies in taking *suo li* to mean 'those who are of real profit to the state', i.e. 'its fighting men'. It in fact means 'those who are benefited', and refers to 'those who are kept'. It would be better to translate the passage as: 'In times of peace Confucians and soldiers of fortune are kept; in times of crisis, regular soldiers are employed. The ones who are benefited are not the ones who are employed; the ones who are employed are not the ones who are benefited'.

It is interesting to note that the same passage with minor variants is to be found in ch. 50, 國平則養儒俠, 難至則用介士, 所養者非所用, 所用者非所養 (Ch'en, 1091). Here Burton Watson translates: 'The nation at peace may patronize Confucian scholars and cavaliers, but the nation in danger must call upon its fighting men. Thus those who are patronized are not those who are of real use, and those who are of real use are not those who are patronized' (p. 122). *Suo yang che* is here correctly taken to refer to 'Confucian scholars and cavaliers'. *Suo li* in the previous passage should be no different.

行曲則違於臧獲, 行直則怒於諸侯 (Ch'en, 1085). '... if his actions are base, he should not refuse to be treated as a slave, but if his actions are upright, he should not hesitate to defy the feudal lords' (p. 120).²

The translation has gone wrong through the failure to realize that there is a strict antithesis between the two halves of the sentence. It is better to translate as: 'When he is in the wrong he would avoid even a slave, but when he is in the right he would defy even a feudal lord'. This whole passage parallels closely a passage in *Mencius* II.A.2 which goes as follows: 'If, on looking within, one finds oneself to be in the wrong, then even though one's adversary be only a common fellow coarsely clad one is bound [read 必 for 不] to

tremble with fear. But if one finds oneself in the right, one goes forward even against men in the thousands'.

墨者之葬也, 冬日冬服, 夏日夏服 (p. 1085). 'For funerals, the Mo-ists prescribe that winter mourning garments be worn in winter and summer garments in summer' (p. 119).³

This passage has been misinterpreted because the word *tsang*, following Liao, is wrongly translated as 'funeral'. *Tsang* is 'burial' and the passage should be translated 'The Mo-ists advocated that when a man died in winter he should be buried in winter clothes, and when he died in summer he should be buried in summer clothes'.

There is also one case of a mistaken statement of fact which can be traced to Liao. In connexion with the story of the usurper Tzu-han, Burton Watson writes, 'The incident to which Han Fei is referring here is otherwise unknown' (p. 31, n. 2). This follows Liao who expressed himself much more forcefully: 'Tzu-han was a minister of Sung, but his intimidation of the sovereign is mentioned neither in the *Historical Records* nor elsewhere except here. Granted that this chapter is not spurious, Han Fei Tzu must have derived the information from some unreliable source of his age' (I, 48). Whether Han Fei Tzu's source of information is reliable or not we have no way of knowing, but it is emphatically not true that the story is otherwise unknown. The story is to be found in the *Han shih wai chuan* 7/10 (Ssu Pu Ts'ung K'an ed., 7.7b), the *Huai nan tzu* 12/18 (SPTK ed., 12.7b) and the *Shuo yian* 1/42 (SPTK ed., 1.24b). This is not all. The story is related by Li Ssu in one of his memorials to be found in the 'Historical records' that Liao specifically mentions (*Shih chi*, ch. 87, Chung Hua Shu Ch'ü punctuated ed., Shanghai, 1959, 2559). Moreover, there is a reference to Tzu-han in the *Chan kuo ts'e* (K'an yen numbering 1/8) which seems to refer to the incident at issue, 子罕釋相爲司空, 民非子罕而善其君 'Tzu-han gave up his position of prime minister for that of *ssu k'ung*. The people were critical of him but well-disposed towards the prince.'

Though it is not clear whether *ssu k'ung* was the official in Sung in charge of punishment, the last part of the sentence seems to echo our present story.

Not only is Burton Watson's translation based on the text of the *Han Fei tzu chi shih* by Ch'en Ch'i-yu, but he follows Ch'en's suggestion on a number of occasions. It is,

³ cf. 'The Mohists, for funeral rites wear winter clothes in winter days and summer clothes in summer days' (Liao, II, 299).

¹ 'When the state is at peace, literati and cavaliers are supported; once an emergency arises, armed officers are taken into service. Thus, the privileged are not used; the used are not privileged' (W. K. Liao (tr.), *The complete works of Han Fei tzu*, 2 vols., London, 1939-59, II, 287).

² cf. '... if he acts wrongly, he should give way to bondmen and bondwomen; and if he acts aright, he should assert himself even before the feudal lords' (Liao, II, 300).

perhaps, not out of place to point out that whereas Ch'en's work is useful for the variety of commentaries, both Chinese and Japanese, gathered in the same volume, his own suggestions are often ill-founded and, on occasion, even preposterous. I shall confine myself to a single instance.

故治不足而日有餘，上任勢使然也 (p. 88). 'Affairs of government were not pressing and time was left to spare. The way the ruler relied upon his position made it so' (p. 27). In a note on the word translated as 'pressing', Burton Watson says, 'Emending *tsu* [足] to *t'su* [促] in accordance with the suggestion of Ch'en Ch'i-yu; but the meaning is very doubtful'.

Ch'en's own note says, '*Chih pu tsu* does not make sense. *Tsu* is a mistake for *t'su*' (p. 104, n. 85).

This suggestion is truly astonishing. The passage contrasts the ruler who is able to delegate authority with one who is unable to do so. The latter 'will find the day too short and his energy insufficient' (p. 26). The passage under discussion is an antithesis to this and clearly means 'There are not enough affairs of government to occupy him and he finds that there is time to spare'.

In fact, this passage in the *Han Fei tzu* is based on a passage in ch. 11 of the *Hsun tzu*, where the same point is made and similar words used. Twice we find 兼聽天下，日有餘而治不足 (SPTK ed., 7.11a, 20b). Furthermore, the first passage in which this occurs is also quoted by the *Huai nan tzu* (SPTK ed., 14.10a). In none of these cases does the character appear as *t'su*.

Finally, there is a case where the way a sentence is interpreted involves a point of philosophical interest.

不以天下大利易其脛一毛 (Ch'en, 1090). '[Now suppose there is a man who . . . refuses . . .] to change so much as a hair of his shin, though it might bring the greatest benefit to the world' (p. 121).

Burton Watson adds this note: 'A reference to the followers of Yang Chu. Cf. *Mencius* VIIA, 26: "Mencius said, 'The principle of Yang Tzu was "each for himself"'. Though he might have benefited the whole world by plucking out a single hair, he would not have done it'''.

It is clear that Burton Watson accepts Mencius' statement as a fair description of Yang Chu's position. This is by no means certain. It is much more likely that Mencius was deliberately misrepresenting Yang Chu, and to this end has carefully chosen an ambiguous form of words. In this sentence the phrase *li t'ien hsia* translated 'have benefited

the whole world' is ambiguous. It may equally mean 'to get the Empire as benefit'. But Mencius sees to it that by his further comments the reader is predisposed towards the former interpretation. That the phrase can have the latter meaning is clear from the following passage from the *Lu shih ch'un ch'iu*, ch. 20, pt. 1: 德衰世亂，然後天子利天下 (Hsü Wei-yü, *Lu shih ch'un ch'iu chi shih*, Peking, 1955, 937). Kao Yu, presumably under the influence of the *Mencius* passage, interprets the phrase *li t'ien hsia* as 'benefiting the people'. Lu Wen-ch'ao, quite rightly, points out that this is not so, and says that it should mean 'taking the Empire as something profitable to oneself'.

But whatever the truth is with the *Mencius* text, the formulation in the *Han Fei tzu* is sufficiently different for it to be considered on its own merits. As it stands, the sentence can only be translated as 'will not exchange a hair on his shin for *t'ien hsia chih ta li*'. The question is whether this means 'the greatest benefit of possessing the Empire' or 'the greatest benefit to the Empire'. I must say that the latter meaning seems to me to be highly unlikely. Furthermore, the present passage goes on to characterize such a man as one 'who despises material things and values his life'. 'Material things' here refers to the possession and enjoyment of material things, as this, indulged to excess, constitutes a threat to health and even life. We can see that only 'the possession of the Empire' can be looked upon as a 'material thing' in this sense. 'Benefit to the Empire' is hardly a matter for indulgence. There is further evidence to support this interpretation. Twice in the *Huai nan tzu* we find a statement very close to the one in the *Han Fei tzu*:

雖以天下之大易脛之一毛，无所樂於志也 (SPTK ed., 2.4b). 'It would not give him satisfaction to exchange a hair on his shin for something as big as the Empire.'

雖天下之大不足以易其一髮 (14.8b). 'He would not exchange one satisfaction of mind for even something as big as the Empire.'

Any slight ambiguity there might have been in the *Han Fei tzu* text is removed in the *Huai nan tzu* text by the absence of the word *li*.

This volume of translation bears signs of having been finished in some haste. There are, apart from misprints, a number of cases where phrases in the Chinese text have been left untranslated. First the misprints: p. 9, l. 26, 'if' should be 'of'; p. 30, l. 18 (also p. 69, l. 17), 'rule' should be 'ruler'; p. 83, l. 19, 'that' should be 'than'. The omissions:

p. 28, 故曰 are left out at the beginning of the second paragraph (l. 4); p. 36, 聖人之道 are left out before the sentence beginning 'Discard wisdom' (l. 24); p. 80, 武王薨文王即位 are left out before the sentence beginning 'Ho, clasping the matrix' (l. 12); p. 104, 故法禁壤而民愈亂 are left out at the end of the second paragraph (l. 19). There is one instance of an error in the romanization of a proper name. On p. 57, Tung Kuan-yü should be Tung E-yü. 關 is a misprint peculiar to Ch'en's edition which Burton Watson used.

D. C. LAU

HIN-CHEUNG LOVELL: *Illustrated catalogue of Ting yao and related white wares in the Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art.* (University of London. Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art, School of Oriental and African Studies. [Catalogue,] Section 4.) xlix, 20 pp., front, 12 plates. London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1964. 15s.

This further instalment of the Percival David Foundation Catalogue is based upon research for which its author obtained her M.A. degree with distinction in 1963. The distinction was well earned, and her introduction, extending to some 43 pp. with its annotated bibliography, represents a positive contribution to our knowledge of the complicated group of ceramic wares here dealt with. The catalogue itself describes 106 specimens and comprises all the Ting and related wares in the Foundation which could be ascribed to a Sung, or slightly earlier, date, together with those of later centuries made in the same tradition; the Sung *ch'ing-pai*, the Tê-hua porcelain of Fukien and their associated wares, are specifically excluded.

Much evidence concerning the Sung Ting ware kilns in Hopei has now been brought to light by Japanese and Chinese research: Mrs. Lovell summarizes this, and also re-examines the indications provided by the older Chinese literary sources. She makes the point that although this ware was patronized by the Court, it is incorrect to describe it as an 'imperial' ware; on the contrary its repertoire of forms, which are preponderantly utilitarian, and the large scale of the production, point to a very widespread use. The forms, decorative styles, and manufacturing techniques are examined in turn. The firing of pieces upside down was, she suggests, prompted by economy: in this way multiple stacking

in saggars became practicable. The familiar *lei-hên* 'tear-marks' seem due to glaze-dipping methods; the much-discussed *mang* defects noted in a twelfth-century work are perhaps to be identified with the splinter-like cuts sometimes found near the foot of a piece and may be due to the paring-knife, or even to uncut finger-nails grasping it for the glaze-dipping!

Of more crucial importance are the problems of dating. The latest evidence suggests that the Ting production was firmly established by the mid-tenth century; and among several specimens probably made about this date is the dish No. 172, with stamped inscription *Ting-chou kung-yung* 'for general use', or 'ordinary quality'. At this time a part of northern Hopei passed under Liao rule; and two saucers, inscribed *hsin kuan* 'new official' (Nos. 186, 198) are thought likely to have been made in North China for Liao use. The eleventh and early twelfth centuries saw the period of greatest achievement, when the finest carved decoration was also practised: indeed both Koyama and Feng Hsien-ming have deduced from the site evidence that the kilns ceased operation soon after 1127. Mrs. Lovell considers this a too arbitrary conclusion, and holds that a true Ting ware continued to be made in the north throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, possibly even later.

In the face of these authorities her claim is a bold one. It is based on an assessment of stylistic changes in form and design which are outlined, but not too critically examined here; but there is other significant evidence to support it, for example the existence of moulds for the impressed designs bearing the dates 1184, 1189, and 1203 of the Chin dynasty. A dish in the British Museum inscribed with date according to 1271 is also invoked as a Ting piece although the origin of this, perhaps, might be disputed, despite the further *kung-yung* inscription. The main argument is nevertheless powerful enough to suggest the need for a closer scrutiny of the kiln-site evidence: or can it be that the manufacture was transferred to some other site not yet investigated? The answer to these questions is central to the determination of the Northern Sung decorative style. The theory of a 'Southern Ting' ware very closely resembling that made in Hopei is dismissed with equal firmness; and here Mrs. Lovell is fully supported by the archaeological evidence so far. Clearly she places no reliance on the much-discussed inscription on the dish, No. 184, which purports it to have been made at Yung-ho in the mid-twelfth century.

The preceding discussion of T'ang white wares makes many salutary points and the fresh examination of literary texts is of

particular value. While she avoids the error of equating the European word 'porcelain' with the Chinese 瓷 she comes near it, however, in stating that white porcelain apparently emerged towards the end of the Six Dynasties or during the Sui: on present evidence the earliest ware to which the term is fully applicable cannot yet be dated before the eighth or ninth century. The identification of 'Hsing ware', and of the earliest southern white wares, are problematic matters approached here with a justifiable caution. There is much valuable discussion of material from recent tomb finds.

A useful chapter is devoted to Liao wares, the quality of which, however, is perhaps somewhat underestimated. In *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, 1962-3, Koyama affirms quite positively that porcelains comparable to Ting ware were recovered from more than one Liao kiln-site. Further discussion centres on wares of the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties which are also well represented in the collection. A catalogue of this kind could not be expected to resolve all outstanding questions concerning these Chinese white wares. Students will nevertheless feel themselves indebted to Mrs. Lovell for this careful study of the Foundation's rich assemblage of them, and for her highly constructive introduction.

JOHN AYERS

D. W. FOKKEMA: *Literary doctrine in China and Soviet influence, 1956-1960*. xviii, 296 pp. The Hague, etc.: Mouton and Co., 1965. Guilders 32.

The title says 'literary doctrine' and it means doctrine, not theory. Dr. Fokkema explains: 'The Chinese literary theorist does in principle acknowledge the existence of the specific artistic quality of literary works, and, however inadequately, he may study the object of literary material in its literary aspect. For this reason we must accept the Chinese system of principles which govern literature as essentially a literary doctrine' (p. 266). The 'he may' is very reserved, and rightly so, because he rarely does study the literary aspect, in this book. If the literary doctrine is to be the poor fare that one would expect from this summary, how do you write a book about it? You end up by writing about politico-literary disputes.

The core of Dr. Fokkema's study is an analysis of the *Wen-i pao* throughout the period concerned. He defines the official doctrine by examining the cases where it was seen to be violated. Most of this case material he serves up raw, either quoting direct or

summarizing the differences of opinion. This method can and does lead to patchiness, and, for the reader, indigestibility. The writer's attention can stray from *what* was said to *who*, however unimportant a person, said what. For instance, on p. 133 Dr. Fokkema notes: 'In his article *Ning "tso" wu yu* (Rather "left" than right) Li Feng pointed out certain ambiguities, some even intentional, in the use of the terms "left" and "right" in communist jargon'. What the ambiguities were we are not told. In a book that is meant to be about literary doctrine one would have expected the arguments, not the personalities, to occupy the central place. More analysis and less example would have made the book more readable; one could have wished in fact that the 'conclusion' chapter had been expanded to envelop the rest.

As to the Soviet theory, it is not shown to have genuinely influenced anybody. Rather does its authority appear to have been used to gain a tactical advantage in domestic disputes. Both doctrine and anti-doctrine would have developed, again so it appears, along the same lines had there been no communication between Russia and China in the 1950's.

Dr. Fokkema has done a careful and scholarly job with this book, but it is clear that he has no sympathy at all with Chinese Communist literary doctrine. He might have been better employed had he turned his evident talents to an earlier period—say the 1930's—when there was room for genuine debate, and when apostasy was (sometimes) voluntary, not enforced.

D. E. POLLARD

ELLIS JOFFE: *Party and army: professionalism and political control in the Chinese officer corps, 1949-1964*. (Harvard East Asian Monographs, 19.) xii, 198 pp. Cambridge, Mass.: East Asian Research Center, Harvard University, 1965. (Distributed by Harvard University Press. Distributed in G.B. by Oxford University Press. 26s.)

We are grateful to the Harvard East Asian Center for having published a monograph of such topicality and to Mr. Joffe for having written a work on the tensions between professionalism and party control in the People's Liberation Army of China. This is a case study of the larger problem of 'Red v. Expert' (*hung-yü-chuan*), although it might not be intended as such.

The author is aware of the difficulties confronting him, as he says right at the beginning that 'although there is no dearth of

material, especially before 1960, its quality leaves much to be desired' (p. vii). But a dearth of material does occur in some cases. For instance, we do not know what lessons the Chinese have drawn from the Korean War; nor do we know for certain what were Marshal P'eng Te-huai's personal reflections on it. P'eng is beyond doubt the most interesting figure in the People's Liberation Army. In 1930 he gave more support to Li Li-san than anyone else and towards the end of that year it was his troops stationed at Fut'ien which mutinied against Mao. His part in the civil war as the commanding officer of the First Field Army was meagre compared with that of Lin Piao, Ch'en Yi, and Liu Po-ch'eng, and yet it was he who was selected to lead the Chinese soldiers in Korea. Later he more than anyone else was responsible for promoting professionalism in the People's Liberation Army. Mr. Joffe explains his downfall well, but not fully enough. Because of a dearth of material, he has at times to fall back on conjecture (e.g. p. 95).

Mr. Joffe's effort suffers from two major defects: At no stage of his exposition does he discuss the strategic aims of the People's Liberation Army. If the principle of 'politics taking command' can be accepted at its face value and the avowed aims of the Chinese Communist party can be trusted, we can safely assume that the Army's strategic purposes are the defence of the territorial integrity of China and readiness to give aid to revolutionary movements when requested. The former is common to all national armies. Even in this, however, the Chinese Army's approach is different from its counterparts, especially from those in the developing countries. Strategically, the Chinese Army has the choice either to stop an invader at the 'gate' of the country or to allow him to come in and then wage a guerrilla war against him. If it adopted the first approach, it would have to have mechanized divisions as well as a modern navy and an air force. Such a method would therefore entail the building up of a defence force strong enough to match at the conventional level any invading force (the American, for instance), the reliance on up-to-date weapons and their paraphernalia, the growth of professionalism and its corollary—a decline in political control, and colossal expenditure. The futility of this approach for a poor country has been demonstrated by, say, Chiang Kai-shek in the 1930's and by Dr. Nkrumah in the 1960's. A few frigates and a few outmoded fighter planes would scare no one. China therefore chooses the second approach, the People's War in which the whole country can be turned into a quagmire of guerrilla fighting for the mechanized invading troops. In this way, China can

regard herself as invincible and the record of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front has given China new faith in the strategy of the People's War Mao has forged. Seen in this way, China's paradoxical effort in the field of nuclear development is no concession to the professional officers (p. 144). Rather it is her refusal to be blackmailed by nuclear powers in both her own defence and her intention to aid revolutionary movements.

Another defect of Mr. Joffe's work is his scant reference to China's available economic resources for defence and his preference of newspaper reports on Chinese economy to scholarly analyses already in existence. Obviously, China's choice of approach is based on the consideration that the People's War is the most effective and the cheapest kind of defence. The only economic factor China has in plentiful supply is men whose efficient use for war or for peace can save her a great deal of other precious resources for her industrialization.

In a study of this kind, no one can escape the fate of becoming dated very soon. China is changing swiftly; so is her defence. Who could have expected, for instance, such rapid changes in the People's Liberation Army since September, 1965?

Having made my criticisms, I must conclude by saying that Mr. Joffe's monograph is a very useful piece of work in which the author has argued his case well with diligence, lucidity, and above all, an admirable objectivity.

JEROME CH'EN

ISABEL and DAVID CROOK: *The first years of Yangyi Commune*. (International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction.) xiv, 288 pp., 12 plates. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966. 42s.

Mr. and Mrs. Crook begin by making the important point that more than one-fifth of the world's population live in 'people's communes'. They then challenge their readers: 'To turn a blind eye to such a social organism is to deny a primary fact of twentieth-century life. For the commune, whether one likes it or not, has taken root and flourishes. Despite the doubts of some friends and the fears and obstructions of enemies its influence is spreading and will spread further in the course of the present decade' (p. xi). It seems to me that this is the wrong spirit in which to introduce a contribution to the International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction. Who would want to turn a blind eye? Since, however, they have lived so long in China, the authors are perhaps unaware of the

great and unsatisfied appetite of social scientists for facts about and analyses of the Chinese communes. The authors should not have been concerned about doubting friends and fearful and obstructive enemies, but have addressed themselves to the large body of scholars (of very mixed political opinions) who are intellectually curious about what is happening to Chinese society. Having (as I see it) written the wrong kind of book, Mr. and Mrs. Crook have produced a wearisome tract instead of the exciting sociological monograph one might have expected from writers privileged to be close to the reality of mainland China. This book is tedious—not because it defends the Chinese experiment (why should it not?), but because it asks few interesting questions, lacks general ideas, and does not rise above the home-made analyses supplied by the subject-matter.

This is the Crooks' second book about Communist China. In their first, *Revolution in a Chinese village* (1959), they described the village of Ten Mile Inn (Hopei province) in the late 1940's. Ten Mile Inn came to form a brigade of Yangyi Commune along with 57 other villages and hamlets, and to it the authors returned for visits in the summers of 1959 and 1960. 'It is mainly on material gathered during these two visits that this book is based' (p. xi). (But in the winter of 1960-1 the commune was divided into four as part of the national movement which by the end of 1962 had produced more than 70,000 communes out of the original 26,000, a division about which the authors have little to say.)

The book opens substantively with an account of Ten Mile Inn during the years 1938 to 1958. Land reform having been completed in 1948, 'the large-scale development of mutual aid . . . surged forward' (p. 5), because land reform was no permanent solution to the problem of equality. Land and other property were changing hands and 'class differentiation' reappearing. From mutual aid groups the farmers turned to co-operatives, which made their great advance in 1955. And when these too were seen to involve 'contradictions', a decision was taken to move on to 'fully socialist co-operatives'. Finally, in September 1958, 33 farming co-operatives (37,000 people) merged to form Yangyi Commune. 'Ten years had brought a 10,000 fold increase in the size of the basic unit' (p. 33).

The chapters which follow give an account of the economic and gross organizational problems facing the new commune up to the summer of 1960. An initial set of 'contradictions' was solved in the spring of 1959 by making the brigade the chief level of ownership and management. Other 'contradictions among the people' (over labour and distribution) then

followed, and policy was framed to deal with them.

In the second part of the book the authors take us through various aspects of the life of the commune: farming, industry, commerce, social services, education, and military affairs. As in the case of the earlier chapters, the reader interested primarily in economic questions may well find in this section of the book a good deal of factual material to fit into wider interpretations of China's economy; for the sociologist there are some facts, but they are not very revealing of the life to which they relate. Indeed, one wonders what Mr. and Mrs. Crook did during their visits to Ten Mile Inn except interview some informants. There is little in the book to suggest much direct observation, and one may ask how far the authors could support their statements from what they actually saw. (Despite the reliance on informants, few of the people quoted come alive. To one of them, however, my heart goes out. "All this leaping forward takes it out of you", one man complained'—p. 59.)

The same question must be raised in connexion with the third part of the book, which deals with the politics of the commune. The facts and their significance are established by the informants and the ideology to which they subscribe. Let me illustrate from the little the authors have to say on a subject one might reasonably have expected them to deal with thoroughly: the family. In the chapter entitled 'Women' there are a few pages touching on the difficulty of releasing women from domestic duties in order to allow them to play a full part in commune life, but one looks in vain for systematic documentation of the structure and working of commune families, and it is a surprise to come to the 'Epilogue' and read: 'The family and marriage, with more mutual respect based on social and economic equality, rising standards of education and richer cultural life, was [sic] becoming more stable and harmonious, not less' (p. 280). What is the evidence which allows this conclusion?

There is a further odd feature of this book. From time to time the authors cite Chinese publications, but they are nearly all put out by the Foreign Languages Press, Peking. Are we to conclude that it was not possible to make use of the Chinese press? Is there so little to be gained by living in mainland China?

MAURICE FREEDMAN

E. DALE SAUNDERS: *Buddhism in Japan, with an outline of its origins in India*. [ii], 328 pp. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press,

[1964]. (Distributed in G.B. by Oxford University Press. 52s.)

It is a sad reflection on the present state of the study of Japanese Buddhism in the West that a distinguished university press saw fit to publish a book such as this. Although Dr. Saunders's *Buddhism in Japan* is the first work to appear on this subject since the publication of Sir Charles Eliot's *Japanese Buddhism* over 30 years ago, it is, all things considered, a less satisfactory work than the latter, despite the fact that it treats some topics not covered by Eliot. It was obviously the intention of Dr. Saunders to write a non-technical survey of Japanese Buddhism for the general reader. While the reviewer might sympathize with the author's objective, he can only deplore the staggering amount of misinformation that is likely to be foisted on yet another generation of unwary students. In too many instances the author is apparently unaware that his account of an event belongs to the realm of pious legend rather than historical fact. His treatment of major themes in Buddhist history and doctrine is on the whole far too superficial even for the general survey that he is attempting.

The unsuspecting reader might assume that since the author is an associate professor of Japanese, he drew upon scholarly materials in the Japanese language when preparing this book. If in fact he did so, it is not at all obvious to the reviewer. One would be hard pressed indeed to find, for example, a single serious work on Japanese Buddhism published in Japan within the last 30 or 40 years that accepts as historical fact the account of the introduction of Buddhism into Japan given in the *Nihongi*, as does Dr. Saunders (p. 91). It is generally agreed among Japanese historians that the mission from Paekche which is said to have brought the first Buddhist scriptures to Japan arrived in A.D. 538, not 552, which is the date given in the *Nihongi*. Dr. Saunders shows no hesitation in treating the letter from King Syōngmyōng to Emperor Kimmei as an authentic sixth-century document, although Japanese scholars conclusively established almost half a century ago that this letter is a forgery dating from the eighth century. The author is obviously more indebted to the hagiographer than to the historian when he says that Shinran was a friend of the regent Kanezane and that Shinran's wife Eshinni was Kanezane's daughter (p. 199). Similarly, there is no reliable evidence to support the legend, reported as fact in this book, that Shinran returned with his master Hōnen to the capital after the ban on the Pure Land teaching had been lifted in 1211. The author confuses legend and fact once again when he writes

(p. 104) that the eighth-century monk Gyōgi was the originator of the theory that the Shintō deities were indigenous manifestations of Indian Buddhas and bodhisattvas (*honji suijakusetsu* 本地垂迹説). The eminent Japanese historian Tsuji Zennosuke 辻善之助 disposed of this fiction once and for all, one would have thought, some 47 years ago, when he published his monumental *Nihon Bukkyōshi no kenkyū* (see thirteenth ed., Tokyo, 1942, 49-57). Another piece of religious fiction that passes for fact in this book is that Dōshō 道昭 (629-700) became acquainted with Zen ideas while he was a disciple of Hsüan-tsang and established a 'Zen hall' after returning to Japan (p. 218). This story was probably concocted in the fourteenth century by a Zen monk, Kokan Shiren 虎關師鍊, with a view to showing that his own school could trace its history back to the pre-Nara period. One hopes that Dr. Saunders is not so naïve as to think that the word *zen'in* 禪院, which happens to occur in a passage in the *Shoku-Nihongi* describing Dōshō's activities, invariably means a 'Zen hall'.

The author apparently did not go to any great lengths to ensure the accuracy of much of the information that he offers to his readers. A few examples of this follow: '[The Daibutsuden of the Tōdaiji] was burned down in the twelfth century and the present hall was then erected' (p. 103). The present Daibutsuden dates not from the twelfth century, but from the beginning of the eighteenth century. '[The Sanron was] never an independent sect in Japan . . .' (p. 115). This is an astounding statement: the Sanron functioned as an independent 'sect' (if one may term any of the pre-Heian schools 'sects') well into the twelfth century, its major centres being the Gangōji 元興寺, Daianji 大安寺, and Tōnan'in 東南院. '[The *Chung-lun* 中論, *J Chūron*] is a work by Nāgārjuna . . .' (p. 115). Only the verses in the *Chung-lun* may be attributed to Nāgārjuna; the prose portions of the text, which constitute the bulk of the work, were written by Ch'ing-mu 青目 (Skt. Piṅgala?). 'The Yogācārin [sic] school . . . was brought to China under the name of *fa-hsiang*, a translation of the Sanskrit *dharma lakṣana* . . .' (p. 120). *Fa-hsiang* was not the name under which the Yogācāra school was brought to China, but a name given to it only in the eighth century by its Hua-yen opponents. In time, however, this name came to be accepted by the adherents of the Yogācāra, who in the earliest period had referred to their school simply as the 'Chung-tsung' 中宗, i.e. the school that teaches the doctrine of the

middle path. The designation 'Fa-hsiang school' probably had a pejorative connotation when it was first used, since it suggested an inferior school of Buddhism that was concerned primarily with the classification of dharmas, as opposed to the 'superior' schools such as the Hua-yen and T'ien-t'ai which occupied themselves chiefly with the question of the Absolute (*fa-hsing* 法性, J *hossō*). It was probably for this reason that throughout the Nara period the Yogācāra school in Japan referred to itself as the 'Hossō school' and not 'Hossō school'.

When Dr. Saunders writes 'Nara Buddhism, though externally Mahāyāna, had been concerned basically with Hinayāna doctrines' (p. 135), one wonders whether he regards Hossō, Kegon, and Sanron, all major Nara schools, as Hinayāna systems. Equally curious is the description of Chih-i 智顛 as the 'founder' of the T'ien-t'ai school and Hui-wen 慧文 as its 'systematizer' (pp. 138-9). If the distinction between 'founder' and 'systematizer' is to be made with respect to these two men, surely Hui-wen must be regarded as the founder since he is universally recognized as its first Chinese patriarch, whereas Chih-i, being the author of the major T'ien-t'ai treatises, must be considered its systematizer. Although Hui-wen's dates have not been definitively established, it is patently wrong to give 550 as the year of his birth, as Dr. Saunders does, since this would make him considerably younger than both his disciple Hui-szu 慧思 and the latter's disciple Chih-i. Incidentally the year of Chih-i's birth is wrongly given as 531; it should be 538. To say that Tao-an 道安 was a worshipper of Amitābha (p. 188) is once again mistaking legend (and a curious one at that) for fact; Tao-an was well known as a devotee of Maitreya. Only a peculiar sense of history could lead one to choose as Nichiren's 'three chief successors' Nichiji 日持, Nisshin 日親, and Nichō 日興 (p. 236) to the exclusion of his disciples Nikō 日向, who succeeded Nichiren himself as abbot of the chief temple at Minobusan, and Nikkō 日興, whose interpretation of Nichiren's teaching forms the basis of a number of Nichiren-centred denominations, including the Sōka Gakkai, the most powerful religious movement in Japan to-day. In a number of instances the author confuses important historical figures. Jinne, for example, is not the Japanese name of the Chinese monk Shen-hsiu 神秀 (p. 210), but of Shen-hui 神會. Far from being the same man, Shen-hsiu and Shen-hui are the founders of rival branches of the

Ch'an (Zen) school. Similarly, Bodhidharma's disciple Hui-k'o 慧可 is not known in Japan as Keika (p. 205), but as Eka, Keika being the Japanese name of Hui-kuo 惠果, the seventh patriarch of the Shingon school. The author errs seriously when he writes that Asaṅga and Vasubandhu were Mādhyamika philosophers (p. 301); they were, on the contrary, the leading proponents of the Yogācāra school.

Little attempt has been made to uphold minimum standards of chronological accuracy. Some of the inconsistencies in dating will be obvious even to the general reader who has little knowledge of Buddhism. For example, on p. 96 the author writes: 'By 623 according to the *Nihongi* (*Annals*), there were in Japan some forty-six Buddhist temples, 816 priests, and 569 nuns'. But two pages further on he has: 'By 624, there were already nearly fifty temples, eight hundred priests, and well over five hundred nuns'. We read on p. 116 that Fa-lang 法朗 (507-81) and Chi-teang 吉藏 (549-623) were taught by the 'amazing scholar' Kumārajīva. Kumārajīva certainly would have been an 'amazing scholar' had he actually taught these men since they were born about a century after his death. Another monk who might also be described as an 'amazing scholar' in the same sense is K'uei-chi 窺基 whose dates are given as 632-82 (p. 120), since we are told that the Japanese monk Gembō 玄昉, who had 'studied in China since 717', had been his pupil (p. 121). In fact, Gembō was a disciple of Chih-chou 智周. Again, on p. 140 we read: '... in 804 [Saichō] was sent to China by the Emperor Kammu. ... In China, [he] became a pupil of Chan-jan (717-782)'.

A number of spurious Sanskrit proper nouns occur in the text. The Sanskrit original of Roshana Butsu 盧舍那佛 is not Lochana (p. 103), despite the frequent occurrence of this name in the works of early Western writers on Chinese and Japanese Buddhism, but Vairocana, the Japanese name Roshana (also pronounced Ruahana) here being merely a contraction of Birushana 毘盧舍那. It is pointless to speak of the *Amitāyurdhyāna-sūtra* when one means the *Kuan-wu-liang-shou-ching* 觀無量壽經 (p. 192) since there is no reliable evidence to suggest that this was its original title. On the contrary, there are some cogent reasons for thinking that this sūtra is of Central Asian or possibly even Chinese provenance. Equally unattested are such reconstructed titles as *Sātyariddhishāstra* [sic] for the *Ch'eng-shih-lun* 成實論 (p. 111)

and *Dvādashadvāraśāstra* for the *Shih-erh-men-lun* 十二門論 (p. 116). The latter, incidentally, is wrongly translated as *Treatise on the Eleven Gates*; it should be rendered *Treatise on twelve aspects of [Buddhist] doctrine* or more simply *Treatise in twelve sections*. We might note here a few misreadings of common Japanese proper nouns: 良辨 is traditionally read Rōben, not Ryōben (p. 183); 承闕大師 should be Jōyō Daishi, not Shōyō Daishi (p. 224)—incidentally, this title was conferred on Dōgen in 1879, not 1800; 三教指歸 is read *Sangō shiki* or *Sangō shiki*, not *Sangyō shiki* (p. 150).

At the end of the volume Dr. Saunders has appended a seven-page 'selected bibliography', a table showing the strength of the various religious groups in Japan, a short chronology listing the major events in Buddhist history, and a 'Glossary of Indian terms with their Japanese equivalents'. The bibliography, which is supposed to provide 'a point of departure for further reading', omits a few standard works for which space could have been made easily enough. It is difficult, for example, to justify the omission from the sections on Tantrism and Tibetan Buddhism of such basic studies as Dr. Snellgrove's *Hevajra tantra* and *Buddhist Himalaya*. Likewise one would have thought that the major writings of D. T. Suzuki would at least have deserved mention in the section on Zen. The 'Glossary of Indian terms', which might have proved useful had it been executed with due care, unfortunately reflects the general level of the whole book. Virtually every type of error possible within the limits the author set for his glossary has been made, which must in itself be an achievement of sorts. Within its 14 pages we find examples of the following: (i) faulty Sanskrit (*vijnāskandha*); (ii) garbled Japanese (Eddodan); (iii) the mistaking of Sanskrit for Japanese (*āgama* is not a Japanese word, as is indicated on p. 314, but a Sanskrit one); (iv) erroneous Japanese equivalents for Sanskrit terms (*celanā* is translated *shi* 思, not 意); (v) incorrect identification of persons (the Chinese pilgrim I-ching 義淨 is not known in Japan as Ichigyō, but as Gijō, Ichigyō being the Japanese name of the Chinese commentator I-hsing 一行); (vi) simple factual errors (there are five Nikāyas, not four); (vii) the misreading of Buddhist terms (法空 is read *hokku*, not *hōkū*); and (viii) bizarre or obscure Japanese equivalents for common Sanskrit terms (*rākhāsa*, *samākāra-skandha*, *samudaya*, *samṛti*, and *brāvaka* would normally be rendered *rasetsu* 羅刹, *gyōun* 行蘊, *jū* 集, *zoku* 俗, and *shōmon* 聲聞

respectively, and not *arakasetsuba*, *sosokukarain*, *sammudaya*, *sambutsuritei*, and *sharabaka*, which are phonetic transcriptions of exceedingly rare occurrence).

One can only conclude from the large number of elementary errors found in this book that the author was ill-prepared at this stage of his studies to undertake the writing of a history of Japanese Buddhism. His naïve discussion of major events betrays an unfamiliarity with the scholarly literature in his field, while the misreading of common Buddhist words and the confusion of well-known names and dates point to a poor grasp of his subject. Since many of the blunders cited in this review could have been eliminated had the author simply taken the trouble to check his material in any of the standard Buddhist dictionaries, one is led to suspect that the author did not feel that normal academic standards need apply in a subject such as Japanese Buddhism which is still regarded by many people as something hopelessly esoteric. Dr. Saunders wrote in the foreword to his book: 'The following history of Japanese Buddhist Doctrine is neither exhaustive nor detailed. If anything, it may be called "selective"'. Perhaps 'slapdash' would have been a more appropriate word.

STANLEY WEINSTEIN

FRANK O. MILLER: *Minobe Tatsukichi: interpreter of constitutionalism in Japan*. xiii, 392 pp. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1965. \$7.50. (English agents: Cambridge University Press. 60s.)

Minobe Tatsukichi (1873–1948) was a figure of considerable importance both as a legal theorist and as a critic and essayist on the political developments of his day. Professor Miller sees in him the most advanced, the most thoroughly rationalized, and most influential attempt to support a liberal political order on the basis of the Meiji constitution. A short, frail man and a poor speaker, Minobe was yet a formidable and somewhat arrogant antagonist, gifted with a clear, incisive style and a capacity for close, logical argument.

From the outset of his academic career in public law studies in Tokyo University, Minobe argued that the state alone is the subject of governmental power, and that the monarch is an organ of the state. While the historical basis of Japan's national polity differed from that of European states, the constitutional law of Japan should be treated as belonging to the general category of constitutional monarchy as known in European tradition. He was soon engaged in a bitter feud

with Uesugi, who held the chair of constitutional law at Tokyo University, and who called Minobe a treacherous rebel for denying that the Japanese Emperor both embodied the state in his own person and stood outside the constitution he had himself granted. Minobe narrowly escaped dismissal in 1912 when his cosmopolitan approach to the constitution was not in official favour, yet by 1920 his view had become orthodox, enjoying almost universal academic acceptance and substantial official sanction.

Minobe was assisted in this not only by the general trend towards a parliamentary cabinet, but by the fact that the text of the Meiji constitution was laconic to the point of obscurity on many critical points. Professor Miller shows how Minobe went further than any of his academic contemporaries in seizing upon the liberal possibilities of the *Staatsrechtslehre* of Imperial Germany, in which the monarch along with other elements in the constitutional structure was reduced to a status subordinate to a superior entity, the state. In the state-personality theory Minobe discovered an academically respectable and bureaucratically tolerable formula on which to build a theory of public law in harmony with the new parliamentary spirit in Japanese politics.

For Minobe saw no satisfactory substitution for parliamentarism. A return to the old bureaucratic system had become inconceivable in 1920, and against the socialist-syndicalists who now demanded 'direct democracy' Minobe argued that the representative system for all its faults was still relatively the most salutary way to satisfy the universal drive of modern civilization towards the freedom of the individual. Minobe denied that the Meiji constitution, properly interpreted, in any way inhibited the development of a parliamentary cabinet, on the basis of his axiom that constitutional government is responsible government. While he wished to enhance the role of the lower house in the Diet by restricting the use of ordinances and reducing the excessive power and privileged status of the House of Peers, and even looked forward to the eventual abolition of the Privy Council, Minobe never abandoned his trust in the viability of the constitution itself.

On the other hand, Minobe was not blind to the defects of political party government. A consistent defender of political and intellectual liberty, he was entirely opposed to the peace preservation legislation of 1925 and 1928, in which political party cabinets connived with their bureaucratic rivals in an attempt to equate private property with the national polity. Minobe did not deny that Japanese law had in fact established a capitalist system, but refused to admit that either the national

polity or the constitution forbade the modification or even the abandonment of this system.

In the face of the corruption and venality of the political parties, Minobe advocated the subjection of party finance to public view, and hoped that the increased proletarian voice in politics after universal suffrage would constrain the most serious abuses of capitalism, and promote humane and democratic ethics. He gave much attention to a scheme for strict proportional representation to guard against the swamping of minorities in the increased electoral corruption that followed the extension of the suffrage.

In 1934, with the tide now running strongly against political party government, Minobe retired to a seat in the House of Peers. In 1935, he became the centre of a conspiracy in which academic, bureaucratic, military, and political party elements joined together to oust a number of prominent men who were known to be critical of current developments. After a spirited defence of his academic theories, Minobe bowed to pressure and resigned his public positions. Later in the year, he was shot in the leg by a deranged youth inspired by the railings of the pamphleteers.

For the next ten years, Minobe remained in retirement. But in October 1945 he resumed active life, and was intimately connected with the Japanese attempts to draft a post-war constitution. True to his earlier beliefs, Minobe continued to maintain that a revision of the Meiji constitution was unnecessary and inappropriate. He cited Britain as an example of how democracy can be fully realized in fact under the form of monarchy. Past evils in Japan were due to bad government, bad laws, and the perversion of the true spirit of the constitution, not to the constitution itself. When the Occupation authorities took the initiative in enacting the new constitution, Minobe was at first shocked and confused, but by his death in 1948 he had on the whole accepted and approved of the new régime.

On the debit side, Professor Miller points out that Minobe was a captive of the élitist psychology of the professional bureaucracy, who showed little real sympathy for popular interests and invariably regarded government as the business of experts. The sociology on which he based his jurisprudence was a purely conceptual system, unconcerned with empirical investigation. Minobe did not strike a blow in favour of a pragmatic and relativistic view of the purpose of the state, and failed to grasp the reality of the sociological phenomena underlying constitutional systems. In the face of these limitations, Minobe's courage, independence, and conviction were not enough.

Professor Miller has produced a work of solid scholarship, which will be required reading for

the specialist in modern Japanese politics and ideas. It is a contribution of great value to an understanding of the promise and limitations of pre-war Japanese liberalism, in the person of its most comprehensive exponent. Moreover, in providing a detailed exposition of Minobe's theories, Professor Miller has also provided a most useful insight into the psychology and conceptual equipment of conservative advocates of constitutional revision at the present day.

A. FRASEB

AKIRA IRIYE: *After imperialism: the search for a new order in the Far East, 1921-1931.* (Harvard East Asian Series, 22.) ix, 375 pp. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965. (Distributed in G.B. by Oxford University Press. 76s.)

Dr. Iriye, who is assistant professor of diplomatic history at Harvard University, has produced a first-class study of Japan's policy towards China within the broader context of international relations in the Far East. He is generally concerned with the fumbling attempts of the powers to deal with the developing nationalism in China after the wave of Japan's expansion in the 1910's and the conclusion of the Washington treaties. The author describes these as the search for a new order and analyses it in terms of three initiatives.

The first of these is the Soviet initiative (1922-7) when the Soviet Union undertook active anti-imperialist diplomacy in China, which culminated in a campaign to win over the Kuomintang but was ultimately unsuccessful. Dr. Iriye emphasizes the significance of the hitherto neglected Peking Tariff Conference of 1926, which might have 'brought about a new era in Sino-foreign relations. In fact it signaled the final demise of the Washington system and witnessed the exit of the Washington powers as a group'. Faced by the upsurge of Chinese nationalism and the success of the Northern Expedition, the Washington Powers—Britain, the United States and Japan—began to seek separate arrangements with China. Not, the author would argue, that these were dramatic reassessments of policy as has sometimes been depicted since they kept in line with the attitudes which had already been adopted at the Tariff Conference. This section ends with a masterly analysis of the so-called 'Shidehara diplomacy': on the one hand, Foreign Minister Shidehara persisted in a rigid stand towards China and failed to secure a new order based on friendship between China and Japan; on the other, he was not

inclined to co-operate with the powers in China at this stage.

The years 1927-8 are described as the period of 'the Japanese initiative', when the other powers who were lying low because of uncertainty over the outcome of the civil war in China, take second place. The focus is on the premiership of General Tanaka (1927-9) of which Dr. Iriye writes that 'much of what is usually attributed to Tanaka can be traced to Shidehara'. While he initially followed Shidehara's policy, Tanaka became more and more involved in aggressive solutions like the Shantung expeditions, the Tsinan incident, and the assassination of Chang Tso-lin. The author is at pains to show the background to Tanaka's decisions by tracing the advice he obtained from diplomats in China and the *faits accomplis* with which he was presented by his military leaders in China. The conventional view of Tanaka is reinterpreted. Dr. Iriye denies that Tanaka introduced a 'positive' policy and claims that its characteristic was often indecision. No mention is made of the 'Tanaka Memorial'. It is ironic that, though Tanaka combined the foreign ministership with the premiership, he 'tended to bypass regular diplomatic channels' in his dealings with China; and that, though he was an army leader, he signally failed to keep the generals under control. He was evidently not the 'strong man' which he is sometimes portrayed to be in Western literature.

Part III deals with the Chinese initiative (1928-31), that is, Chiang Kai-shek's advance on Peking and his acceptance there and in Manchuria. In the face of China's vigorous foreign policy, the foreign governments agreed to take part in negotiations over tariffs, extraterritoriality, etc. But Tanaka tried, in contrast to Shidehara's policy, to keep Chang Hsueh-liang and Chiang Kai-shek apart and 'stumbled on the rock of Japanese militarism' which was asserting itself in the Kwantung army. When Shidehara returned to office in 1929, he tried to restore good Sino-Japanese relations and to return to a policy based on economic advantage. But his appeals for co-operation met with no success from abroad and were challenged by the Chinese as in the Nakamura incident. Since Shidehara's policy failed to produce results, the activist groups within the Japanese army worked for a more dynamic policy; 'the Manchurian question had become a test case of civilian bureaucratic supremacy within Japan'. Shidehara was not strong enough to keep opposition in check; and the explosion of 18 September 1931, with which the study ends, shattered all hope of a peaceful settlement with China.

Comment should be made on the rather odd title—*After imperialism*. Dr. Iriye conceives

that the imperialism of the powers had ended with the first World War or at least with the post-war settlement. In the case of Japan it had reached a climax in 1918 and then lay dormant until 1931. 'This did not mean that imperialism as such was gone. It simply meant that the old concepts and practices defining the relations between empires had now been discarded . . . It remained to be seen whether the Washington treaties provided a workable alternative to the diplomacy of imperialism.' The book shows that the powers failed to work together over China.

This is a valuable study of a neglected field which uses an interesting range of new sources. It acquaints the non-Japanese specialist with much recent Japanese thinking on the subject. It uses a wide range of American manuscript sources and has explored Japanese foreign and military archives together with the Chinese Foreign Ministry archives in Taiwan. It speaks with greater authority on the Japanese and American side of the story than it does on the British. This may be a slight distortion for it is probably true that for the period of this study Britain was still the most important outside power in China. But this is quite understandable when Britain has published so few of her sources for this period that many aspects of her China policy are still uncertain. Certainly the most illuminating part of the study deals with Japanese diplomacy and policy formation. This has been studied before for the events immediately preceding the Manchurian crisis but it has now been set in perspective by this valuable study of the 1920's. The effect is to show the continuity of many aspects of Shidehara's and Tanaka's policy and to blur some of the sharp dissimilarities which previous studies have discovered between these two statesmen.

I. H. NISHI

A. H. JOHNS (ed. and tr.): *The gift addressed to the spirit of the Prophet*. (Oriental Monograph Series, No. 1.) [v], 224 pp. Canberra: Centre of Oriental Studies, Australian National University, 1965.

This book is a valuable contribution to the knowledge of the spread of Muslim mysticism in Java, a field hitherto almost closed to those students of South East Asian culture who are unable to read Dutch. Roughly half of it consists of a modern Javanese poem written in the metres *ḡanḡang ḡula*, *asmarandana*, *sinom*, and *midḡil*, with the translation, followed by *variae lectiones* of two other MSS and notes. The date of composition cannot be ascertained, but it might be the eighteenth

century A.D., and the place of origin is probably a ward of the town of Tḡgal on the north coast of central Java. The author had perhaps travelled and studied abroad. These topics are dealt with in the preceding chapter on 'The Javanese *Tuhfa* and the Arabic original'.

This Arabic original is printed on pp. 129-37 and translated on pp. 139-48; it 'is a 17th century Indian work representative of the orthodox tradition of Sufism' (p. 6). 'The author was Muḡammad ibn Faḡli'llāḡ, a Gujerati, who died in 1620' (p. 5). It is 'a succinct work, a collection of aphorisms almost. The author calls it a *mubḡḡa*, a summary or compendium of Sufi teachings, thus it is eclectic in character, and further research may show that very little of it is in fact original' (p. 6).

For the reconstitution of the Arabic text, Professor Johns was able to make use of the uncompleted edition of Dr. P. Voorhoeve, until lately curator of the Department of Oriental Manuscripts of Leiden University Library. Dr. M. Fakhri of the Dept. of Philosophy of the American University of Beirut helped him with the English rendering of the text. Unfortunately, my years of the study of Arabic lie too far behind me to permit me to go into this section.

Professor Johns summarizes the author's teachings as follows (p. 19): 'that God is omnipotent, possessed of Power and Will; that the visible world and individuals have significance only through reference to God, not to themselves, and that the saving secret is a realization of the relation of the Exterior Forms to their Fixed Prototypes; further, that nothing in the exterior world may be identified with God although all proceeds from Him, and finally that Perfection can only be attained through obedience to the Divine Law'.

The last third of this book consists of: 'Appendix', being passages from one Javanese MS which are additional to those in the most reliable one; glossary (i.e. on the words of the Javanese version, edited and translated; 40 pp.); words of Arabic derivation occurring in the Javanese text; terms of reference or address to the Deity that occur in the Javanese text; proper names occurring in the Javanese text; works consulted; index.

Hindu Java was, and Hindu Bali is, always very aware of the system of *nava-sanga* ('nine' in Sanskrit, followed by 'nine' in Javanese), the gods of the eight points of the compass with the Upper God in the centre. It may not be an accident that Java's transition to Islam in the sixteenth century is attributed to *walī sanga*, the nine 'saints', whose names may vary, but whose number is fixed. It is also curious that the twentieth-century students of

this religious movement consist of some eight Dutch scholars (Kraemer, Schrieke, Rinke, Drewes, Zoetmulder, Doorenbos, Nieuwenhuyze, Voorhoeve), centred around their *guru* Snouck Hurgronje, the famous Islamologist. Professor Johns no doubt consulted their works, but regrettably failed to derive from them the full profit that he might have done. For example he simply overlooks that for the corrupt word *ijinajumani*, in 1.221, Zoetmulder (*Pantheïsme en monïsme*, 367), proposes an emendation which, in essence, is confirmed by Drewes on p. 298 of his extensive review of Johns's Ph.D. thesis (*BKI*, cxv, 3, 1959, 280-304). And I object to Professor Johns's note on p. 26: 'The examples adduced by Drewes on the role of prosody in determining meaning (*BKI*, p. 295) are not convincing and his conclusions could be equally and more securely established by other criteria'. Professor Johns has the right to disagree with M. Hardjowirogo, the Javanese poet and author of a 70-page pamphlet on Javanese metrics, and with Professor Drewes, who devoted two pages to this subject, but one would have expected him to explain where and how his predecessors erred and why his solutions are the better. Of his own work it can be said that for the additional parts of the B MS no system of prosody has been attempted, and no tentative translation has been offered, and though, fortunately, they have been included, the way to their explanation has not been made easier by the non-inclusion of their words in the glossary. It must be admitted that to translate from a text of which only one MS is accessible is a hazardous and often unsatisfactory undertaking—though his predecessors often had to do it. Nevertheless it may lead ultimately to good results, and experience has shown that texts that are left untranslated by their editor are seldom referred to by later scholars.

Professor Johns cautiously ventures the possibility of there being Malayisms in his text, and this would be quite natural for a Javanese author who was not a purist, who was an expatriate and an inhabitant of a ward of a coastal trading centre. When, however, a Javanese author uses Sanskrit words which, in an earlier Hindu period of South East Asia, were used in (Old) Javanese compositions as well as in Malay works, e.g. *tatihapi*, Malay *titapi*, to speak about a Malayism is unrealistic. And to consider the personal pronoun, third person, *ija/ya/ia*, well known from Old Javanese, as a 'Malayism' (pp. 111-12) is not a tenable argument. Consulting an Old Javanese dictionary could have helped to prevent errors of this kind; even Juynboll's *Woordenlijst* (missing from the 'works consulted') has its advantages.

It is perfectly understandable that Professor Johns in his edition (in part tentative, but for the first half he had Zoetmulder and Drewes as his predecessors) is circumspect in imposing consistency in the spelling, and that he is sometimes hesitant in deciding whether to opt for *Hjang* 'God' or *Jang* 'Who', but no purpose is served by printing *Jwang* (1.1, absent in the glossary, where *Allah* is also absent, so that They cannot be *étonnés de se trouver ensemble*; making a glossary is a 'hell' of a job, and hell is a place from which the Indonesian God and the Muslim God are no doubt pleased to have escaped; and a few other words have accompanied Them).

There is also little *raison d'être* for *pérlabi* once the correct form *pralambi* has been recognized, or for *istala* instead of *takala*. The book would have gained if Professor Johns had had the leisure to go through it once more, scrutinizing his punctuation marks, putting square brackets in some places and omitting them in places where, in view of the nature of the Javanese language he is translating, they are superfluous. In this respect Drewes's translation is definitely more readable, and I am not the only one who likes his English better than that written by Professor Johns.

The main question is, however, whether the editor-translator has succeeded in presenting the best possible text from his MSS, and whether his Javanese-English translations are right. As far as I could understand these mystical verses, I should say he has succeeded, though I do not agree with the translation in 11.22-3: *kang aran alam satunggal* 'the name of the first world'... *ping kalih alam iki* 'the second world has its place'... *kaping tiga gating alam* 'the third world'. The Muslim traditions adduced in the notes are attractive and useful: they add to the value of this well-produced book.

C. HOYKAAS

S. J. ESSER: *De Uma-taal (west Midden-Celebes): spraakkunstige schets en teksten. Uitgegeven en van een woordenlijst voorzien door J. Noorduyyn.* (Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Deel 43.) xv, 144 pp. 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1964. Guilders 24.

S. J. Esser one of the best-known linguists in the service of the Netherlands administration during the inter-war period, died in a Japanese internment camp in 1944 while still in his early forties. A few years before his death, in his position as resident linguist on Celebes he had published studies of Lodo and Kulawi, which

like Uma belong to the Western Toradja group of languages (of which Adriani had given a survey in outline as early as 1914 in his *Baré's-sprekende Toradja*).

The present work, edited and introduced by Dr. J. Noorduyt, is based on field-work undertaken in 1940. It was already in an advanced stage of completion on the outbreak of hostilities with Japan. A great part of Esser's materials on other languages of the area was lost during the war and it is possible that even these notes on Uma are not complete.

Contrary to Adriani's opinion, Uma lacks the tense and time system which is attested for Ledo and Kulawi and which he regarded as being characteristic of the Western Toradja group of languages for classification purposes. Moreover Uma may now no longer be considered to have open syllables only, since as Esser discovered, many words have a final glottal stop.

Dr. Noorduyt gives first the grammatical outline prepared by Esser, followed by his field texts. In order to facilitate the study of the latter, an alphabetical list of words occurring in the texts has been compiled, giving Dutch glosses either obtained from Esser's field notes (which are not sufficient to provide a full translation) or suggested glosses based on other languages closely related to Uma. A Dutch-Uma index has also been added.

As the editor points out, Esser in his official position, faced by a multiplicity of languages and dialects and by the need to provide his colleagues in the administration with practical information, wanted to make a short but intensive study of the principal languages in order to identify and to describe their most important characteristics.

The grammatical outline which takes up the first 45 pp. of this work is therefore by far the most interesting part of this book. Valuable as the texts are as a source for a further analysis of Uma (pp. 46-102), the absence of a translation and grammatical commentary must detract from their usefulness to the general reader.

Many features of Uma seem to be more characteristic of Eastern than of Western Austronesian languages, notably the occurrence of special morphemes to mark the presence or absence of transitivity (pp. 8-9, 28 *et passim*). As in Oceanic languages, notably in Samoan, certain pronouns (here called 'interjectional' or 'emotional') may denote subjective attitudes such as, for example, self-pity (p. 36). Esser does not, unfortunately, indicate in what situations they would be used and with what anticipated results.

The production of this book maintains the high standards of the series in which it appears. It is marred, however, by a slip-up in the

binding process, with the result that in the review copy there are two consecutive series of pages numbered 33-48.

G. B. MILNER

J. C. ANCEAUX: *The Nimboran language: phonology and morphology*. (Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Deel 44.) xv, 246 pp. 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1965. Guilders 23.

The Nimboran language is spoken by some 3,000 people living on the western side of the Dgremi river, about 20 miles due west of Lake Sentani, inland from the north coast of New Guinea. After the war a number of Nimboran speakers settled in the capital of the territory. Dr. Anceaux had the opportunity of studying their language both there and in the Nimboran area itself over a period of three years. He undertook the laudable, but as he says, extremely 'exacting and timetaking' (p. 2) work of learning to speak the language himself. He was rewarded not only by gaining a much more direct insight through his efforts to understand and to be understood, but also by obtaining relevant information at first hand. He appears to have been fortunate in his choice of a principal informant.

The result of this careful preparation and cultivation of the ground is a rich harvest. This work is destined to be counted among the few systematic grammars of a Papuan language published up to date.

Special attention has been paid to the numerous problems of morpho-phonology which arise owing to the presence of numerous affixal and inflexional morphemes in a language where agglutination is so extensive and complex as to verge on incorporation. The optional nasalization of the voiced consonants and the spirantization of the stops in certain positions are already familiar to us from other Papuan studies, but in the case of Nimboran this is complicated by what appears to be a prosodic feature of vowel harmony affecting actor morphemes.

We also meet again the extreme complexity of the time and tense system which we have come to expect in many Papuan languages. Nimboran verbs can be inflected for both object and subject. In the latter five persons are recognized—first, second, inclusive, third masculine, and third feminine; three numbers—singular, dual, and plural; and four tenses—present, future, past, and recent past. By far the most interesting and characteristic feature, however, is the system of position and movement morphemes which not only add to the usual (that is to say conventional) deictic

positions (here, there, and 'yonder') two more—'above' and 'below'—but also take account of movement to or from the speaker in relation to the other four grammatical points of reference recognized by the language. Movement and space, that is to say, no less than time and tense are categorical criteria for the description of the Nimboran verb.

There are no less than 16 verbal classes which the author designates as 'positions' (perhaps not altogether happily since movement as well as position is a relevant factor). The theoretical interest of these classes transcends the confines of Papuan studies and justifies the reviewer in summarizing their principal features in the following code (devised in the interest of brevity and with due deference to the author).

Let A represent the position of the speaker, B that of the person addressed, C be a position beyond the sight of either speaker or person addressed, D a position above the speaker, and E a position below the speaker.

Class 1	denotes A
2	D
3	E
4	B
5	C
6	from A to D
7	from A to B
8	from A to E
9	from A to C
10	from D (or C) to A
11	from E to A
12	from B to A
13	from E (or B or C) to D
14	from E to B
15	from B (or D or E) to C
16	from B to E, D to E (or to B), C to E (or to B)

To gain an impression of the formidable array of a Papuan verbal paradigm (besides which the Latin or the Greek or even the Russian verb seems to be simplicity itself) the reader should turn to pp. 186–246 where Dr. Anceaux has set out the full conjugation of a single verb with (at least potentially) exponents for five classes of person, three of number, and 16 space and movement classes added to the conventional assortment of tenses, and moods (or perhaps aspects). Far from being daunted the author states somewhat disarmingly before presenting the reader with 60 pp. of a single verb (p. 185) that 'No alternative forms are given in this table'. No doubt if we pressed him he would provide those also.

He is in fact open to the reproach that if the grammarian is so fascinated by the versatility of the system that he loses sight of the extent to which it is governed and circumscribed by the limits of human experience, he may indulge

in a kind of scholastic exercise. We are not told what proportion of this apparently very versatile paradigm has actually been attested in recorded utterances (and not merely been elicited from an admittedly very intelligent informant). This observation is prompted by examples such as: 'You two will be buried above' (p. 118), 'You and I bite (bit to-day or yesterday) far away' (p. 80), and very many others which to say the least strain the imagination.

This criticism, however, does not seriously detract from the merit of an important work.

G. B. MILNER

G. CŒDÈS: *Les états hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie. Nouvelle édition revue et mise à jour.* [iii], 494 pp., 5 maps. Paris: Éditions E. de Boccard, 1964.

The new edition of this standard work on early South East Asia has been thoroughly revised and extended by a further 28 pp. The great changes from the earlier edition of 1948 testify to the enormous progress achieved in these 16 years.

As in its earlier edition, this work deals only with the so-called 'Hinduized' states of South East Asia during the period in which Indian influence made itself felt. This is the reason why the history of Viêt-nam is excluded, although this state is an integral part of South East Asia and its history closely linked with developments in Campa and Cambodia. The historical account is brought up to about A.D. 1500 but with minor variations for the different areas (Cambodia to 1431, Campa to 1471, Indonesia and Malaya to 1511). Ayutthya and other states starting in about the middle of the fourteenth century are not discussed, whereas Malacca is briefly dealt with, although its history begins only in the fifteenth century. In the opinion of the reviewer strict adherence to a clear geographical and chronological frame (as, for instance, in D. G. E. Hall's *A History of South East Asia*) would have been preferable to reliance upon such criteria as Indian influence. This is especially the case because each sub-period into which the account is divided comprises a number of sections dealing with individual states of South East Asia. This division is a great advantage as it enables the reader to obtain a kind of panoramic view over the entire region. It is true that, except perhaps in a few isolated instances, there does not appear to be any clear relation between the developments in each individual area but this impression is probably partly due to the lacunae in our knowledge.

Great lacunae still remain in spite of the remarkable progress made during the last 16 years. Even during the time that this work was in the press some new publications, which throw important light upon some aspects, appeared, notably J. Boisselier, *La statue en bronze de Champā*, and Th. Pigeaud, *Java in the fourteenth century*. Both books are mentioned in the work under review but could not be fully utilized. A few other publications, however, should have been mentioned or utilized. Thus, for the archaeology of the sites in northern Malaya, such as those of Pengkalān Bujang, too little notice has been taken of the important publications of Alastair Lamb. Hill's new edition of the *Sejarah raja-raja Pasai* and Buddhadatta's new edition of the *Jinakālamāli* should have been mentioned. The same applies to van Romondt's study on the temples of the Penangungan, that by de Graaf on the end of Majapahit, and a few others.

The penetrating but controversial studies on Javanese historiography by C. C. Berg are mentioned several times but have not or almost not influenced the account of Javanese history in the present work. Some of the reasons are explained in n. 4 to p. 337 f., though not quite convincingly. Thus, on p. 270, the division of the empire by Airlānga is given as a simple fact in the spirit of N. J. Krom without any reference to the later interpretations of C. C. Berg nor to those of F. D. K. Bosch, E. M. Uhlenbeck, and A. Teeuw.

In spite of these minor points the work has been brought admirably up to date and constitutes a thoroughly reliable guide to the problems of ancient South East Asia. In these pages there is an astounding amount of judiciously sifted knowledge. No space is wasted with sterile controversies or unessential discussions. True to the great traditions of French scholarship, the clarity of thought is fully matched by the lucidity of expression which, in spite of its conciseness, never leaves the reader in doubt on where precisely the author stands in the numerous difficult topics. As, however, the composition of such a textbook necessarily involves making decisions in hundreds of controversies it is hardly to be expected that all other scholars will everywhere agree with the opinions expressed in this work. As these concern, however, points of detail on which the paucity of evidence or major difficulties in its interpretation exclude a consensus of opinion among scholars, there is little to be gained from listing all the points on which the reviewer may hold different views.

A work of such amazing richness and superior quality gives a clear idea of what is known about ancient South East Asia. There remain

hardly any serious chronological problems. The outlines of political history are well established, and for several areas and periods we now possess very precise knowledge. Also for some of the highest aspects of civilization, such as religion, art, and architecture, our knowledge is impressive. On the other hand, relatively little is still known about such fields as administrative, social, and economic history. Our ignorance in these fields is not primarily due to lack of materials but partly to linguistic difficulties preventing us from fully utilizing the rich epigraphic and literary sources and also to the inadequacy of archaeological research. There is reason to be confident that most of the serious gaps and uncertainties would disappear after more intensified research. Our knowledge of ancient Burma still lags far behind that for the other countries of South East Asia as only very few inscriptions have been adequately published.

Finally it is necessary to express regret at the way in which this important work has been edited. Letters with diacritics are almost completely absent so that ingenious, but not very neat, methods had to be adopted to replace the diacritics by other means such as that of using italics for the linguals. The five maps at the end of the book are only in black and white and give no indication of the relief. They also give too few details and often contain mistakes. Thus, Oc-èò is omitted on the first two maps, while the map of central and eastern Java contains inaccuracies. Although numerous publications are quoted in the notes, a detailed bibliography would have been desirable.

J. G. DE CASPARIS

JOHN BASTIN (ed.): *The British in west Sumatra (1685-1825)*. xlii, 209 pp., front., 4 plates, 5 maps. Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1965. M\$33. (Distributed by Oxford University Press. 88s.)

This book of documents, edited by Dr. John Bastin, illustrates a relatively unknown and largely unsuccessful period of British rule and trade on the west coast of Sumatra. The principal British settlement of Benkulen, known as Fort York from 1685 to 1714 and as Fort Marlborough thereafter, was established by agents of the Madras government of the East India Company to retain a British foothold in the Indonesian pepper trade after the Dutch Company had terminated the 80 years old British connexion with the west Javanese sultanate of Bantam in 1682. The London directors, who would have preferred a settlement at nearby Priaman, deplored the 'never

enough to be repented error' of the Madras presidency and for most of its existence British Benkulen was a financial failure. In due course, the Benkulen government set up subordinate residencies along 300 miles of west Sumatran coast from Tapanuli to Krui, with which land communication was almost impossible and naval communication was expensive. The expedients, varying from forced cultivation to more liberal economic incentives, by which the British tried to profit from this diffuse pepper trade and the relationship thus created between the East India Company and the local Indonesian rulers and cultivators are the principal themes of Dr. Bastin's book.

In this respect, the documents which Dr. Bastin has reproduced meticulously and verbatim from the Sumatra Factory Records at the India Office Library, London, suggest a consistent divergence between the relatively benevolent intentions of the East India Company towards the Indonesian cultivators and the coercive measures of some of its agents, who were not usually capable or honest. The London directors favoured adequate financial incentives to the pepper planters, but this was not really feasible, because of the highly competitive and inelastic market for pepper in Europe, unless the Company abandoned its costly governmental role in west Sumatra and reverted to the occasional maritime contacts of the early seventeenth century. When the Americans entered the west Sumatran pepper trade as free traders, particularly in the first two decades of the nineteenth century, neither British administrative retrenchment nor the economic liberalism of Raffles enabled Fort Marlborough to supply pepper at rates below the European selling price. The new spice plantations at Benkulen, developed between 1796 and 1824 by importing seedlings from the temporarily-captured Dutch Moluccas, also proved uncompetitive by 1822, despite their vastly increased output. The conflict between the role of the Company as a supervisor of plantations and its function as a competitive trading organization is clearly brought out by Dr. Bastin and was resolved only when the Company's Sumatran possessions were transferred to the Dutch in 1825.

While the Company admittedly did not pay the Indonesian pepper planter adequately, it is debatable whether British rule in west Sumatra was as harsh as Dr. Bastin suggests. The keynote of British government there would appear to be incompetence, aggravated by individual abuses, rather than methodical exploitation, in view of Fort Marlborough's continuous insolvency and the trivial quantities of pepper gathered from 300 miles of coast. In a good year, Fort Marlborough supplied half the pepper which the Company had obtained

from the free market at Bantam in the 1670's. It is difficult to believe that British compulsion was either very onerous or effective in these circumstances.

The selection of documents for publication is always difficult, as is comment upon the selection when one is not fully familiar with the sources. Dr. Bastin has concentrated upon the early years of British settlement at Benkulen (1685-6) and the reformative efforts of Deputy-Governor Joseph Collet (1712-16), Commissioner Walter Ewer (1800-5), and Lieutenant-Governor Thomas Stamford Raffles (1818-24). These specific periods illustrate his main themes admirably, but occasionally intermediate documents which provide local colour might be replaced by others which indicate the development of policy. This is more noticeable in the eighteenth century, where, for example, the decision to elevate Fort Marlborough to a presidency deserves elaboration. The nineteenth-century documents occupy approximately half the book and possess a greater unity in consequence.

The British in west Sumatra is a valuable and scholarly contribution to the study of early forms of European control in Indonesia. Dr. Bastin's introduction to the documents is helpful and perceptive. His copious footnotes on ancillary matters such as local Chinese settlement, the Bugis mercenaries employed by the Company, the opium trade, the ravages of smallpox, and the British use and final manumission of slaves in 1818 are most valuable. The illustrations, particularly of Collet, Marsden, and Raffles, have an appeal of their own.

D. K. BASSETT

R. N. JACKSON: *Pickering, Protector of Chinese*. ix, 127 pp., front., 6 plates. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1965. 32s.

Anybody who has read W. A. Pickering's *Pioneering in Formosa* and is well informed about the history of Malaya in the nineteenth century will be familiar with most of what Mr. Jackson has to say in his new book. But he says it very well, and there is an historical fitness in the fact that the life of the first major Chinese specialist in the service of a British Malayan government has been written by the last. (Mr. Jackson was, as he says, 'the last Englishman in the central government [of Malaya] to hold a Chinese Affairs post'—p. vii. He is now Deputy Registrar of the University of Hong Kong and is known to Malayanogues for his earlier book on immigrant labour.)

Pickering's significance in the history of Western intercourse with the Chinese has a

major and a minor aspect. In his early years he knew the south China coast and lived in Taiwan. From the rambling book *Pioneering in Formosa* we can get some impression of what the Chinese frontier in Taiwan was like a hundred years ago. (The sub-title of the book, *Recollections of adventures among mandarins, wreckers, and head-hunting savages*, is an accurate description of the main contents as well as being an example of late nineteenth-century publishing style.) But it is unlikely that we should have paid much attention to the customs official and business man in Taiwan if he had not, in the second part of his active life, been taken up by the Government of the Straits Settlements and given the chance first to play a role in the British pacification of the western Malay States in the early 1870's, and, second, to mature into the founder of the Chinese Protectorate. In the latter role (his most important) Pickering established and shaped for many years to come a very British system for administering the affairs of the strange and often unruly Chinese population of Malaya. It is a great pity that Pickering's lack of literary gifts has prevented us from knowing more about his experiences as an administrator and his views of the Chinese immigrant society of the Straits Settlements over which he presided.

Mr. Jackson as biographer has put together the available material (published and unpublished) in an engaging manner (his book can be read for pleasure, which is saying a great deal), but he has forgone the opportunity of writing the definitive work on the subject by failing to deal fully enough with the general historical and social contexts within which Pickering lived and laboured. The history of the Chinese in Malaya, pioneered by Purcell and cultivated by Mr. Jackson among other later writers, is still in need of the sociologically inclined scholar to explain the nature of Chinese institutions and groupings in the nineteenth century and to show how they both limited and responded to the efforts of the agency which Pickering founded.

MAURICE FREEDMAN

M. G. SWIFT: *Malay peasant society in Jelebu*. (London School of Economics. Monographs on Social Anthropology, No. 29.) x, 181 pp. London: University of London, Athlone Press; New York: Humanities Press Inc., 1965. 30s.

The differences between the various constituent districts (*luak*) of Negri Sembilan are far less significant than the fundamental similarity. Thus this study of one such district, Jelabu,

can tell us a great deal about Negri Sembilan as a whole. The ruler (*undang*) of Jelabu, traditionally subject only to the titular authority of the ruler of the whole state (*Yang-di-Pertuan-Besar*, or *Yam Tuan*), exercised his powers with the concurrence of the eight chiefs (*lembaga*) of the eight matrilineal clans who formed the Council of Eight. Their unanimous approval was necessary for his appointment, and if they were unanimous they could depose him. Three of these clans took it in turn to fill the office of *undang*. Each clan was divided into a number of sub-clans (*perut*), each of which in turn had its own chief (*ibubapa*). A *perut* was always exogamous and marriage was matrilocal. Not all marriages took place within the village and therefore any village always contained men who were not under the hereditary authority of the local *ibubapa*, and, conversely, any sub-clan had its male members scattered in various villages. Men continually visited their natal villages to keep in touch, and to alleviate the feeling of 'not belonging' which inevitably affected them in their wives' villages. A man had no right at all to interfere in the concerns of his wife's *perut*. All ancestral land was owned by women, and passed on death to their daughters in equal shares. An unmarried man was entitled to support from his female kin, a married man was supported from his wife's land and from his own privately owned land which, unless otherwise disposed of beforehand, became ancestral land on his death and continued thereafter to pass in the female line. A good deal of this traditional system still survives to provide the jural framework of modern economic, politico-legal, domestic, and local life with which the book proceeds to deal in turn.

It is a remarkable fact that although the matrilineal character of much of the social structure of Negri Sembilan has long been known and frequently been remarked upon, there has hitherto been no published study based upon modern field methods to refer to. Dr. Swift, who is Lecturer in Anthropology at the University of Sydney, and who was guided into Malay studies by Professor R. W. Firth at the London School of Economics, has now filled this gap. His book has been eagerly awaited and will be widely read. It is rather sad for this reviewer to have to report that it is in some ways disappointing—not because the quality of the actual work presented is anything but excellent, but because Dr. Swift (or was it his publisher?) does not seem to have made up his mind for whom he was writing. Those familiar with the existing literature, or the actual scene, can certainly read the book with pleasure and profit, but readers new to the material may feel that too

much local knowledge has been taken for granted. It is to be hoped that Dr. Swift will give us a full-dress monograph on Negri Sembilan some day soon. That having been said, and mention made of some clumsy phraseology, a rather curious ordering of subject-matter, and a few over-hasty generalizations about the Chinese, the book can be thoroughly recommended. For the first time it is possible to make sense of Malay matriliney and the way it 'fits' into the political system, on the one hand, and the economic system, on the other, as these have been changing in the twentieth century.

BARBARA E. WARD

E. SARKISYANZ: *Buddhist backgrounds of the Burmese revolution*. xxix, 250 pp. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1965. Guilders 28.50.

In 1955, three chapters of Emanuel Sarkisyanz's *Russland und der Messianismus des Orients* (Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr) gave us, in the steps of Mus, Heine-Geldern, and a few others, a pioneering account of the Messianic Buddhist origins of modern Burmese Socialism. After some field-work in 1959, Professor Sarkisyanz now devotes a whole book to this topic and it is likely to prove a landmark in Burmese and Buddhist studies.

Two main parts, ch. i-xvi and xxi-xxviii, are devoted to royal and modern Burma respectively; they are bridged by four very readable chapters on British Burma which are less original than the others. In the first part, the author argues that the relation between ethics and social behaviour, which Max Weber could not discover at the level of ecclesiastical or scriptural Buddhism, can be found, in a very seminal form, at the level of the *lay* Buddhism within Theravāda which has profoundly influenced the social and political behaviour of South East Asia. This was largely based on notions of the ideal Buddhist ruler which passed from Aśokan India to Ceylon and thence to Burma. Despite Paul Mus's warnings, in his preface, that the ideas held by a Burmese medieval king and Aśoka may have been very different in practice, it must be said that Professor Sarkisyanz's argument is very persuasive and that his technique of surrounding an historical outline with numerous variations on his chosen theme provides extremely rich results.

One can only argue here a very few details. My principal worry, in the first part, concerns the notion that the charismatic king was likely to be a future Buddha. Following Mus ('according to Theravāda Buddhism there can be in the world but one Buddha at a time, and

the interval between them is astronomically long', p. xviii), Professor Sarkisyanz appears to insist that every king he considers thought of himself, or was thought of, as Metteya. The trouble begins at p. 45 where the author notes that, although the scriptures could not hold out the hope to every ruler of becoming a Buddha, tradition opened 'by implication' the possibility of being Metteya to Ceylon's kings. This ignores the fact that many kings asked for nothing of the sort or asked only to behold Metteya, or to serve him in some capacity, or even for a Buddhahood *after* Metteya's. Alaungsithu, for instance, whom the author quotes on pp. 82-3, writes only: 'I would behold Metteya, captain of the world'.

On p. 91, material is adduced to show that Metteya's own *cakkavattī* Saṃkha will be a future Buddha. I cannot find evidence in the cited texts for this conclusion (Professor Sarkisyanz makes two points in one long sentence, only the second of which—it does not concern Saṃkha—is vouched for by the references) but, even if it were true, the author might have noted an interesting duality. Textually, on the one hand, *this cakkavattī* could not be Metteya. Popularly, on the other hand, my own work has shown that *gāing* pretenders in 1959 claimed to be *cakkavattīs* who would die to appear as Metteya in their next incarnation. The existence of this contradiction argues that one might pay more attention to the difference between an 'orthodox tradition', say that of the *Cakkavattī-sihanāda-suttanta*, and another 'unorthodox tradition' probably connected not so much with the king's view of himself as with the view that his subjects might have of him. Some kings, like Bodawpaya, succumbed to the latter; others, like Alaungsithu, did not. At p. 153, Professor Sarkisyanz does, in fact, note the 'folk' confusion, though here he deals with my material in so compressed a manner that he makes me say both more (e.g. that Bo Min Gaung is Alaungsithu) and less than I do say. On p. 64, the author notes that people in general wished to 'behold Metteya'. The reason given (i.e. that people could then become *arhats* more easily, p. 152) strengthens my contention that *gāing* members recognized their *inferiority* to persons still seeking *nibbāna* in this life and at this time, in so far as they do not feel themselves to have the strength, in this decadent age, to work that way themselves and must therefore wait for Metteya when conditions will be easier. In this respect, the point made about *nibbāna* at p. 199 should perhaps have been made earlier. It should perhaps be added that there are two ways in which confusion of 'orthodox' and 'folk' traditions could occur: (i) kings with large periods of time between their reigns

could be held to be successive embryo-Metteya incarnations (this did happen in Pagan); and (ii) where two or more *gaisings* compete and therefore neglect each others' claims, there can be more than one Metteya-embryo in Burma at any given time.

Where the author does add considerably to the material in hand is in stressing, with Mus, the fact that Gautama himself provided a model for a *cakkavatti*-Future Buddha doublet (pp. 14, 87), in showing how the *cakkavatti* Samkha's army is to become a *sangha* when Metteya arrives (p. 88), in strengthening the connexion between the new eighteenth-century stress on *cakkavatti* ideals and Burmese military expansion at the time (p. 94), in proving that some messianic expectations centred, not only on A.D. 4456, but also on A.D. 1956 (p. 94), in contributing much new data on the *Setkyamin* in Burma (pp. 156-9, 178, 208), and in stressing the Sarvāstivāda contribution to Messianic Buddhism (p. 90)—a contribution which I hope to document further on some later occasion.

The first of these themes finds its final target in U Nu who is shown to be the politician who best understood the folk aspirations of the great majority of the Burmese and owed his great popular following to the belief that he was an ideal Buddhist leader, a modern *cakkavatti*, perhaps even a future Buddha. This demonstration alone—U Nu has never found a more sympathetic commentator—makes the book worth while. It is a counterweight to the speculations of a whole school of political scientists. But it does not stand alone, for ch. xxiii, xxv, and xxvii also give us the best account of the intellectual history of Burmese Socialism that we have to date with a wealth of attention to contemporary Burmese texts which makes one reader regret that the footnotes are not indexed or set out in a proper bibliography. The punch against those who have contested the value of a history of Burmese ideas and accused the author of too little attention to facts must be quoted: 'Even if it could be assured that the political effectiveness of Buddhist social ethos in Burma is limited to a merely manipulative function, the latter in itself would justify serious investigation of the contents of the ethos to be manipulated, even in terms of the Political Science that produces most current books on Burma' (p. 238). Nor will Burma experts wish to miss Professor Sarkisyanz's devastating comments on those who only quote from the *Nation*, 'a Chinese Protestant's newspaper in the English language, whose interest in Buddhism is largely confined to situations in which it might serve as a barrier against Communism' (p. 228).

Admiration for the author's erudition and

vivacity cannot blind us, however, to a certain lack of nuance in his second part. U Nu, *Aśoka* (p. 30), and the Pagan monarchs (p. 73), are alike taken at their own valuation. Albion, on the other hand, could scarcely be more perfidious; nor could the educated élite of bureaucrats trained by her, who prepared the way for army régimes not dissimilar to British colonial rule. Professor Sarkisyanz frequently out-Furnivalls Furnivall in his picture of Burmese unhappiness under the British and even manages to take Furnivall to task as a practical politician (pp. 134-5)! He is content with a rather idealized and under-documented picture of Burmese rural life in royal times and is prone to argue that, because Socialism was rooted in Burmese tradition, Buddhist-inspired economics produced only good, whereas capitalism failed totally. He mentions 'blood and iron' rule on the part of Burmese kings, but underplays it considerably and does not fully notice that, if works of merit often assuaged great guilt, the 'manipulative' aspect of royal charismatic claims could have been much greater than he allows. Not only does Professor Sarkisyanz deliberately under-rate 'practice' in his reaction against political scientists; there is also some confusion and anthropological naïvety about what constitutes 'practice', for instance when he takes at face value U Kyaw Nyein's 'explanations' of his sudden religious spurt during the 1969 electoral campaign. The 'Stable' party, after all, was more 'educated' than the 'Clean'; they could have been sophisticated enough to do one thing and say another and they shared with the 'Clean' people, under united AFPFL rule, a long series of economic and planning disasters which the author does not mention. Now that the 'theory' side of the balance has been so brilliantly redressed, could we, at last, look in more detail at the details of the *relation between theory and practice*?

E. MICHAEL MENDELSON

ALFONS LOOGMAN: *Swahili grammar and syntax*. (Duchesne Studies. African Series, 1.) xxi, 436 pp. Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press; Louvain: Éditions E. Nauwelaerts, 1965. \$7.50.

This ought to have been an important book. The late Fr. Loogman spent many years in East Africa; he was a fluent speaker of, writer in, and translator into Swahili and a distinguished member of the Interterritorial (Swahili) Language Committee, and later, Professor of Swahili in Duquesne University. This is the biggest book on the language that exists, and the first detailed study to have been

published during the last 20 years. The publishers claim that it is 'a *comprehensive* grammar and syntax of the Swahili language... the first grammar that approaches the language from within'.

The author himself is more modest than his publishers, as befits a scholarly writer. He expresses the hope 'that some suggestions for (a fresh) approach can be found in the present work' and 'that it will be of some value to compilers of that ultimate treatment which will penetrate the genius of the Swahili language and express the mentality of the Swahili people themselves' (preface, pp. vii, viii). This aim should be kept in mind, for perusal of the book prompts the question: for whom is it written? The beginner? Hardly: some of the examples given early in the book assume a knowledge of complex constructions (e.g. tenses of the verb) that are not explained until much later on. The advanced student? Perhaps; but the earlier chapters contain much elementary information which he could be expected to take for granted. We are left, then, with the future writer of the ideal book on Swahili, and he will, indeed, find much to stimulate him in this puzzling mixture of brilliant flashes of insight and wild conjecture, of lucidity and obscurity, of concise exposition and repetitiveness varied by inconsistency, of erudition and naïveté, of accurate statement and flagrant error. In this review, references are to the numbered sections of the book.

An outstanding feature of the book is the wealth of examples given throughout. Many of them are taken from published works by African authors, and others give the impression of having been heard by the author himself in the course of everyday conversation. They are not 'textbook' examples, but pieces of the living language, both 'standard' and 'non-standard'—poetical, formal, narrative, or colloquial as the case may be.

In no other book have the derivative verbs of Swahili received such full treatment (description, with examples, 183–216; list of 'common Derivative Verbs', 217–60—70 pp. in all). Whether or not one agrees with all that the author has to say on the subject, this is undoubtedly a real contribution to Swahili studies. His suggestion of the name 'Extractional' as an alternative to 'Inversive' for the verbs in *-u-* and *-o-* is a happy one. It is a pity that, recognizing as he does that these verbs are formed 'by insertion of a *-u-* or *-o-* before the final *-a* of a primitive [i.e. simple] verb' (213), he should have failed to recognize that the other derivative verbs are similarly formed by extensions preceding the final *-a*. Thus he regards the 'Reciprocal' verb (209) as having a suffix *-na* (rather than an extension *-an-*), and this has allowed him to suppose (as, indeed,

other writers have done before him) that this suffix is 'actually the *a*-binder *na* used, in a special way'.

In a praiseworthy attempt to get away from a European attitude to Swahili, the author has introduced a number of Swahili grammatical terms. He acknowledges his debt to O. B. Kopoka, who first coined many of the terms used, and we must be grateful to him for bringing these terms to the attention of students of Swahili, and for adding to their number. Especially useful are Kopoka's *kikusiano* (< *kukusiana* 'to be inter-relevant') for the particle called by Mrs. Ashton 'the O of reference' with concord, and *mvoao* (lit. 'a piece of wood used as a prop'), defined by Fr. Loogman (382) as 'a word that supports another word or phrase, and in supporting it gives it a specific function in a sentence'.

The author uses Swahili terms for the two types of prefix ('adjectival' and 'pronominal' concords in Mrs. Ashton's terminology). For the latter he uses *kibadala* (cf. *badala ya* 'instead of'); for the former he has unfortunately misquoted Kopoka's *itifaki* as *ifataki*. This cannot be a mere printer's error, as it occurs throughout the book. *Itifaki* is derived from the Arabic إتيافق and is defined in the *Standard Swahili-English dictionary* as 'agreement, concord, harmony'; no such word as *ifataki* exists. Had Fr. Loogman given the derivations of all the Swahili terms used (as he does of a few), this lamentable mistake could not have occurred.

The opening chapter ('Preliminary studies') contains information on 'Pronunciation' (1–9) and 'Prefixes and suffixes' (10–20). Sections 1–9 and 16 probably constitute the worst part of the book, containing as they do so many inaccuracies and naïve statements that they could only mislead the beginner and confuse the more advanced student, e.g.

Syllabic *m* (9) is 'something more than an ordinary consonant'; the syllabic *n*- prefix before monosyllabic stems (16) is 'pronounced separately, as if it were about to be followed by a vowel', and the resultant words 'might be considered to be words of two syllables with the accent on the initial letter N'.

That 'NG is a prepalatal voiced nasal' (6) is, we hope, one of the innumerable printer's errors.

The author devotes several sections (7, 15–20, 63–8) to the *n*- prefix, but the reader who attempts to collate the information contained in these sections will be left in a state of considerable confusion. The sections dealing with monosyllabic stems (17, 64) are reasonably clear; on *n*- with disyllabic or polysyllabic stems we are told that *n*- 'becomes' *m*- before *b* or *v* (17), before *b*, *v*, or *w* (66); that

$n + w > mb$ (18) and $n + l$ or $r > nd$ (19); that $n-$ 'becomes' $ny-$ or sometimes $nj-$ before vowels (20, 65); that $n-$ can stand 'before one of the following letters only: $d-g-j-y-z$ ' (17), before a stem beginning with a consonant other than $b, v,$ or w (65); and that there is no prefix before loan-words (65, 67). Further, in the part of the book dealing with pronunciation we can discover that in stems beginning with $p, t,$ or k 'a suppressed N- prefix (which always has to be dropped before any of these three consonants)' results in aspiration ('a sort of explosive or aspirated sound') in the pronunciation of some speakers (7; no further reference to this phenomenon is made). What we are nowhere told is that the $n-$ prefix is also realized as zero (without aspiration) before other consonants in words of Bantu origin as well as in loan-words. Nouns such as *fisi* 'hyena', *simba* 'lion' are simply ignored; *ng'ombe* 'cow' is discussed under 'Pronunciation' (8) and never mentioned again; *nundu* 'hump' and *siku* 'day' are listed among the loan-words.

The division of the book into two main parts, 'Morphology' and 'Syntax', is impressive at first sight. Unfortunately a closer examination gives the impression that the author wrote two separate books on Swahili grammar, with some references to sentence construction, and put them together. There are practically no cross-references in the text or footnotes, so that it is only after detailed comparison of the two parts that it can be seen that much of the material in part I is merely re-stated, often in almost the same words (though sometimes with curious inconsistencies) in part II. Further, some of the material is presented not twice, but four times. Two examples will suffice.

The possessives are described:

(a) in part I, under 'Kivumi (qualifier)': (118) 'The six possessives of Swahili are built on archaic roots. . . . These roots are joined to the usual *vibadala* . . . with the connective $-a$, to form the possessives. . . . The six stems are: $-ngu, -ko, -ke, -itu, -inu, -ao$ '.

(b) also in part I, under 'Kijina (substitute)': (150) '. . . pronominal possessives consist of the *kibadala* of the thing owned joined to archaic forms of the personal substitutes by the connective $-a$ '. The forms are then listed as before.

(c) in part II, under 'Kiima (noun)': (460) 'The first syllable of the form which we translate as a possessive is a *kibadala*; to this is added the connective $-a$ with one of the substitutes $-ngu$. . .' (list follows once more).

(d) also in part II, under 'The *kijina* (substitute)': (491) 'The possessive is expressed by a construction composed of three elements: The *kibadala* of the thing possessed

+ connective $-a$ + $-ngu$. . .' (list follows for the last time).

The use of the 'wishing-form' (called by various writers subjunctive, permissive, etc., also known as 'the $-E$ stem') is dealt with at considerable length in various parts of the book. On the use of this form after a verb expressing desire, etc., the facts are as follows:

(a) the 'wishing-form' is used in the second verb when the two verbs have different subjects (e.g. *nataka/sitaki ulale hapa* 'I want/do not want you to sleep here'; *nataka usilale hapa* 'I want you not to sleep here').

(b) the 'wishing-form' can be used when both verbs have the same subject, in more emphatic sentences (e.g. *naomba nilale hapa* 'I beg that I may sleep here'; *naomba nisilale hapa* 'I beg that I may not sleep here').

(c) the 'wishing-form' is not normally used when the subject of the second verb would be the same as that of the first; the infinitive (nomino-verbal) is used instead (e.g. *nataka/sitaki kulala hapa* 'I want/do not want to sleep here').

This information can be obtained, with great effort—and, indeed, has so been obtained by the reviewer—by comparing and disentangling the confused statements made in 285, 347, 542, and 555, when it is realized that in 285 and 542 the first verb is referred to as the 'main' verb, in 347 the first is the 'auxiliary', the second (the infinitive) the 'main' verb, while in 555 the first and second verbs are termed 'leading' and 'dependent' respectively.

Fr. Loogman undoubtedly had a keen eye for detail: he has not infrequently spotlighted some small point which other books have passed over, or provided a helpful explanation of some construction which has puzzled students in the past. For instance:

(389-90): 'the *mwao na* connects two terms which are thought of as essentially different'—which is why *na* should not be used to connect 'two adjectives qualifying one noun in the same respect', nor 'two coordinate verbs in the same *umbo* [form] and having the same subject'.

(534-5): 'The a -binder [Mrs. Ashton's 'A of relationship'] joins that which makes a physical contact and the part of the body affected—an explanation of constructions such as *akampiga kofi la uso* 'he gave him a slap in the face', usually regarded as 'idiomatic'.

It is well known that the possessive $-ake$, usually described as third person singular, is used for both singular and plural when referring to inanimate possessors. Fr. Loogman gives an explanation of this usage (496): 'The ordinary form of the possessive of the third person plural, $-ao$, has the *kikusiano* proper to the plural of human beings and

animals and cannot be used to refer to inanimate objects'.

Sometimes, however, the author has failed to follow up an illuminating statement, or has obscured his ideas by diffuseness or inconsistency.

For instance, in 372 he tells us that 'Nouns very often function as adverbs. The verb modified by a noun used adverbially is normally intransitive or passive. A noun used adverbially usually supplies information about time, place, circumstances or cause'. Examples given include constructions such as *kumefariki mtu* 'there has died a man'; *ameunjika mguu* 'he has broken (intrans.) (his) leg'. In 443, however, he deals with transitive verbs (e.g. *kumpiga mtu fimbo* 'to hit somebody (with a) stick'), and here he describes the second noun (*fimbo*) as a 'secondary object'. He goes on to state that 'In the corresponding passive constructions involving such verbs, the secondary object is retained' (e.g. *punda zao walinyoeshwa maji* 'their donkeys were made to drink water' (causative passive)), and finally (446) he adds that 'some verbs which are normally intransitive may sometimes take an object' (e.g. *akatoka machozi* 'he shed (lit. he came out) tears'). All these constructions, whether the verb be transitive (active or passive) or intransitive, are comparable, whatever label one may choose to attach to them—a fact of which Mrs. Ashton was aware over 20 years ago (she grouped them together under the heading 'nominal construction').

Etymology is always a happy hunting-ground for the starry-eyed enthusiast, and Fr. Loogman, in spite of his expressed reluctance to advance theories based on vague personal impressions' (preface, p. vii) has let himself go from time to time.

(360): from 'an archaic verb *kusa*, to make sharp' he derives the nouns: *masasa* 'sand-paper', 'the material which by a rubbing motion, repeated, as is indicated by the duplication of the stem *-sa*, produces a shining surface'; *msumeno* 'saw', 'an object having teeth (*meno*) that have been made sharp (*su*)'; *kisu* 'knife', 'the object which can be sharpened'; *msumari* 'is a long object with a sharp point, such as a nail or the stinger of a bee'; *sululu* 'pickaxe'—'Heaviness is indicated by the syllable *lu-* (the *li-* of modern Swahili); a double side is indicated by the duplication of the *lu-* syllable; sharpness is indicated by the initial syllable *su-*'.

There exists a Common Bantu radical **-ti-* 'grind', which could be realized in Swahili as *-sa*; whether any of the words listed above are connected with this radical must remain in the realm of conjecture. *Msumeno* is perhaps derived from the stem *-su* (as in *kisu*) + *meno*. *Msumari* is unquestionably

from Arabic مسار 'nail'. The derivation of *sululu* is uncertain; it is perhaps from Arabic صل. In any case, the equation of *lu-* with *li-* here is highly questionable.

(214): the suggestion that *kudonoa*, to peck at, is 'constructed' [sic] from *mdomo* 'mouth' is absurd: change of *m* to *n* never occurs.

(139): there seems little justification for the statement that the *li-* in *lini?* 'when?' 'is in fact the concord of the *ji-* *ma-* class, singular, and seems to stand for *jua*, sun'. In any case, the author has just referred to 'the stem *li-*'.

(199): the extraordinary suggestion that *-ta* 'is in reality nothing else but *-ka* with a change of *k* to *t*' is attributed by the author to 'some Swahili scholars'. It would be interesting to know who these 'scholars' are; there is no possible connexion between the extensions *-ik-* and *-at-*.

On the subject of 'verb-form indicators' (tense prefixes) there are some curious conjectures, e.g.

(272): 'The affix *-ka-* seems to be derived from the verb *kukaa*, to remain, to continue, and in itself does not seem to be a genuine form-indicator'.

(277): the form-indicator *-ki-* is 'probably identical with the prefix of the *ki-* nouns'.

There are several errors of fact scattered through the book.

(92): 'A few adjectives may take *n-*, *m-*, *ma-*, *ki-* and *vi-* as prefixes, but not the *ji-* prefix' (eight adjectives are listed). In the first place, these adjectives can also take the prefixes *wa-* and *mi-*; in the second place, this statement implies that all other adjectives can take the *ji-* prefix, which is not the case.

(108): *edashara* and *thenashara* are not 'multiples of ten'. They mean 'eleven' and 'twelve' respectively.

(156): *-ngapi?* 'how many?' does not take 'the *kibadala* of the noun to which it refers', but the *itifaki*, as is clear from the examples given.

(591): *simtupilie kofia topeni* does not mean 'do not put his hat in the mud', but 'do not throw . . .'; it is thus not an example of the verb *kutia* 'to put' which the author is here discussing.

Further, the author makes several generalizations which are disproved by the very examples given to illustrate them:

(157): 'Whenever *kila* is not used as a qualifier, it is always accompanied by a form of reference'. There is no form of reference in *kila akipata fedha* 'whenever he obtains some money'.

(504): 'The enclitic *-pi* is always found with a *kibadala*'. In *nitanenapi?* 'what shall I say?', it is suffixed to a verb.

The publishers cannot be congratulated on the production of this book. Minor, but irritating, inconsistencies (in the use of capitals, italics, hyphens, parentheses, and quotation marks) abound. To enumerate the errata would require more space than is available in a review: over 70 have so far been counted. It is perhaps worth noting that the heading (613), "To be" in reference to situations in the simple present should read '... situations other than the simple present'.

The index, which appears to have been made by someone with no knowledge of Swahili, is inadequate, haphazard, confused, inconsistent, and often incorrect. A few examples, taken at random, should suffice to warn the reader.

Some verbs are indexed under the initial *k* of the infinitive prefix (e.g. *kufanya*, *kuja*), others under the initial letter of the stem (e.g. *-kosa*, *-sema*), and others under both (*kupiga* and *-piga*, *kutia* and *-tia*).

Of the interrogatives, only *gani* is correctly indexed. *Nini* occurs in 136 and 503, not in 152; *nani* in 137 and 502, not in 152; *je* in 138, not in 153; *lini* in 139, not in 154; *-pi* in 156, 485, and 504, not in 155; *-ngapi* (not indexed) in 156.

A random selection of 14 nouns appears in the index; of these 3 do not seem to occur anywhere in the text, 4 are wrongly indexed, and *mboga* is obviously a misprint for *mbona*.

MARGARET A. BRYAN

W. H. WHITELEY: *A study of Yao sentences*. xxvi, 291 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966. 75s.

Professor Whiteley's *Study of Yao sentences* presents us with a new and very interesting approach to the description of a Bantu language. Up to now most Bantuists—or Bantuicists, as van Bulek would have it—have put the main stress of their descriptions on morphology, and no wonder since Bantu morphological structures are so often beautifully visible and seemingly—at times deceptively—logical. The amount of information about syntax in classical descriptions is generally slight, and given as an appendix to the morphological description: one can at best expect to find a good picture of the concord system, some details on the use of verb tenses, non-verbal predication, and word order in short sentences, and a few particulars on the rendering or translation of European adverbs, conjunctions, and prepositions. As regards the articulation of the language at sentence level one has to deduce it from the texts provided with the grammar, if any. This inadequacy of linguistic description at sentence level is not, of course, a monopoly of Bantu linguistics, as

shown by the most recent trends of research in general linguistics on both sides of the Atlantic. Bantu languages should, however, constitute a privileged field for this kind of research, precisely because their morphology is in so many cases quite obvious and straightforward.

Now one of the main novelties of Professor Whiteley's description of *oiYao* is that morphology occupies only one-third of the book, the other two-thirds dealing first with a grammar of relational functions, at syntagmatic level, then with an analysis of sentence structure. In other words the author carries on his description far beyond the point at which most other Bantuists stop. That first part—phonology and morphology—clearly shows the influence of the modern British school of Bantu linguistics, as opposed to the older German and South African schools. That is to say it starts from Guthrie's basic dichotomy of variable and unvariable words, the former being further subdivided into nominals and verbals according to a formal opposition of themes and radicals. This method has been so widely accepted not only in Britain but also on the Continent that in many recent books—including *Yao sentences*—the terminology is no longer exactly that of Guthrie himself, yet the fundamental assumptions remain basically the same. Thus there is no real need, in my opinion, to discuss the use of such terms as 'Long Series Nominals' as against 'Dependent Nominals', etc. I do regret, however, that, probably for want of space, the author has had to compress this part of his description in such a way as to make it difficult for the reader to grasp it easily and remember it afterwards. One constantly has to refer to this first part when reading the rest of the book and the constant use of initials does not make things any easier.

It is in its second part—the central one in all respects—that the book really becomes original and new. Using the categories of co-occurrence and entailment, the author proceeds to give a thorough analysis of grammatical relationships, more exhaustive and coherent than anything I have read before in this domain. From this analysis he then abstracts four functional sets or groups or categories (I am not very fond of his own use of the term 'Class') which, while not necessarily brand-new or revolutionary—one has heard of subject, object, adjunct, and connector before—are rigorously defined within the structural system of the language so as to provide a kind of necessary bridge between the basic morphological units and the sentences. The third and last part of the book is devoted to a typology of sentence structure, based on the concepts of extension and expansion, with several texts as illustrations. It is, so to speak, a consequence of the first two parts, one of the main qualities

of this book being, in my eyes, the coherence and logicalness of its plan.

What I should like to see done now would be some further formalization of Professor Whiteley's materials with a view to abstracting a kind of generative grammar—not necessarily on the Chomskyite pattern—of ciYao. I would like even more to see his methods applied to another, and better known, language, such as kiSwahili. *A study of Yao sentences* is very hard going as a book chiefly because ciYao is very hard going as a language. This makes it difficult at times to follow the author's demonstration, especially as the English glosses are not always easy to correlate with the Yao examples. There is also the recurrent use of hard-to-remember initials, and the absence of an index, which do not help the reader either, be he an Africanist or a general linguist. In spite of these minor criticisms, *A study of Yao sentences* remains among the most important works on African languages published in recent years.

PIERRE ALEXANDRE

VINCENT HARLOW and E. M. CHILVER (ed.): *History of East Africa. Vol. II.* lii, 768 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965. 84s.

During the colonial period in any country it would appear that history operates on two distinct levels; on the one hand there is the history of the rulers, on the other that of the ruled. Though events in one sphere set off movements in the other, though there may be fragments of coincidence as rulers and ruled impinge upon one another's consciousness, neither has more than a partial vision of the realities of the other. The interpretation they give even to the same incidents will differ considerably. It is the chief limitation of this useful, and in many ways valuable, volume that, however critical the authors may be of aspects of imperial rule, it none the less sees the history of East Africa through the eyes of its colonisers.

Thus the emphasis in the book, according to Margery Perham in her authoritative introduction, was meant to be 'upon the effects of European government and influence upon the peoples of East Africa and their reaction'. In the very plan, then, parts of the picture are missing—the effect upon European administrators of the not infrequently subtle political manoeuvres of the people of East Africa and that segment of their history which continued at times in spite of colonial rule, at times by-passing it.

It is a frequent assumption behind the writing of the history of this period that it

was a time when colonial officials could carry on with the job of administration without being harassed by the political demands of nationalist leaders or 'agitators'. At one level this is true, for 'nationalist' politicians before 1945 were hardly a significant factor. Its implication, however, that all African political initiatives were lost in this period is misleading. Increasingly studies below the surface appearances show that the 'mosaic' of tribal life and politics (to adapt the metaphor used by Otto Raun in his chapter 'Changes in African life in German East Africa') was far from static and fixed in the 'cement' mould of colonial rule. It would be foolish to underestimate the far-reaching effects of the imposition of European rule, the extent of the authority of the imperial command and the district officer, and the changes in African life they wrought. Nevertheless it is over-simple to see this as a one-way traffic of direction from the centre as Margery Perham seems to suggest in her metaphor: 'an undue concentration on the African scene might give the impression that we are observing the action of outstretched hands, while those parts of the body which contain the head and the heart directing those hands remain in obscurity'.

The long lapse of time between the initial conception of the Oxford *History* at a Conference of Governors of the East African territories in 1952 and the publication of this volume in 1965 is undoubtedly an important reason for one's dissatisfaction with it. It has arrived too late to capture the mood of immediately pre-independence liberalism in which it was planned, yet too early to use the new perspectives which are being, and will be, opened up on the colonial period, both as we move slightly further from it and—probably more important—as the African sources, both written and oral, are opened up. It is no coincidence that the chapters on Uganda in this book are the liveliest and most illuminating and that Professor Low's chapter constitutes at least a half-way stage to a synthesis between the two levels of history. Even here much remains to be done on the African side of the story, but from the very beginning of European rule there were articulate and literate Africans in Buganda who have left their own record of how they and their contemporaries responded to the choices and changes in front of them. There is little doubt that the same kind of evidence, if not so readily available, exists in the other territories and certainly the memories of African participants in the events of colonial times have hardly been explored.

Even within their own frame of reference the chapters on Tanganyika are most disappointing, with uninspiring titles such as

'The mandate and Cameron' and 'The slump and short-term Governors'. From the African point of view, one of the best ways of studying the diverse responses of Africans to European pressure is through the local movements of rebellion and resistance. Yet the chapter on German East Africa, which covers so many of these, too often sees them purely as problems of law and order for the colonial régime, part of the process of 'pacification' of the country—a word which must have very different connotations to rulers and ruled.

While it was clearly intended that the chapters on 'Changes in African life' would provide the African side of the story, they have been only partially successful. They have provided much interesting and stimulating material, but tend to see the individual as a sociological unit illustrating trends rather than an historical personality with emotions, aims, and motives.

It is always easier to see the dramatic changes in African life as a result of colonial rule, more difficult to perceive the underlying continuity in many of the political, economic, and social adaptations made by indigenous peoples to the new facts of life. Yet it is the initiatives which remained in African hands, the way in which some individuals were able to play an old game according to the new rules which are aspects of the history of this period so largely left out of this volume and which must be taken into account if it is not simply to be a record of the actions and intentions of the rulers.

SHULA MARKS

GORDON WATERFIELD (ed.): *First footsteps in East Africa, by Sir Richard Burton*. (Travellers and Explorers.) xiii, 320 pp., 4 plates. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966. 50s.

The latest volume in the 'Travellers and Explorers' series is a new edition of one of Richard Burton's less well-known works which tells the story of his journey to the 'forbidden' city of Harar in 1854-5. The basic text, first published in 1856, has been retained and so, fortunately, have the greater parts of Burton's entertaining and instructive notes, supplemented at some points by editorial contributions. Of the original appendixes, Barker's description of his attempt to reach Harar in 1842, meteorological observations, and Speke's diary are all excluded, the latter because Speke's own version was published in 1864. Material on the Harari language is severely cut down, only Burton's introductory remarks being retained. On the other hand, the appendix on female excision and infibula-

tion, omitted by the publishers in 1856 and 'lost' by the time of Lady Burton's 1894 edition, has been found and included. Mr. Waterfield's modern introduction replaces Burton's preface. In addition, the editor has provided two extra chapters and an appendix based on some original sources. These deal with Burton's plans for the full-scale expedition through Somaliland towards the Zanzibar coast, to which the Harar trip had been merely a preliminary, and with the attack on the camp at Berbera in April 1855 which prevented the expedition from going forward.

Mr. Waterfield's editorial material is not intended, except in a general way, to enlarge upon Burton's own account of Harar and Somaliland or the results of his expedition there; the explorer himself is the focus of interest and some interesting views on him are presented. In particular, the Berbera disaster, it is suggested, not only balked the Somali expedition but also ultimately ended Burton's career as an explorer. Undoubtedly, the quarrel with Speke had some of its roots in the Somali expedition and the dispute over responsibility for Berbera was one of the more serious of Burton's many brushes with officialdom. But Mr. Waterfield by no means proves his belief that the Royal Geographical Society was influenced by adverse East India Company reports on the incident when they chose, in 1859, to send Speke to determine the source of the White Nile. There is other relevant material on the years 1855-9 which needs to be consulted before this decision is understood. Burton's own Nile plans were not, in fact, rejected out of hand in 1859 and the society allowed him the privilege of taking the whole of its 1859 *Journal* to write up his Lake Tanganyika expedition. This hardly suggests he had lost influence. Even Speke, as material in this volume shows, was not inclined to blame Burton for what had happened at Berbera.

There are one or two minor errors and misprints, e.g. the description of Samuel Gobat on p. 90, n., the spelling of 'Juillain' on p. vii and of 'Unanymebi' and 'Ukerere' on p. 38. Though the original colours of the 1856 plates have been lost, there are additional illustrations, not all of them, perhaps, particularly relevant, which go to make up an attractive volume. This is a worth-while addition to a useful series; Burton is always readable as well as informative and the editor has provided some interesting additional material.

R. C. BRIDGES

G. N. SANDERSON: *A study in the partition of Africa: England, Europe and*

the Upper Nile, 1882-1899. (Edinburgh University Publications. History, Philosophy and Economics, 18.) xv, 456 pp., front., 14 plates, 4 maps. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, [c1965]. 70s.

In October 1897, Salisbury remarked that it was 'as difficult to judge what is going on in the Upper Nile valley as to judge what is going on on the other side of the moon'. Dr. G. N. Sanderson, from a vantage-point at Khartoum with access to the Sudanese archives to supplement his study of Great Power diplomacy, has produced an elucidative account not only of the African ambitions of the Powers, but also, and for the first time, of indigenous African diplomacy and its effects on European policies. The archives of the Ministry of the Interior, Khartoum, contain the Egyptian Army Intelligence Reports, the archives of the Mahdist state relating to the correspondence of the Khalifa with Mahdist commanders in Equatoria (1893-5), the correspondence between the Khalifa and the Negus Menilek (1895-8), between Faḍl al-Mulā Bey and the Congolese (1892-4), and between 'Arabī Dafa'allāh and the Khalifa (1897-8). They are indispensable both for Sudanese-Ethiopian relations, and for Congolese activities in the southern Sudan. The papers of the Intelligence Division, Egyptian Army, include Kitchener's instructions and dispatches, correspondence with Marchand, Jackson's Intelligence diaries, his correspondence both with Omdurman and with the French, and the correspondence between Cairo and Omdurman. These provide a complete account of events at Fashoda and of Cromer's reactions to them. On this evidence, Dr. Sanderson makes a critical assessment of Kitchener's dispatch of 21 September 1898 and the effect of it on Salisbury's policy. The discussion of the Fashoda crisis, the confrontation of Britain and France on the White Nile, though always within the writer's perspective is reached only after careful analyses of the formulation and development of policies, and of the expeditions on the southern routes of approach. The method of inquiry is one of intensive unravelling and scrutiny of evidence, and it is authoritatively applied to every aspect of the Upper Nile question during the years 1882-99.

Salisbury's initial opposition to the project of the Emin Pasha relief expedition has often been emphasized. Dr. Sanderson discusses Salisbury's ultimate concurrence and the influence on it of Sir Percy Anderson's memorandum to the Cabinet of 30 November 1886. He suggests that it is going beyond the evidence to assert that the approval marked

the beginning of a defensive strategy. The repercussion of European intervention produced a vacuum of power in the southern Sudan and Salisbury was compelled to adopt a policy of defence by diplomacy. In the negotiations of the Anglo-German agreement of 1890, it is made clear that Salisbury's main difficulty was not with Berlin but with domestic opposition strongly represented in the Commons and in the Cabinet, and that Salisbury's failure to clinch the Uganda railway project was not without some attempt to initiate public opinion into African strategy.

In the discussion of the Anglo-Italian protocols of March and April 1891, Dr. Sanderson reveals by his research a secret 'Protocole Séparé'. By it, Italy undertook in the event of her retirement from any part of her newly defined sphere outside the Ethiopian frontier, to 'offer no objection to such abandoned territory being permanently occupied by the Egyptian Government' (p. 79). With this evidence, Dr. Sanderson disposes even more emphatically of the interpretation that by the Protocols, Italy's most extravagant ambitions had been met. Furthermore, he sees in the subsequent manoeuvres of Rudini, not so much 'le flirt anglo-triplicien' but rather a clumsy attempt at seduction, and that the illusion of reciprocity contrived by Rudini, had repercussions on Russia's policy, based on the fear that England would not adhere to the Triple Alliance without some firm understanding about Constantinople and the Straits. This leads him to conclude that 'Salisbury's African settlement with Italy set in motion forces which led to the formal Franco-Russian alliance which he was particularly anxious to avert' (p. 87).

On Leopold II's policy, Dr. Sanderson has already produced the authoritative article 'Leopold II and the Nile Valley, 1880-1906' (*Proceedings of the Sudan Historical Association*, I, 6, 1955), which is based on the Belgian documents in *Deutsches Kolonialblatt*. He further contributes to our knowledge with an analysis of the development of Leopold's plans for Nilotic empire, his drive for the Nile of 1890, his policy of playing off France against Britain, and the negotiations of the Anglo-Congolese agreement. This, in its turn, initiated the open Anglo-French dispute on the Upper Nile. On the Franco-German Protocol of February 1894, he points out how inaccuracies have derived from a misleading footnote to the one unimportant document published in *Die Grosse Politik* on the negotiations; that in fact the Protocol did not reopen the French road to the Nile, for the Anglo-German agreement had never closed it. Moreover, it did not determine the timing of Rosebery's approach to Leopold;

that was decided by the internal politics of the Liberal Party.

The way to the Nile from the French Congo had been opened by the Franco-Congolese Protocol of April 1887, and in his discussion of French policy, Dr. Sanderson is particularly skilful in assessing the influence of the permanent officials, of the several pressure groups, and the significance of conflicts between the Foreign and Colonial ministries. Until 1893, policy reflected the priorities of Étienne and Jamais, Ribot's refusal to quarrel with London, and Leopold's skill in diplomatic manoeuvre and intrigue. Delcassé's aggressive policy in 1893 is contrasted with his sober judgement in 1898; the evolution and frustration of the Monteil mission is examined, and the assumptions in Hanotaux's reaction to the Anglo-Congolese agreement are questioned. In the Phipps-Hanotaux negotiations, August-December 1894, Dr. Sanderson disputes the view that the British Foreign Office was 'ready to go as far in West Africa as the most chauvinistic of Frenchman could have desired' if only France would keep off the Nile. He attributes the responsibility for the failure of the negotiations to Anderson 'who wrecked whatever chances there were of a satisfactory Nile settlement by his inordinate appetite on the Niger' (p. 203), in contrast with Salisbury's negotiations with Germany in 1890. Marschall's diplomacy of limited Franco-German collaboration is criticized as 'unimaginative and penny wise' (p. 385). Undoubtedly, Germany's decision to subordinate the Upper Nile question to general European diplomacy meant that the issue would be settled without advantage to Germany. The circumstances and context of Sir Edward Grey's 'Declaration' in March 1895 are searched into, and both Rosebery's claim and Courcel's explanation are refuted, and current interpretations rendered less valid. The shortcomings of Rosebery and Kimberley as diplomatists are emphasized, and again the Courcel-Salisbury negotiations of February 1896 are given their correct significance.

Dr. Sanderson analyses the way in which Berthelot's approval of the Marchand mission was gained, and the reasons for the Cabinet's decision of 11 March 1896. In the final chapters, he discusses Fashoda, the diplomatic setting of the crisis, the encounter including the Jackson-Germain exchanges, and the condominium agreement which completed Salisbury's success against the historic rights of Egypt and the Ottoman Porte. Throughout the book the interest inherent in the subject is sustained not only by the vigorous style of presentation, but above all, by the depth and soundness of Dr. Sanderson's research.

K. D. D. HENDERSON: *Sudan republic*. (Nations of the Modern World.) 256 pp., map. London: Ernest Benn Ltd., 1965. 37s. 6d.

The end of empire has resulted in a plethora of memoirs by former administrators of the far-flung territories of the British Empire. The Sudan is no exception. The books of H. C. Jackson, Reginald Davies, Dr. Cruickshank, Sir Stewart Symes, and even Sir Geoffrey Archer are well known to all interested in the past and present Sudan. These works, and others like them, are charming, sentimental accounts, filled with delightful tales guaranteed to amuse any dinner party and which appear to have long ago crowded out from the memories of the teller the official, far-reaching decisions of imperial rule. Now another and most distinguished member of the Sudan Political Service, K. D. D. Henderson, Governor of Darfur from 1940 to 1953, has sought to write 'a personal, but not, I hope, a subjective account' (p. 9). This supposition, of course, is an illusion. No matter how pure his intentions, Mr. Henderson deludes himself in thinking that he can dismiss the attitudes and assumptions fashioned after a quarter of a century of imperial service in the Sudan. *Sudan republic* is very much a subjective account, and the author unwittingly betrays himself in page after page of pro-consular prose in which his judgements and his interpretations are, not surprisingly, those of a former ruler. Subjectivity, of course, does not mean bad history, and certainly some of the best history has been written by participants. When, however, the participant describes the frailties and follies of his successors, history turns to patronage and interpretation to opinion. Unhappily, Mr. Henderson appears unwilling to acknowledge such limitations in his analysis of an independent Sudan without British guidance.

The first chapters are the best. Mr. Henderson knows the northern Sudan and its peoples intimately. His description of the country and its people is certainly the finest to be found in any general book on the Sudan. The charm which accompanies intimacy is scattered throughout from Colonel Pearson's burial plot, which shall forever be British (p. 16), to the delightful story of the *nāzīr*, 'Ali al-Sanūāi (p. 42). At ch. iii, however, Mr. Henderson's background begins to work against him. Entitled 'Rehabilitation', this chapter describes the early years of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium, following the reconquest of the Sudan in 1898. Here Mr. Henderson is too much the trustee whose most tendentious judgements, such as referring to the acceleration toward independence after

the troubles of 1924 as a 'doubtful gain' (p. 48), are as unnecessary as they are questionable. Like others before him Mr. Henderson argues that a delay of independence would have solved the problem of the southern Sudan on the doubtful assumption that the British would have welded together the northern and southern Sudan without the pressure of Sudanese nationalism. The struggles, trials, and tribulations of such a faithful servant of the Sudanese are not very compatible with the sweep of history.

Ch. iv-vi are short, straightforward vignettes of the critical period between the two World Wars. Too much credit is given to Wingate for engineering the revolt in the Hijāz (p. 58), but his praise of A. R. Lambert's botanical contributions is not only justified but long overdue (p. 68). The explanations of local government are excellent, and the candour with which he discusses the motivations behind indirect rule (p. 70) are refreshingly realistic and free from the pious praise which usually accompanies any discussion of its implementation in British Africa. Moreover, Mr. Henderson makes no attempt to hide the fact that the purpose of Western education in the Sudan was first to support the administration and only secondly to widen the intellectual horizon of the Sudanese (p. 76). He is also prepared to admit that even with its large endowment of good sense and country-squire wisdom, the Sudan Government dallied too long in the introduction of representative institutions (pp. 80-1), which, however, appears to contradict his earlier pleas for an extension of British administration in order to resolve the problems of an independent Sudan.

The beginnings of democracy in the Sudan are described in ch. vii. This is a complex and confusing period in the Sudan, deserving of fuller and more understanding treatment. The interpretations are olympian; the judgements paternal. Here the great dilemma of the faithful British administrator in Africa is pitifully revealed. On the one hand, he feels that British institutions must be operating before independence, while on the other, instinctively realizing that there will never be sufficient time to create them. The resulting lament is unreal, repeated so often by other former colonial officials to excuse and to justify that it has lost whatever appeal it once possessed.

The most critical problem of the Sudan to-day remains the question of the south. Quite rightly Mr. Henderson devotes almost a quarter of the book to this subject in his longest chapter (x). Unhappily, during his long career in the Sudan he never served in the southern Sudan, so that his paternalism cannot be neutralized by personal knowledge. In

fact his unfamiliarity with the southern Sudan reflects the general lack of interest in that part of the country which characterized the Civil Secretariat in Khartoum until after the second World War. He appears unaware of the extent of pacification required in eastern Mongalla (pp. 159-60) or for that matter in the Bahr al-Ghazāl and Upper Nile Provinces before British administration could be introduced. The many years of pacification necessary to establish British rule placed the south, from the very beginning, far behind in the schemes of modernization in the Nile Valley. There are other minor slips and omissions. Lupton did not capture Yambio (p. 160), nor is the creation of the Equatorial Corps (p. 161) attributed to the desire of British officials to rid the south of northern Sudanese, Muslim troops. Southern Policy begins with Wingate's decision in 1910 to establish a negroid, African corps for the southern Sudan. Even more important, Mr. Henderson fails to realize that, although British policy was theoretically based on retaining the chief and supporting his authority, in practice the early British officials had to break the chiefs in order to pacify them. Simply to dismiss the chiefs for 'noncooperation or for practices repugnant to western standards of justice and morality' is to miss the point of their inveterate hostility to British rule (p. 163). Mr. Henderson clearly sees that administration in the southern Sudan becomes more 'direct', but he fails to draw the appropriate conclusion. Thus when he discusses (p. 164) the application of Southern Policy, which meant the elimination of northern, Arab Sudanese influences so that the south could develop along its own indigenous African lines, he appears to justify its application on the grounds of curtailing the slave-trade. Undoubtedly, there was a trickle of slaves passing out of the southern Sudan, but it is pure fantasy to believe that Southern Policy was inaugurated to prevent that trade. In fact it arose out of the implacable logic of indirect rule which was to replace 'direct' administration. If southern Sudanese were to be ruled through their traditional authorities and institutions, these had to be protected from external, non-negroid, African influences. Indeed, neither the author's heart nor interests are in the southern Sudan, and much like the recent work of the northern Sudanese journalist, Beshir Mohammed Said (*The Sudan: cross-roads of Africa*, 1965), he attempts to shed light on the complex problem of the southern Sudan by extensive quotations from numerous sources. The publication of such documents is always welcome, but it is no substitute for analysis.

In conclusion one cannot help but reflect that Mr. Henderson's contribution to the

historiography of the Sudan would have been far greater if he had written a memoir about his service in the Sudan from that deep well of his long experience rather than attempt to interpret current Sudanese history through the glasses of his imperial past.

ROBERT O. COLLINS

ANTHONY SILLERY: *Founding a protectorate: history of Bechuanaland, 1885-1895*. (Studies in African History, Anthropology, and Ethnology, III.) 267 pp., map. The Hague, etc.: Mouton and Co., 1965. Guilders 28.

Three themes run through this new book by an author who is already an authority on Bechuanaland. The first is external: the role of the territory in the partition of Africa. The significance of the area—the road to the north, thinly wedged between the Kalahari and the Transvaal—is well known, and Dr. Sillery adds little that will change the standard accounts of the strategy of the scramble. Indeed at points he seems strangely unaware of the suggestions of previous scholars, as for example on p. 97 where he offers no explanation for the change in policy of Sir Hercules Robinson, which was discussed at some length in *Africa and the Victorians*. His thorough search of the Colonial Office papers—in particular the internal minutes and memoranda—has, however, enabled him to throw a powerful sidelight on the character and methods of Cecil Rhodes, and his account of the discovery by the Colonial Office that Rhodes and his associates were ‘ruthless, crooked and powerful to corrupt’ should not be overlooked by any future biographer or student of Rhodes’s influence. Together with this discussion of partition tactics, the book describes in detail the transition from a protectorate, which in 1885 was designed merely to exclude external rivals, to an administration which gradually assumed extensive powers of intervention in domestic disputes. Here, Dr. Sillery argues, Sir Henry Loch’s unauthorized proclamation of 1891 created the prototype of a new form of protectorate and gave Bechuanaland ‘a special place in imperial history’.

Behind these two themes lies the question of the role of the Tswana chiefs in these developments. Kgama, chief of the Bamangwato, was probably the most renowned African of this time, and his acceptance of the Protectorate in 1885, his support of the administration, and his visit to London to frustrate the Chartered Company are here once more recounted. Unfortunately, however,

this theme remains for the most part subservient to the others: the springs of Tswana foreign policy remain elusive, the opinions of the chiefs are not always clearly distinguished from those of their missionary coadjutors, and the pressures of inter-tribal rivalries are described mainly as they impinge on the administration and are interpreted through official eyes. Kgama, in particular, remains an enigma, and one finds it difficult to accept that this despot, who with ruthless vigour had seized a chieftaincy and imposed a régime of Victorian austerity on his people, could meekly be ‘determined as always to be on a proper footing with the Protecting power’. His calculations of his own interests and those of his people were, one feels, far more flexible and subtle than this, and one is left hoping that other scholars will follow Dr. Sillery’s footsteps and investigate this aspect of the story in depth.

RICHARD GRAY

C. W. NEWBURY (ed.): *A mission to Gelele, king of Dahome, by Sir Richard Burton*. (Travellers and Explorers.) ix, 372 pp. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966. 50s.

Richard Burton’s account of the kingdom of Dahomey, as a work of ‘pre-scientific’ anthropology, stands alone in the nineteenth-century literature of African travel. Burton’s linguistic brilliance, tireless curiosity, and powers of exact observation enabled him in his *Mission to Gelele* to make what Dr. Newbury rightly calls ‘a unique contribution to our knowledge of a West African kingdom’. Here was an obvious choice for early inclusion in this useful new series of ‘Travellers and Explorers’.

Nobody is better qualified than Dr. Newbury to edit this masterpiece, and yet one wonders if he has made the best use of his opportunity. His long and well-documented introduction is admirable in placing Burton’s mission in the wider context of British policy in West Africa, but when he turns to the African side of the story his touch is sometimes less sure. It seems to the reviewer that he greatly over-stresses the inflexibility of Dahoman policy and the irrational element in its motivation. His failure clearly to bring out the very real suzerainty exercised by Oyo over the whole region in the eighteenth century obscures the reader’s understanding of the very fluid ‘international situation’ created by the collapse of that power in the second decade of the nineteenth century. The Fon and the Egba, both former tributaries of Oyo, were drawn into a conflict which both interpreted

as a struggle for survival, and which cannot be adequately treated in isolation from the wider conflagration which engulfed the whole of Yorubaland. The realities of political and economic rivalry are surely sufficient to explain Dahoman animosity towards Abeokuta without resort to the fantastic supposition that war was needed to provide a steady flow of victims for sacrifice. Upon what scale does Dr. Newbury suppose human sacrifice to have been practised in Abomey? A number of minor errors have been noted. The death of King Agaja is given as 1738 (p. 26, n.). Dr. Akinjogbin of the University of Ife has established from documentary evidence that he died in the first half of 1740. The *Akplogan* was not 'chief of one of Allada provinces' (p. 33) but the chief of a former province of Whydah, who had transferred his allegiance to Dahomey in 1726. It is also somewhat misleading to speak of the French firm of Régis as pioneering legitimate trade at Whydah (p. 6), when the Gold Coast merchant Thomas Hutton had opened business there in palm oil as early as 1838.

The text is that of the second edition of 1864, reproduced virtually in full, as are all but the most irrelevant of Burton's own copious footnotes. Dr. Newbury's own notes are few and unobtrusive. This very modest interpretation of the editor's role was probably imposed by the wider plan of the series, but in Burton's rather peculiar case it may have been a serious error of judgement. It is surely expected and desired that this series will have wide appeal not only to the English 'general reader' but to a non-specialist African readership as well, and from this point of view there can be small doubt that Burton's original text would have benefited from much more positive editorship, both in annotation and excision. Burton's self-conscious, dated style, peppered with Greek and Latin tags, snatches of French and Hindustani, and forgotten upper-class slang, is frequently difficult to read, and not always easy to understand. The very wide range of his constant comparative allusions to other unfamiliar societies is better calculated to impress than to enlighten the majority of readers, and Dr. Newbury gives them no help.

More serious is the sustained and vicious anti-African tone of Burton's book. His characteristic blend of cheap Gilbertian facetiousness and 'scientific' racism is certainly revolting even to the most insensitive African reader. Of course this element in Burton's writing is so pervasive that it would be neither honest nor practicable to try to eliminate it by editorial cutting, but the book could easily be made a good deal less unpleasant by a judicious pruning of the more

outrageous outbursts, and the omission of the many asides and footnotes which are no more than abusive expressions of the author's antipathy to the Negro. It seems a pity that a work which contains so much of interest and value to African readers should have appeared once more so disfigured by this display of prejudice as to be, for Africans, virtually unreadable.

D. H. JONES

J. C. ANENE: *Southern Nigeria in transition, 1885-1906: theory and practice in a colonial protectorate*. xii, 360 pp., 8 plates, map. Cambridge: University Press, 1966. 45s.

This textbook narrative by the head of the History Department in the University of Ibadan covers, in workmanlike fashion, what had hitherto been a major gap in the published historical literature of Nigeria by tracing the evolution of the British Protectorate over the 'Oil Rivers' from the Berlin Conference to the administrative amalgamation with Lagos in 1906.

The curious 'treaties', which in 1884-5 secured British 'freedom of action' on the Lower Niger and the Oil Rivers, did not immediately entail any surrender of internal sovereignty by their African signatories, and British policy makers were slow even to establish the 'paper protectorate' needed to sustain their claims against European rivals. Increasingly direct responsibility for the affairs of the coastal states was imposed upon the British, in the 1880's and 1890's, by the disruptive effect of European commercial rivalries upon indigenous institutions, but the 'opening up' and 'pacification' of the, predominantly Ibo, hinterland came only in the first decade of the present century, and after the reforms of 1900 had endowed the protectorate, on paper at least, with most of the forms and institutions of a 'Crown Colony' government.

Professor Anene has been at work for many years on this subject, and he has been able to draw upon the researches of students working under his direction. He has tried to make the fullest use of oral material, of the work of Nigerian local historians, and of later as well as contemporary records, both in Nigeria and in the Public Record Office. Unlike many research workers, he has not overlooked the valuable contribution to be drawn from contemporary published work, of which he makes good use. But however energetic and resourceful the student may be in his search for supporting evidences, the awkward fact remains that, for the historian of the early

colonial period, here as in most parts of tropical Africa, the overwhelming bulk of his sources derives from the colonial administrative machinery itself. The alien officials' ignorance of African conditions combined with the obvious need for self-justification and to 'sell' local policies to higher authority makes this a peculiarly difficult body of material to interpret, where there is virtually no other evidence to set against it. The task cannot be made easier for the Nigerian scholar by the fact that his own people are seen in these records almost exclusively as savages living in primeval anarchy, to whom it would be unthinkable to ascribe either positive political rights or rational motives.

One can only admire the scholarly integrity with which Professor Anene has handled this intransigent material. He has sought to do justice to the motivations and achievements of British administrative policy and, at the same time, to uncover the realities of the African side of the story. It may be doubted whether anyone else could have done better in producing a balanced and objective narrative. Inevitably there are some false touches. The criticism of the undignified begging habits of the coastal chiefs and their 'ridiculous' misuse of articles of European dress is a partial failure to dissociate from the ethnocentric prejudices of the original sources. Conscious effort to avoid this danger leads to perhaps an excessive stress on the early administrators' ignorance of indigenous politics and society and their unwillingness to learn. The judgements on individuals are not always easy to accept. The heavy contrast between Macdonald and Moor, always so favourable to the humanity of the former, probably takes too little consideration of the very different circumstances in which they had to act. Macdonald, too, was capable of speaking of 'the strong arm of civilization'.

The impression is given on p. 202 that the information from Egharevba's *History* about the trial and banishment of the last Oba of Benin comes ultimately from Bini sources. This is a mistake. The whole passage, as Chief Egharevba clearly indicates, is a verbatim quotation from Ling Roth's *Great Benin*, a circumstance very relevant to the historian's judgement of the whole episode.

D. H. JONES

A. D. H. BIVAR: *Nigerian panoply: arms and armour of the Northern Region*. 44, [2] pp., front., 22 plates. [Lagos]: Department of Antiquities, Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1964.

This is a specialist work, and as for its

specialist aspects, the present reviewer can only remark that it bears the constant imprint of scholarly competence. It required Dr. Bivar's scholarship to make clear the full significance of Northern Nigerian scribal hands and chancery documents. He has now performed an equivalent service in the field of arms and armour.

The work consists of descriptive accounts of each of the weapons and garments which Dr. Bivar displays, and a following section in which these same objects appear in photographs which excellently illustrate the preceding discussions. There is also an appendix and a useful bibliography.

To the historian of Northern Nigeria two points stand out. The first is that this work confirms the importance of Mamluk influences in the area. The prominence and significance of such influences had already begun to be realized from the study of Hausa constitutional practice and court ceremonial. This work now provides important pointers as to how they entered Hausaland, and indicates a more precise chronology. Similarly, the presence of Ottoman influences is underlined. The earlier Maghribi contacts are not excluded, but are shown to have been tenuous and somewhat uncertain. This evidence is particularly valuable because, by implication, it rebukes over-ready assumptions of the primacy of native Arab contacts with Hausaland.

The second valuable contribution is summed up in Dr. Bivar's observation 'The final result is to show that there is no simple answer to the question of the origins of this whole body of archaeological material'. This is indeed true of all aspects of Northern Nigerian culture. It can be demonstrated through such diverse studies as that of the provenance and diffusion of cowry shells in the area; the borrowing of Arabic loan-words into Hausa and the origins of Hausa folk-lore. In each case we are dealing not with simple and easily distinguishable trends and associations, but with a tangled skein of often unexpected contacts and diffusion which present a pattern of great complexity. Dr. Bivar's study has contributed importantly to the process of unravelling. It has also indicated a number of directions in which future research could profitably be pursued.

Dr. Aida S. Arif's appendix, in which she proposes what she considers to be the translation of the inscription on the Ngala flint-lock pistol is not convincing, and it would have been better to leave the matter at the point to which Dr. Bivar himself takes it—that the inscription is not susceptible to decipherment and is probably in a language other than Arabic.

M. HICKETT

WILLIAM A. SHACK: *The Gurage: a people of the ensete culture*. xiii, 222 pp., front., 6 plates. London, etc.: Oxford University Press for the International African Institute, 1966. 50s.

The Gurage are a people of Hamitic stock, speaking a Semitic language, who live in the Lake Zeway region of south-western Ethiopia. Apart from Professor Leslau's work (mainly linguistic), such as his *Ethiopic documents: Gurage*, not very much has been written about them, and Dr. Shack's book is therefore a welcome addition to the scanty literature. After an introductory chapter dealing with the history of the people, the author goes on to 'Ecology and communications', 'Land, labour, and ensete', 'Kinship, local organization, family, and marriage', 'The political system: clan-ship and ritual', and 'Religious organization' (these are the titles of ch. ii-vi). A final chapter called 'Conclusions' is followed by three appendixes (on houses; on lineage segmentation of one clan; and on sex division of labour). There are bibliographies and an index.

The Gurage are fortunate in that they appear never to have had a crop failure, their staple food being the banana-like plant *ensete edulis* (Amharic *ensät*, Gurage *äsät*), of which the root, leaf-stem, and inner bark of the pseudo-stem are eaten. Other parts are also used extensively: bark provides insulation for thatched roofs, dried leaves are made into plates, leaves are used as wrappings and head-pads, and the coarse fibres are sold for making rope and bags. The plant is the basis of Gurage social and economic life, and a status symbol for the rich; it is possibly of greater social and economic significance to the Gurage than to most of the other ensete-growing peoples of south-western Ethiopia. This aspect of Gurage culture is described in detail.

The chapter on kinship and local organization (ch. iv) is refreshingly free from jargon, though the terms minimal and maximal lineage have crept in, and fig. 16 shows the 'lineage segmentation of the Yänak^wamt clan'; but the author appears to have resisted

the temptation to carry this *ad absurdum*, for he notes that Gurage 'do not think in terms of differential segments of lineage'. In the note to p. 94 he might have added that the Gurage *zär* has the same meaning as the Amharic *zär*, 'seed', 'origin'.

As to religion, the Gurage are described as being pagan, Christian, and Muslim. They have been strongly influenced by long contact with Ethiopian Christianity and with Islam; and both these religions have incorporated elements of Cushitic paganism. The two obviously pagan cults called Čäst, in which men (and men only) honour the Cushitic Sky God Waq, and Däm^wam^wit, centred on the female deity bearing the same name and practised only by women, appear to be celebrated by all Gurage; but the cult of Božä, the Thunder God, would seem to be more of a Muslim cult, though of pagan origin. These cults are described; the first two are called 'the dominant religious conceptions of Gurage men and women', but their interrelation with Christianity and Islam is not sufficiently brought out, and the status and practice of these two religions is not clear from the book. There is a useful table on p. 36 of the primary and secondary religions of the Gurage tribes.

The book includes also an account of the submerged class called Fuga (the Watta of the Galla and the Manjo of the Kafa), who are hunters, artisans, and ritual experts, and while speaking the language of the group among which they live, have a language of their own. They occur in all the tribal areas of Gurage, living among the Gurage but not as part of them, like submerged classes elsewhere in East Africa, and debarred from marriage with the Gurage. They are the technologists of the Gurage, who say 'a Fuga is one who knows'.

This is an interesting, useful, and well written book, and to my mind one of the best of the International African Institute's publications. The map at the end (map 4), however, is poor, and does not mark all the tribes.

G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD

SHORT NOTICES

JAMES MELLAART: *Earliest civilizations of the Near East*. (The Library of Early Civilizations.) 143 pp. London: Thames and Hudson, [1965]. 30s.

This book is essentially the author's contribution to *The dawn of civilization* rewritten to include the most recent developments, in

which he has personally played such a prominent part. His subject covers, in the traditional terminology, the transition from the mesolithic to the neolithic culture, and the chalcolithic period. In the past it has been the custom to speak of 'civilization' beginning with the urban revolution in Egypt and Mesopotamia in the Early Bronze Age—i.e. outside the span

of the essay—and it is with this view that Mr. Mellaart conformed in his original exposition. This was entitled 'Roots in the soil' and was concerned with sketching the neolithic and early chalcolithic periods as the seed-beds from which civilization was later to spring. In this revised form, however, covering exactly the same period and area, we are told of the 'earliest civilizations'. We may ask whether this is due to new information, or whether it is only a redefinition of 'civilization'.

In fact it is the new material furnished by two sites which has revolutionized our knowledge of the neolithic period. These are Jericho, and more particularly Çatal Hüyük near Konya in southern Anatolia, where Mr. Mellaart's excavations have produced such extraordinary results. These must completely supersede the established notion of the neolithic community as being an economically autarkic settlement lacking in technical specialization and practising subsistence agriculture. Civilization demands not only a considerable degree of technological achievement, but also a community large enough to evolve beyond the most simple stages of social organization. Both Jericho and Çatal Hüyük answer to these requirements in some degree. Furthermore the wealth and foreign provenance of their artefacts indicate the substantial trade of the period.

Thus we are fortunate to have Mr. Mellaart's new account of this momentous turning-point in human affairs, written in the light of the latest discoveries by himself and others. It is, as he emphasizes, in the nature of an interim report, for his own present excavations are far from complete, and also the progress of the past five years has been such that no one can tell what the next five may bring.

J. D. HAWKINS

RAY L. CLEVELAND: *An ancient South Arabian necropolis: objects from the second campaign (1951) in the Timna' cemetery.* (Publications of the American Foundation for the Study of Man, Vol. iv.) xiii, 188 pp., 120 plates. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, [1965]. (Distributed in G.B. by Oxford University Press. £9.)

This work illustrates and describes in great detail almost all the objects, other than pottery, excavated in the Timna' cemetery, Wādi Bayḥān (South Arabian Federation) during the second campaign of the 1951 archaeological expedition sponsored by the American Foundation for the Study of Man. Its president, Wendell Phillips, has written the foreword. The author did not participate

in any of Wendell Phillips's earlier expeditions. His study is a part-time task which he undertook in 1957 helped and advised by Professor Albright and Dr. Gus W. Van Beek.

The objects are varied, both in purpose and in their artistic merit. They include incense burners, statues, stelae, beads, shells, bronze objects, and reliefs. It is claimed that the contents of this necropolis constitute the largest collection of South Arabian antiquities of known provenance available for study. Together with the inscriptions they have a special importance and interest for those concerned with the culture of ancient South Arabia.

The book is essentially a catalogue and reference work designed for the specialist. The text is so arranged that each type of object is described according to materials, features, condition, and significance. Reliefs and sculpture are arranged according to representation—human figures, bulls, and ibex. Each category is prefaced by general remarks regarding ancient South Arabian art and history.

The objects cannot yet be dated, although they can hardly be later than A.D. 10. The author is aware that this is likely to surprise some readers. He points out, however, that the first ceramic chronology for South Arabia being worked out by Dr. Gus W. Van Beek is nearing completion and that this together with the study of potsherds from the Timna' cemetery should indicate the span of time during which the cemetery was in use. Until this latter study is published it is clearly impossible to predict the ultimate historical value of the antiquities which the author has described. He confines his comments to antiquity and does not attempt in his notes to compare or contrast ancient objects with those still in use to-day in South Arabia, or to assess the nature of local customs. It is an understatement, for example, to suggest (p. 30) that the ibex 'may possibly have had some special significance in the superstitions or religion of the people', when in fact the whole question of the ibex cult as it still exists in the Ḥadramawt has been studied and described in detail by H. Ingrams and R. B. Serjeant.

One can sympathize with the author who has carried out his painstaking task without access to information derived from the excavation of a stratified site. He remarks in his introduction (p. 3), 'So while this collection supplies many new details about the past of South Arabia, it also urges us on to further controlled excavation'. In fact, political conditions being as they are, this hope is unlikely to be fulfilled for some time to come. On the one hand it underlines a lost opportunity to advance South Arabian archaeology,

and on the other it gives an additional value and significance to a publication of this kind. Everything published about the antiquities of South Arabia is to be welcomed. All the more so when the artefacts are so clearly and attractively presented.

H. T. NORRIS

HEINZ GROTZFELD: *Laut- und Formenlehre des Damaszenis-Arabischen*. (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, xxxv, 3.) xiii, 134 pp. Wiesbaden: Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, Kommissionsverlag Franz Steiner GmbH, 1964. DM 28.

ARIEL BLOCH: *Die Hypotaxe im Damaszenis-Arabischen, mit Vergleichen zur Hypotaxe im Klassisch-Arabischen*. (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, xxxv, 4.) vi, 102 pp. Wiesbaden: Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, Kommissionsverlag Franz Steiner GmbH, 1965. DM 24.

ARIEL BLOCH and HEINZ GROTZFELD (ed.): *Damaszenisch-arabische Texte, mit Übersetzung, Anmerkungen und Glossar*. (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, xxxv, 2.) x, 215 pp. Wiesbaden: Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, Kommissionsverlag Franz Steiner GmbH, 1964. DM 40.

The first of these three publications deals in some detail with the phonology and morphology of the spoken Arabic of Damascus.

Some points arise out of the treatment of the phonology of this dialect. Both *e* and *o* are defined as occurring 'nur in einfach geschlossener Endsilbe' (p. 11) or 'nur in unbetonter einfach geschlossener Endsilbe' (p. 13). Many feminine singular words, however, have the ending *-e*, which is here a conditioned variant of *-a* (cf. p. 90), and this case is not really covered by the description. Final *o* (viz. the 3 m.s. suffix) is defined as *-ū* (p. 42), which fits the general statement earlier that long vowels are shortened in final unstressed positions but remain phonologically long. That *-o* is phonologically long, however, is not self-evident in this particular instance.

The morphology is fairly fully and satisfactorily treated but the arrangement and the lack of an index can make reference difficult, and in particular to the broken plurals.

It is doubtful whether some of the comparative material adds much to the discussion (as, e.g., pp. 66 ff.) although it is interesting.

This is, however, a useful documentation of

an important dialect which has been insufficiently studied up to the present.

The second publication deals very thoroughly with an aspect of syntax. Most of the examples are from the texts printed in the third work considered here, with a few from other relevant publications. These latter are not re-transcribed, but this should cause no difficulty. There is a good index which makes for ease of reference.

The third book in this series gives a good selection of texts covering informal biography, stories, and broadcasts. Where the language is not completely typical of the Damascene dialect this is carefully pointed out to the reader (as, for example, in text 20, p. 166).

The notes cover most points of interest or query. It might, however, have been useful to cross-reference the important demonstrative particle *lak, lak, (w-lak)* 'sieh doch!', etc., which is discussed in the first publication on p. 48. This seems to occur for the first time on p. 4, l. 14.

The appended glossary contains the words which occur in the text which are not given in Barthélemy's dictionary. Some of these are listed in Denizeau's supplement to Barthélemy's work (1960) which does not seem to have been used by the authors.

T. M. JOHNSTONE

IMTIYĀZ 'ALĪ 'ARSHĪ (comp.): *Catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts in Raza Library, Rampur. Vol. one. Quranic sciences and the science of traditions*. (Raza Library Publication Series, No. 12.) xii, 657 pp. + errata slip. Rampur: Raza Library Trust, 1963. Rs. 30.

This catalogue of the MSS of the Qur'ān, Qur'anic sciences, and *ḥadīth* gives a good and well-ordered description of the MSS held in the Raza Library, Rampur. The schema is plain and the arrangement of the different elements in the description of the MSS makes for convenience of reference.

The system of transcription is fairly orthodox, though some conventions (as e.g. *z* for *dhāl*) are better adapted to Urdu than to Arabic. The use of the apostrophe in examples such as a'ṣ-Ṣawrī (p. xi) is, however, rather a confusing convention.

References are made to Broekelmann, *GAL*, where these are relevant, and to other Indian libraries if a copy of the MS in question is to be found there. What the compiler does not note on p. x is that other useful references are made throughout to authors such as Ḥājjī Khalifa (cf. p. 151) and to other catalogues (cf. p. 159).

Pp. xi-xii give details of some of the old and interesting MSS in this library. One of these, no. 399, a Qur'ān commentary by Abū 'Abdullāh Sufyān b. Sa'īd b. Masrūq al-Thawri al-Kūfi deserves especial notice.

The Arabic type is small but clear, though the letter *zā'* is often blurred. In the transcription of 'ain, the ' tends not to be reproduced (cf. e.g. pp. 333 and 345).

Some few misprints have escaped the proof-reading (as, e.g., Wādihah (no. 298, p. 138) and 19 for 91 in the errata). These seem to be of minor importance and should not detract from the usefulness of this publication.

T. M. J.

Y. LINANT DE BELLEFONDS: *Traité de droit musulman comparé*. (Maison des Sciences de l'Homme. Recherches Méditerranéennes. Études, vi.) 2 vols.: 458 pp.; 483 pp. Paris, La Haye: Mouton & Co., 1965.

This comprehensive treatise will be of value to students of Islamic law and society. The author describes the purpose and scope of the work in his general introduction (vol. I, pp. 7-18). He excludes from consideration the public law of Islam, *uṣūl al-fiqh* (the traditional discipline dealing with the sources of Islamic law), and ritual obligations. Within the vast remaining field of private law, he undertakes a comparative study of the doctrines of the four Sunni schools. While using as his framework the Ḥanafī system, he is anxious to present a genuine synopsis, rather than an exposé mainly of the teachings of a single school, such as has been usual in manuals of Muslim law until recent times. He emphasizes his close dependence upon Arabic authors, and particularly his exploitation of modern texts in order to present the contemporary Muslim image of *fiqh*. He proceeds (vol. I, pp. 19-50) to discuss the 'formal sources' of Islamic law—not the traditional *uṣūl al-fiqh*, which form the theoretical foundation of the Shari'a, but the authoritative texts wherein the present-day jurist can find the law. The comparative study is divided into three books, dealing respectively with the general theory of the juridical act, with marriage, and with the dissolution of marriage. The exposition of the great body of data surveyed by the author is clear and systematic.

WILLIAM R. POLK: *The United States and the Arab world*. (The American Foreign Policy Library.) xvi, 320 pp.

Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965. (Distributed in G.B. by Oxford University Press. 48s.)

This work is published in a series of 'handbooks directed towards the formation and guidance of an enlightened public opinion on important and difficult questions of American relations with different countries or areas'. It gives less space to contemporary issues than the title suggests: much of the space is given to an historical sketch of developments in the Arab world from the time of Muḥammad to the second World War. Given the limits of space such a summary is inevitably somewhat episodic in treatment and divided—at times a little uneasily—between the topical and the chronological, but readers new to the subject, to whom the series appears to be largely directed, will find much that is useful in it.

As the discussion ranges over several centuries in which the United States did not exist and, subsequently nearly a century and a half in which her role in the Middle East was very slight, specific U.S. policies receive comparatively slight treatment. But when the author, who, after an academic career, is now a member of the Policy Planning Council of the U.S. State Department, deals with U.S. interventions in the area in the 1950's, he shows a commendable moderation and objectivity, especially in dealing with the confusions of the 'Eisenhower Doctrine'. He also appears to be free from the common tendency of Americans to exaggerate the significance of Communism in the area. It appears surprising, therefore, that in his conclusions he approves of what he calls 'the retention of a police force' by the United States in the area. This seems a misuse of words. Police are servants of a community acting on its behalf. Unilateral actions in international affairs which affect the independence of other countries do not fulfil this criterion in the community of nations. This was clearly recognized by Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld when he declined to give UN recognition to the U.S. landing in the Lebanon in 1958, and the UN observers found that the alleged external threat to the Lebanon, which had occasioned the intervention, was unfounded in fact.

Apart from the Arab-Israel conflict, the discussions on policies omit an analysis of the rivalries among the Middle Eastern countries. Admittedly the frequent changes in the intra-regional balance of power make such an analysis difficult in a short space, but in any further edition of this handbook a brief reference to intra-regional rivalries would be useful.

E. F. PENROSE

J. F. P. HOPKINS (ed.): *Arabic periodical literature, 1961*. xi, 104 pp. Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons for Middle East Centre, University of Cambridge, 1966. 35s.

This is the first number of what is hoped to be an annual publication indexing articles which have appeared in certain Arabic journals. It contains an index to the articles in 23 periodicals to a complete set of which for 1961 access has been possible. The work is a project of the Cambridge Middle East Centre where complete copies of 18 of the 23 periodicals can be consulted. Of the remainder four are available at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, and one in Cambridge University Library.

The editor, who thanks Mr. J. D. Pearson and his staff 'for their unfailing liberality and efficiency in lending us runs of periodicals which we ask for', has followed roughly the categories adopted by Mr. Pearson in his *Index Islamicus, 1906-1955*, and its *Supplement, 1956-1960*. Altogether 1874 articles are indexed. The largest section is No. (12) Arabic literature, theatre, opera, cinema, radio, with 505 items. Next comes No. (15) Poetry, with 361 poems indexed, and then No. (1) Theology, religious questions, with 143 items. No. (14) Fiction, plays, has 122 items. Other subjects represented are grouped under the headings: Law; Philosophy and psychology; Science and technology; Medicine; Geography; Economics, trade and industry (the shortest section, with 8 items); Sociology, anthropology and folklore; Current affairs, political questions and Arab nationalism; History; Education; Non-Arabic literature; Essays and belles-lettres; Plastic arts and music; plus a group of 27 items unclassified.

Each item is given its Arabic title with English translation, followed by a note to indicate its nature and contents. The policy has been to include as much as possible, the only categories excluded 'in principle' being translations in prose of matter more easily accessible elsewhere. The value of the survey is enhanced by an index of authors. This work, covering a wide range of subject-matter, has been very carefully compiled, and will be welcomed as an important addition to bibliographical literature. It is to be earnestly hoped that the aim of continuing it annually will be realized.

JAMES BOBSON

THEODORE PAPADOPOULLOS: *Social and historical data on population (1570-1881)*. (Texts and Studies of the History of Cyprus, I.) xiii, 248 pp.,

3 facsimis. Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1965.

Dr. Papadopoulos is already known for his publications on two very disparate subjects, Ruanda dynastic poetry and the history of the Orthodox Church under Ottoman rule. He is now in charge of the Historical Section of the Cyprus Research Centre which has published this welcome addition to the scanty material available for the study of the history of the island under the Turks.

The first part of the book is a detailed discussion of the evidence for the size of the population during this period. The principal sources of information are travellers' accounts and the census of 1881. Many of the former were included by Cobham in his *Excerpta Cypria*; much of the material is therefore already well known and was taken into consideration by Sir George Hill, but it has not been examined so elaborately before. In part II data from three registers in the archiepiscopal archives are published and analysed. The most important, which dates from 1825, is a list of Cypriots liable to pay *jizya*, grouped under villages and parishes, and showing the amount payable by each individual. Another, dating probably from 1820, is comparable but incomplete. The third records quantities of wheat and barley to be supplied by particular villages for compulsory purchase during the years 1245-48/1820-32. There is obviously much to interest the social and economic historian of Cyprus in such documents as these and we can only hope that more of them will become available, and that they will be edited with equal care. It is a pity, though, that the English of this book was not corrected before publication.

O. F. BECKINGHAM

ALBERT HOURANI (ed.): *Middle Eastern affairs*. No. 4. (St. Antony's Papers, No. 17.) 165 pp. London: Oxford University Press, [1965]. 25s.

This issue of *Middle Eastern affairs* contains an interesting group of contributions to the study of the Near and Middle East, concerned, with one exception, with historical topics. The exception is Dr. Fayez Sayegh's paper on 'The theoretical structure of Nasser's Arab Socialism', which, based on the detailed examination of data provided by President 'Abd al-Nāṣir's speeches and the official documents of the régime, is an exercise in the study of political theory. The contribution by Allan Cunningham, 'The wrong horse?—a study of Anglo-Turkish relations before the first World War', deals with the period from 1877 to 1914. Amongst other points it brings out the basic

similarity of Liberal and Conservative attitudes to the Ottoman Empire, and shows the Ottoman entry into the first World War on the side of the Central Powers as an unexpected development. This article is marred by several misprints. In 'Turks, Arabs and Jewish immigration into Palestine, 1882-1914', Dr. Neville Mandel offers a cogent and fully documented critique of the common view that Arab-Jewish relations in Palestine did not become strained until the Balfour Declaration. He shows that, on the contrary, the period from 1882 to 1914 offered a prototype for the pattern of relations between the two communities after the first World War. Dr. Roger Owen, in 'The influence of Lord Cromer's Indian experience on British policy in Egypt 1883-1907', stresses the importance of India as a model for reorganization in Egypt, the role played by men with Indian experience, and the effect of Cromer's own Indian service on his principles of government and their application. Finally, Majid Khadduri's study entitled 'Aziz 'Ali al-Misri and the Arab nationalist movement' reconsiders the background and career of a man who has long held a place among the pioneers of Arab nationalism. The article demonstrates the strength and persistence of his belief in the unity of the Ottoman Empire. This was critical for him: it led to a clash in 1916 with Sharif Husayn, whose separatist aims were then becoming clear, and it made him an object of suspicion to the post-War monarchies in Cairo and Baghdad.

P. M. HOLT

JOYCE BLAU: *Kurdish-French-English dictionary*. (Correspondance d'Orient, No. 9.) xix, 262 pp. Bruxelles: Centre pour l'Étude des Problèmes du Monde Musulman Contemporain, 1965. Bel. fr. 300.

'Il existe une littérature kurde, cette littérature est en grande partie imprimée.' Even the reliable parts of this dictionary, however, will only serve as a key to a small part of it. Kurdish publications appear in a number of dialects and scripts, and those in the Latin are on the whole in a less flourishing state than their Arabic and Cyrillic cousins. From 1932 onwards there appeared in Damascus a considerable number of interesting works, in a Latin orthography based on modern Turkish, published by the late Jeladet Aali Bedir Khan and his circle.¹ Since 1947 the centre of the

movement has been Paris. But with the passage of time the language of these 'Bedir Khan' publications, of which Miss Blau has in effect made an index of some 6,000-7,000 words, has acquired a considerable number of neologisms of doubtful origin and use and it is these, more than the basic vocabulary of the language, which stand out when they are lined up. It would be a bold man (though not necessarily an 'agirçav hardi, bold', i.e. 'fire-eyed' one) who undertook to separate all the goats from the sheep, but here are a few picked at random:

aşîî peace: formed by substituting the abstract ending *-îî* for *-î* in Persian *âstî*.

avzî reputation: based on a misreading in Arabic script; Pers. *âbrî*.

ayende present: a misuse of Pers. *âyanda* 'coming, future'.

bertûkî corbeille de fleurs, flower-bed: *barbûk* is a bridemaid and *barbûkî* (Yûsuf Xâlidî) the bridal procession. Has 'corbeille de noces, wedding presents' gone astray?

cazû witch: *z* substituted in Pers. *şadu*.

çapberî lithography: made on Pers. *çap-i sangî* by ignoring the Izafe.

dizçente burglar: meant to be 'pickpocket, cutpurse'.

firoşkerî shop: a 'sale-makery'?

havînî pardessus, overcoat; *zivistanî* manteau, coat: literally 'summer' and 'winter' things respectively.

hogeç rival: lit. '2-/3-year-old goat'.

incar pear: Syrian Ar. *inşâş*. The Kurd. word for 'pear', *harmê*, appears only in the fanciful month-name *hermêpiştan* 21 March-20 April, presumably 'pear-blossom-time' (*b/piştivîn* 'to blossom').

keuçîk rubber: *-cu-* is a near impossibility in Kurdish and 'rubber' is *lâstîk* wellnigh everywhere in Kurdistan.

kirêjîyok external ear: *qirêj* is 'dirty' (of the body), *qirêjîâ guh* 'matière des oreilles' (Jaba), so 'waxlet'?

merg soul: Pers. 'death'!

nêtar neutre, neutral.

pagend ruby: the word suggests smelling feet, but is a nonsense form of Pers. *yâkand*.

per père, father: a French cleric 'per X', or has *paş* 'feather' lost an *e*?

pronav pronoun; *pronivîs* programme; *tengnivîs* stenographer.

govîn gramophone record, *strandêr* ditto: the former (Turk. 'cylinder') is genuine, the latter a 'song-holder'.

ixwîb frontier; *tuzûb* limit: Syriaio *twîmâ*. *yekman* president: 'one left'?

Other words, such as *bûyer* 'fact', *daraz* 'sentence (of judge)', whence *darazda* 'judge',

¹ A handy selection of these and similar texts, 'Recueil de textes kourmandji [sic]', was published by Stig Wikander, *Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift*, 1959, Nr. 10.

and *hevda* 'hair', defy analysis. Since all these are indistinguishable in this list from the real Kurdish words they give some point to another entry:

baqa pirsan vocabulary: literally 'bouquet of questions'.

D. N. M.

HEINRICH F. J. JUNKER and BOZORG ALAVI: *Persisch-deutsches Wörterbuch*. xv, 864 pp. Leipzig: VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie, 1965. DM 60.

This Modern Persian-German dictionary is the outcome of a commendable effort of self-help by the Institute for Iranian and Caucasian languages of the Humboldt University of East Berlin. Faced with the pressing need for a dictionary more readily usable than B. V. Miller's *Persidsko-russkij slovar'* and S. Haim's *New Persian-English dictionary* the entire Institute, 'Studenten, Assistenten, Aspiranten und Lektoren', set to to roll these two works into one, with the further help of M. Mo'in's *Borhān-e gāfe'* and the *Farhang-e Nafisi*. The result is a handy volume, excellently printed, with almost the scope of Haim—with 50,000 words it is half the size again of Miller—and all the clarity of the latter.

The only regrettable omissions are of any indication of the age or period of words, except for some recent neologisms, and of the provenance of loan-words. Here was an opportunity at least to make the occasional corrections necessary in Haim's A, F, T, etc. (for 'Arabic, French, Turkish'), and no harm would have been done by including his R (for 'rare' words), even though it tells only half the story and ideally there should have been a new abbreviation for 'ghost word'. For example, somebody should have laid Avestan *ayō-zūsta-* 'molten metal', learned Pahlavi *ayōzūst*, whence (by misreading a cursive letter *sn*) BQ *ayuzšut* 'metals (*šlizzāt*)' and Haim 'pieces or bits of metal', before it got into a Modern Persian dictionary between Arabic '*ifzān* in Kurze' and French '*idealist*' as '*ajozšat* Metallteile'. But in the present state of Persian lexicography this is evidently still too much to ask. To say that students need to be warned of the dangers of trusting any Persian dictionary is not to detract particularly from the merits of this one. With Steingass, the 'Mrs. Beeton' of the field, selling at £7 and Haim at £15, its price is not the least of these.

D. N. M.

FREDÉRIC FEYDIT (tr.): *David de Sassoun: épopée en vers*. (Collection Unesco d'Oeuvres Représentatives,

Série Arménienne.) 399 pp. [Paris]: Gallimard, [1964]. Fr. 22.

GEORGES DUMÉZIL (tr.): *Le livre des héros: légendes sur les Nartes*. (Collection Unesco d'Oeuvres Représentatives, Série des Langues non Russes de l'Union Soviétique.) 264 pp. [Paris]: Gallimard, [1965]. Fr. 18.

PERTEV BORATAV (tr.): *Aventures merveilleuses sous terre et ailleurs de Er-Töshtük, le géant des steppes: épopée du cycle de Manas*. (Collection Unesco d'Oeuvres Représentatives, Série Kirghize.) 308 pp. [Paris]: Gallimard, [1965]. Fr. 19.

After long gestation, the UNESCO series of translations into French and English of classic literary works of the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union has really 'got off the ground'. Serge Tsouladzé's French version of Rustaveli's epic, 'The man in the panther's skin', reviewed in *BSOAS*, xxxix, 1, 1966, 165-8, has now won the Prix Langlois of the Académie Française, and an English translation of the Georgian *Balavariani* (Barlaam and Josaphat) has been published in London and Los Angeles. Further important nationalities are represented by the three fresh volumes received from Paris: the Armenians, the Ossetes of the high Caucasus, and the Kirghiz of Central Asia. 'David of Sassoun' is a cycle of popular lays about the exploits of four generations of heroes hailing from Sassoun, south-west of Lake Van. Episodes from the epoch of Arab domination merge with reminiscences of the Old Testament, and with a rich fund of Armenian tales and ballads. Professor Feydit's expressive rendering is based on the standard Soviet edition, itself somewhat bowdlerized, and 'homogenized' from a number of disparate sources; it is somewhat removed from the older folk variants translated by Macler, with their earthy crudities. 'David of Sassoun' has been turned into a respectable work of patriotic literature, both among Soviet Armenians, and in communities all over the world, as witness several recent translations published in America. Broadly similar problems arise in connexion with the other two works under review, the Ossete Nart stories, and the 'marvellous adventures' of Er-Töshtük, giant of the steppes, this being a self-contained portion of the Manas cycle. Fortunately the translators, all three acknowledged masters in their respective fields, have gone back to the original sources and indicate a number of variant readings. The Nart stories embody elements of the lore and

beliefs of the Scythians, the Sarmatians, and the medieval Alans; versions also exist in Kabardian and Chechen. These volumes set a high literary standard, make excellent reading, and are beautifully produced.

D. M. LANG

R. KHADI-ZADE (ed.): *Šāhib : Daftar-i dīlkushā* ('Sochineniye, raduyushcheye serdtsa'). (Akademiya Nauk SSSR. Otdeleniye Istorii. Pamyatniki Pis'mennosti Vostoka, v.) 33, 286 pp. Moskva : Izdatel'stvo 'Nauka', 1965. Rbls. 2.15.

M. O. DARBINYAN (tr.): *Simeon Lekhatsi : Putevye zameki*. (Akademiya Nauk SSSR. Otdeleniye Istorii. Pamyatniki Pis'mennosti Vostoka, ix.) 322 pp. + errata slip. Moskva : Izdatel'stvo 'Nauka', 1965. Rbls. 1.15.

'Literary Monuments of the East' is a new series issued under the auspices of the Historical Section of the Soviet Academy, in consultation with the Academies of constituent Union republics, in the present case, those of Tajikistan and Armenia. It is designed as a continuation of the excellent 'Pamyatniki Literaturny Narodov Vostoka', of which some 50 volumes have appeared since 1959 (see, for instance, review in *BSOAS*, xxviii, 2, 1965, 420). The same format, comprising both quarto and octavo volumes, has been adopted, also the dignified black cover, recalling our own Gibb Memorial Series, though the scope of the Soviet project is much wider, embracing works from China, Japan, India, and elsewhere.

The *Daftar-i dīlkushā* or 'The heart-pleasing book' is a Persian historical epic in the style of Firdawsī, relating the genealogy and exploits of the Shabānkārid dynasty of Fars, a Kurdish family who claimed descent from the Sasanid Ardashīr Pāpakān. All that we know of the author is that he served as chief secretary to the Shabānkārid ruler Niẓām al-Dīn Ṭayyib-Shāh (1289-1325). The bulk of the work is concerned with the reign of Muẓaffar Mubārīz al-Dīn Muḥammad (1226-60) and his relations with his rival, the Salghurid Atabeg Abū Bakr ibn Sa'd. The poem, published in facsimile from a unique copy in the collection of the Academy of Sciences of the Tajik S.S.R., terminates with the Mongol invasion of Iran. Although its chronological framework is extremely vague and no dates are given for the events mentioned, the epic is valuable as a work of literature, and as a description of conditions in Fars prior to Il-Khanid domination.

Richer in factual material, and more lively and realistic in mode of presentation, is the second work under review, being the travel diaries of a minor Armenian cleric from L'vov in Poland, who spent nearly 12 years, from 1608 until 1619, in leisured perambulation of noteworthy cities and religious centres of Turkey, Italy, Egypt, Palestine, and Syria. Simeon's account of the Ottoman court, and those of the Doge of Venice and the Pope in Rome, is full of picturesque touches and anecdotes. He devotes much attention to contemporary manners and customs, to economic and social conditions, and also to the state of the Armenian and other Christian communities under Turkish rule, contrasting their wretched lot with that of the happy subjects of the enlightened Frankish sovereigns. The Russian translation, carried out with scholarly accuracy, is furnished with notes and a bibliography.

D. M. LANG

R. P. KANGLE (ed. and tr.): *The Kauṭīliya Arthasāstra*. (University of Bombay Studies : Sanskrit, Prakrit and Pali, Nos. 1-3.) 3 vols. : [xx], 283, 82 pp. ; [iv], 14, 610 pp. ; [ii], 5, 303 pp. Bombay : University of Bombay, 1960, 1963, 1965. Rs. 10, 20, 16.

Professor Kangle's exemplary edition of the *Arthasāstra*, based on the closely interrelated South Indian manuscripts and an older fragment from Gujārāt, appeared with a useful glossary of Sanskrit terms in 1960. For his equally outstanding annotated translation in Vol. II he was able to use the whole of the extant portion of the Malayālam *Bhāṣāvya-khyāna*, which prompted only a few small alterations to the edited text.

Vol. III, consisting of a detailed study of the text with indexes and bibliography, completes Professor Kangle's work, the result of some 30 years' dedicated and painstaking research. His findings will cause no surprise : the Maurya minister Viṣṇugupta Cāṇakya Kauṭīlya, using pre-sixth-century material without significant alteration apart from the superimposition of a well thought-out single plan, composed a manual of practical statesmanship ('extremely probably' drawn on by Manu, Yājñavalkya, etc., and certainly not indebted to them) which has survived with interpolations neither extensive nor significant. Apart from this, Professor Kangle has provided a concise but detailed survey of past controversy, a summary of the text, and, in the second half of his study, a digest of it under the

expected rubrics, 'state', 'society', 'economy', etc.

The controversies will evidently not rest until the inquiry has expanded in scope and depth. We should have liked to hear whether the writer detected any significant common basis underlying the commentaries he has used; and it may be felt that space devoted to an inconclusive consideration of the correct spelling of *kaufilya* (ignoring, p. 112, n. 152, the *kaufalya* Gautamas) might rather have been used to explain, for example, on what evidence it is considered to be 'carrying scepticism too far' to find material in the *Nītivākyaṃṛta* and *Kāmandakanīṣāra* coeval with that used by the compiler of the *Arthasāstra*.

J. C. WRIGHT

B. CH. CHHABRA and S. SANKARANA-RAYANAN (ed.): *Bhojacharitra of Shri Rājavallabha*. (Jñānapīṭha Mūrtidevī Jaina Granthamālā, Sanskrit Grantha, No. 29.) [vii], 191 pp., plate. Varanasi: Bharatiya Jnanpith, 1964. Rs. 8.

Paramāra Bhoja of Dhārā (c. A.D. 999-1054), a king of Malwa, well known through the *prabandhas* of Merutunga and Ballālasena as a great patron of letters and also as the author of a large number of scholarly works, is the subject of this work in 1575 Sanskrit verses (including 35 in Apabhramśa) by Rājavallabha, a Jain poet of the fifteenth century A.D. It has now been critically edited, and the editors have utilized eight different MSS, ranging in date between v.s. 1498/A.D. 1440 and v.s. 1884/A.D. 1826.

Despite its claim to be a *caritra* of king Bhoja, the work is actually a story of the merits of *annadāna* performed by the king in his previous birth by which he is aided through grave dangers to himself and his two sons, and is helped in his adventures in yogic practices as well as in amorous activities. In this respect Rājavallabha's work shows the influence of the *Kathāsarisāgara* and the *Prabandhacintāmani*.

Thus although devoid of any historical merit, the work is of some value in verifying similar accounts of this great historical personage as found in Merutunga's work on the one hand and a large number of *prastāvis* found in Udayapur and Nagpur on the other. The editors in their introduction have made a valuable historical analysis of the text. Several points bearing on the relationship of Muñja, Bhoja, and the Cālukyan king Taila II, are freshly discussed together with notes on Bhoja's disputed contemporaries, notably Vararuci and Māgha.

P. S. JAINI

HIRALAL SHASTRI (ed. and tr.): *Karma-prakṛti of Shri Nemichandra Āchārya*. (Jñānapīṭha Mūrtidevī Jaina Granthamālā, Prākṛit Grantha, No. 11.) 31, 158 pp., plate. Varanasi: Bharatiya Jnanpith, 1964. Rs. 6.

A large part of medieval Jaina literature consists of works dealing with various categories (*prakṛti*), duration (*sthiti*), results (*anubhāga*), and causes (*pradeśa*) of karma, a cardinal doctrine of the Jainas. Most popular among these works is the *Gommaṣasāra-karmakāṇḍa* of Nemichandra, a Digambara ācārya of the tenth century A.D.

The present work, although entitled *Karma-prakṛti* by the editor following the tradition established by its commentaries, is without a title. Out of its 161 (Prākṛit) verses, not less than 102 are directly borrowed from Nemichandra's *Gommaṣasāra*. This work therefore, as pointed out by the general editor of the series, Professor Hiralal Jain, appears to be compiled by some unknown person at a later period from the *Gommaṣasāra*, and seems to have survived as an independent work wrongly ascribed to Nemichandra, the author of the parent work. The present editor of the text, however, has ignored this, and in the absence of more positive evidence, has accepted the traditional title as well as the assumed authorship of Nemichandra.

In addition to the text, the edition includes a Sanskrit commentary by Sumatikīrti (sixteenth century A.D.), a second anonymous commentary, and a *bhāṣā* (Hindi) commentary by Paṇḍit Hemarāja (seventeenth century). There is also a most useful index containing a vocabulary of technical terms on the theory of karma, followed by diagrams showing various *saṃhananas* produced by different varieties of karma.

P. S. JAINI

KRISHNA CHAITANYA: *Sanskrit poetics: a critical and comparative study*. xv, 466 pp. London: Asia Publishing House, [1966]. 70s.

Since the title and sub-title may convey the contrary impression, it is worth noting that this volume does not contribute to the philological exegesis of Sanskrit poetics literature, but seeks to present classical Indian rhetoric and aesthetic philosophy to the English-speaking world 'in illuminating juxtaposition' with the views of mainly recent Western poets and critics. There is unquestionably a need for such a presentation, and the general reader will find this book well-written and suitably stimulating, although

the very profusion of quotations, often brief to the point of name-dropping, may become irksome. The Sanskritist would be dismayed above all by the leitmotiv (pp. ix, 2, 385, 410) consisting of an alleged Vedic aesthetic theory read into the Atharvavedic phrase *rāsena tṛptāh* and supported by some highly questionable references (notably p. 242 f.); and by the prominence given to a faulty rendering (p. 209 f.) of a statement by Abhinavagupta: we may legitimately impute to Abhinavagupta the conviction that 'poetry can achieve ethical ends through delight' (p. 275), but what he said was more nearly to the effect that poetry can achieve delight through ethical ends. Could he have expressed the matter otherwise in the medium of tenth-century Sanskrit?

J. C. WRIGHT

B. B. LAL: *Indian archaeology since Independence*. [iv], 107 pp., 24 plates, map. Delhi, etc.: Motilal Banarsidass, 1964. Rs. 15.

In these days of necessary specialization a recurrent problem for both the scholar and the scientist is his inability to communicate with a wider public in plain language. The short book under review is an archaeologist's attempt to do just this for the work and discoveries of the Indian Archaeological Department since 1947. It is not aimed at the specialist and one should not judge it as though it were. The author has made a serious attempt to hold the reader's interest by careful selection and compression. There is a fairly comprehensive bibliography, a short glossary of technical terms, and a useful chart of C-14 dates. One regrets that the Indian publishing industry cannot produce a cheaper and yet more handsome book to assist the author's purpose.

F. R. ALLCHIN

Pakistan Archaeology. No. 1. viii, 87 pp., 34 plates. Karachi: Department of Archaeology, Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan, 1964. Rs. 12, 20s.

Ancient Pakistan: Bulletin of the Department of Archaeology, University of Peshawar. Vol. 1. [i], vi, 145 pp., 28 plates. Peshawar: Department of Archaeology, University of Peshawar, 1964. Rs. 15, \$4.

Pakistan is, at least in terms of her archaeological potentialities, vastly rich, and it has been a matter of growing concern that during the first two decades of her existence almost nothing of a viable professional

character has been published there concerning archaeological research. The two new journals here noticed are thus particularly to be welcomed.

Pakistan Archaeology is the official production of the Department of Archaeology of the Pakistan Government. It is well printed and illustrated with good photographs. It includes primarily summary accounts of the excavations and explorations undertaken by both the Government and by foreign missions. It is significant that while the former are still largely unpublished (Mainamati, Banbhore, Lahore Fort), almost all the latter have appeared, often long since. In this respect Pakistan has been well served by the American, French, Italian, and British teams who have worked there since independence. *Ancient Pakistan* is the product of the first university department of archaeology in the country. Its appearance is a tribute to the energy and pioneering spirit of Professor A. H. Dani, the head of the department. It is to be regretted that the quality of the plates and draftmanship leave much to be desired. Further the standard of the contents is in some cases scarcely commensurate with the interest of the materials themselves. This is particularly true in the account of the important excavations of the Sanghao cave, which produced a deep occupation deposit with a stone industry having affinities with the Mousterian of Central Asia and with the Indian Middle Stone Age.

The appearance of these two journals seems to augur well for the future and we look forward with interest to the succeeding numbers, and to the reports on such exciting excavations as those at Kot-Diji.

F. R. ALLCHIN

JYOTI PRASAD JAIN: *The Jaina sources of the history of ancient India (100 B.C. - A.D. 900)*. xv, 321 pp. Delhi: Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, 1964. Rs. 20.

Compared with the Brahmanical and Buddhist branches of Indology, works on the Jaina branch may be considered scarce if not rare. With the exception of a few works, like those of Jacobi and Upadhye, solely devoted to this ancient community, most Jaina studies are diffused in general publications on ancient and medieval Indian history, and occasionally in voluminous histories of Indian literature. In India proper, during the last 50 years a large number of works by a few eminent Jaina scholars like Mukhtar, Premi, Hiralal, and Sanghavi have appeared, but they are accessible only to those who can read Hindi. The need to co-ordinate these researches, scattered

over a large number of books and periodicals, and published during the last 100 years, was long felt, both for reconstructing a history of the Jainas and for evaluating their source materials for the ancient and medieval history of the Indian subcontinent.

In this context, Dr. Jain's work has the merit of being a pioneer in this novel field. The present work is not a complete collection of the Jaina sources of Indian history, much less a history of the Jainas. But it is an effort in the right direction. The author has, for the first time it seems, produced a chronology of all known persons, books, inscriptions, and events directly or indirectly connected with this community, stretching over a period of 1000 years, from 100 B.C. to A.D. 900. One of the notable features of this chronology is its treatment, contrary to the current practice of Jainologists, of the two rival schools (*viz.* the Digambara and the Śvetāmbara) as members of a single community, resulting in a complete record of the Jainas as a whole.

The remaining portion of the work consists of elucidatory essays on the chief events recorded in the chronology. They deal with the date of Mahāvira's *nirvāna* (527 B.C.), the Jaina sources for the Vikrama and Śaka era, and a general survey of the literary and cultural activities of the Jainas during the period covered by this book.

P. S. JAINI

STEPHEN FUCHS: *Rebellious prophets: a study of messianic movements in Indian religions*. (Publications of the Indian Branch of the Anthropos Institute, No. 1.) xv, 304 pp. Bombay, etc.: Asia Publishing House, [c1965].

This book contains accounts of some 50 religious movements most of which have occurred in India over the past century, and which are classed by Father Fuchs as 'messianic' because they contain some if not all of 15 characteristic features which he itemizes and discusses briefly in his introduction. The movements are born out of social and economic deprivation; they have as their aim the raising of their followers in social status and, in the past, frequently had the aim of re-creating politically independent areas. Hence, they are movements which create or heighten social tensions, and have often brought their members into violent conflict with the State. Father Fuchs shows that the movements do not always arise in response to Christian or Westernizing pressures, but can also be reactions to 'Hinduization'. The material on which the accounts rest is, of course, uneven; the accounts therefore vary

in reliability and in completeness, and the reader would have been aided by some evaluation by Father Fuchs of their significance. One looks, too, for a concluding categorization of movements in terms of the initial definition. But, for all this, the book is most interesting, and will form a valuable base for the study of a hitherto too neglected aspect of Indian religion. It ends with a cautionary statement, that there is still discontent stemming from the breakdown of tribal organization and a lack of social and economic progress, and that further movements can only be averted by an 'enlightened and effective policy of acculturation and in completely assimilating the backward communities in the coming national culture'—a daunting task indeed!

A. C. M.

PAUL R. BRASS: *Factional politics in an Indian state: the Congress Party in Uttar Pradesh*. xvi, 262 pp. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1965. \$6. (English agents: Cambridge University Press. 48s.)

This book is a brilliant study of the adaptation to the traditional power structure, at district level, of the Congress Party in Uttar Pradesh. The interaction of party organization with rural power and the resulting internal factionalism of the Congress Party is described for five districts with different political set-ups.

A faction is seen by Dr. Brass as 'like a political party based on ties between a leader and his followers', and is 'a vertical structure of power which cuts across caste and class divisions'. Can what I think are basically mercurial groupings be meaningfully called 'structures', even if they are held together by individual interests and traditional loyalties round the enduring cores provided by individual leaders?

In Dr. Brass's view the boundaries to the political conflicts—and the alliances which form and re-form, are set by the bitter and lasting animosities between local individual leaders. Although there are changes in the membership of the outer circle of faction followers around these leaders, there is a small inner circle which remains faithful through thick and thin.

But, surely, this is true only if the members of the inner circle are not themselves aspiring leaders, and only if they consider any current patronage as fairly shared out? For instance, if a major political office, which cannot be taken by the faction leader (say that of Zilla Parishad Chairman) has to be given to one of

them, some of the other inner circle members may move away and join other factions.

The problem for the State level leaders of Congress is to ensure that factional warfare in the districts does not destroy the party as an effective political force, and lose it control of local government and co-operative institutions. Dr. Brass shows how the Congress Party sufficiently succeeds in this aim and how it has changed from a mass movement to an effective political party, by absorbing powerful individuals who, if they did not govern directly themselves, provided the necessary links between people and government.

For political sociologists and political scientists with Indian interests this is the book of the year, and an outstanding contribution to studies in this field.

W. A. HUGH GRAY

HENRY N. MICHAEL (ed.): *The archaeology and geomorphology of northern Asia: selected works*. (Arctic Institute of North America. Anthropology of the North: Translations from Russian Sources, No. 5.) xvi, 512 pp. [Toronto]: University of Toronto Press for the Arctic Institute of North America, [c1964]. \$6.50. (Distributed in G.B. by Oxford University Press. 52s.)

This volume contains some 20 papers of varying length and significance. It begins with an introduction which briefly indicates the importance of the various papers in relation to the general background of Siberian and Arctic studies. This also includes a list of general works in English, some of which are translations from the Russian, which 'will provide general orientation and aid in placing the papers in proper perspective', and one of more specialized works on particular regions. These will save both the uninitiated and the student who wants to follow up a particular point a great deal of time and trouble.

Among the papers on archaeology M. M. Gerasimov's 'The Palaeolithic site Malta', which gives a comprehensive account of the excavation of a number of dwellings on the banks of the Belaya river, is outstanding. A considerable quantity of cultural data was obtained from the site, chiefly from the main period of occupation. The total excavation of some of the dwellings enabled the centres of male and female activity within them to be distinguished. The account by A. P. Okladnikov, the grand old man of Soviet prehistory, of the excavation of the Shilka cave on a

tributary of the Amur also gives a remarkably clear and well authenticated picture of the life of its stone age occupants. It is a good example of the successful combination of ethnographic and historical sources with the findings of the archaeologist. The nature of Siberia and its peoples lend themselves to this approach, which is one of the factors which save such a potentially over-specialized subject as the archaeology of Siberia from becoming lost in its own technicalities and jargon. Okladnikov's two further papers dealing with the Lena river basin and the middle Yenisey, V. Ye. Larichev's paper 'Ancient cultures of northern China', and S. I. Rudenko's on the Kamchatka peninsula are summaries of a more or less critical nature of work both inside and outside Soviet territory. All these will be of general interest to prehistorians anywhere. The shorter articles on archaeology and the six papers dealing with geomorphology will be of interest to specialists in various branches of Arctic studies.

Russian field-workers who have tackled the problems of these vast and inhospitable regions certainly deserve our admiration. So do the editor and the translators of this series who make all this material available to many of us who are interested in these fields but do not read Russian. They have succeeded in conveying not only the facts, but also something of the atmosphere of Russian scholarship.

BRIDGET ALLOHIN

KLAUS L. JANERT (ed.) and JOSEPH FRANCIS ROCK (comp.): *Nakhi manuscripts. Part 1.—Part 2*. (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Bd. VII, 1-2.) [xix], 196 pp., 34 plates; [v], vi, 197-485 pp., 7 plates. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH, 1965. DM 216.

Among the few scholars equipped to deal with the special problems of the Nakhi (Moso) written language, J. F. Rock, who died in 1962, undoubtedly held first place. In a long series of books and articles he introduced a wide spectrum of Nakhi life and literature to scholarship and the public. In particular, we now have, as the result of the efforts of Rock and other scholars, more material, in description and translation, on Nakhi ceremonial life and language than is available for any other of the minority peoples of south-west China. We are fortunate that some of his work is now being published posthumously.

The work is divided into four sections. Section A is a list of the principal Nakhi

ceremonies, with the titles of known texts relevant to each. Section B, the main part of the work, is a catalogue of the Nakhi manuscripts in the Staatsbibliothek in Marburg/Lahn, arranged according to the ceremonies in which they were employed. The titles of all manuscripts are given in Nakhi script, and translated; in most cases the contents are summarized and notes on the place of the text in the ceremony are provided, and references are given if the text has been translated elsewhere. This section also contains 31 plates of paintings representing aspects of the after-life, with appended explanatory notes. Section C consists of 19 complete manuscripts in photofacsimile, beautifully reproduced and clearly legible. Eighteen are in pictographic script, and one in syllabic script. The final section contains various indexes to persons, and toponyms appearing in the texts, and cross-indexes to catalogue numbers. The layout of the work is as elegant as we have become accustomed to in this series, and the editor and publishers are to be congratulated for producing this rich and from now on indispensable tool of Nakhi studies.

G. B. DOWNER

WOLFGANG BAUER and HERBERT FRANKE (ed.): *The golden casket: Chinese novellas of two millennia. Translated by Christopher Levenson.* [viii], 391 pp. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1965. 40s.

This book contains translations of 46 stories, ranging from extracts from the *Chan-kuo ts'ü* and *Shih-chi* to P'u Sung-ling's *Liao-chai chih-i*. The term *novella*, as Professor Franke explains in his excellent introduction, is used to distinguish it from the tale (*Erzählung*). The *novella* was written in the literary as distinct from the colloquial style, and so could be understood only by the comparatively small public which had received a classical education. The subject-matter is one of great variety, from accounts of heroic exploits and tales of the supernatural to love stories, whose later examples were often embellished with poetry. The love stories allow one to catch intimate glimpses of the daily life of the educated classes. Not many of these stories have previously been published in Western translations, apart from a handful of the more well-known T'ang stories and the *Liao-chai chih-i*. One is therefore grateful for the new translations, especially those of the Ming collections *Chien-teng hsün-hua* and *Chien-teng yü-hua*, which Professor Franke sees as the culminating

point of the genre and which have indeed enjoyed great popularity and were much imitated in Japan soon after they were first published, although they have been neglected in the West.

This book 'is intended for a wide readership rather than for the expert' and the translators have rendered the text freely when a literal translation would have been clumsy or have necessitated footnotes. This needs no apology for one is glad to be spared the sort of rigid adhesion to the original text which is actually less faithful to it because it creates an impression of quaintness absent from the original. Yet some of these stories show traces of having been translated with less care or more haste than others. For example in the story here entitled 'The lady in the capital', 苟患其不諧 means 'the only thing I worry about is that the affair may not come off', not 'If I weren't lucky enough to please her without that'; 上僕 'hunchbacked' or 'with bent back' is misread as 'conducted into the upper floor of the house', although this does not fit in with the rest of the sentence; 方寸亂矣 means 'I am all confused', not 'That must be her heart'; 四座愕眙, 莫之測也 means 'the whole audience gazed in amazement, none being able to make it out', not 'The whole audience meanwhile was gazing at the young man, carried away by delight, and there was no one who did not join in the applause'; 言訖亦泣及歸 means 'having said this he wept too. When they returned . . .', not 'But although he said this, tears came to his eyes before he quickly turned away and returned to his hostelry'; 無自貽其殃也 means 'let us not bring misfortune on ourselves', not 'nothing will remain of us when disaster swoops upon us'. At the same time it must be borne in mind that no one could translate this amount of mostly un-commented text without making some mistakes, and that it is much easier to spot mistakes than to avoid them. This book gives a representative selection of an important genre and is a welcome addition to the growing body of translated Chinese literature.

G. W.

MICHAEL LOEWE: *Imperial China: the historical background to the modern age.* 325 pp., front., 6 plates. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1966. 45s.

Dr. Loewe, Lecturer in Classical Chinese in the University of Cambridge, has written this topical survey of pre-modern China for students

and interested laymen. The problem of presenting two and a half millennia of historical experience is approached by means of ten topical chapters each divided into sub-sections. The book opens with 'Geographical implications' and proceeds through chapters on politics, cultural development, the economy, etc., to a final chapter entitled 'Historical evidences'. There are useful tables, maps, and a bibliography to supplement the text.

The claims of chronology and topic offer the historian not a choice but a dilemma. Dr. Loewe has adopted the topical approach and has gained a measure of coherence at considerable cost. One of the costs is the loss of any sense of the cumulative achievements of the Chinese people; here is a bit on political development, there a chapter on the evolution of cities. But the reader will miss the greatness of the Chinese: successive experiments with ideas, the centuries-long effort to forge viable institutions, the long struggle to bring a sub-continental area into a single culture system, the evolution and mutation of artistic styles and modes of life. 'Historical background' conceived as a montage of disparate cultural elements is less satisfying than 'history'. It also offers fewer answers to the basic questions as to how a distinctive Chinese civilization came into being and what we may expect of China to-day and to-morrow.

ARTHUR F. WRIGHT

ANDREW JAMES NATHAN: *A history of the China International Famine Relief Commission*. (Harvard East Asian Monographs, 17.) [viii], 106 pp. Cambridge, Mass.: East Asian Research Center, Harvard University, 1965. (Distributed by Harvard University Press. Distributed in G.B. by Oxford University Press. 20s.)

This short book gives an outline account of the way in which Western residents in China from the last quarter of the nineteenth century became increasingly involved in relief work for the victims of the famines which devastated North China. The traditional organizations for famine relief were never particularly adequate, and declined in the nineteenth century with the general breakdown of the financial system. In the terrible famines of 1876-9, during which 9,500,000 people are said to have perished, they proved totally inadequate. On these traditional institutions, the most complete general account is to be found in Teng Yün-t'ê 鄧云特 *Chung-kuo chiu-huang shih* 中國救荒史 (first

edition, Shanghai, 1937, reissued Peking 1958, 1961). In the last years of the Ch'ing régime, foreign residents, and particularly missionaries, became increasingly involved in efforts to relieve local disaster areas, and when in 1920-1 North China was again hit by a famine almost as disastrous as that of 1876 it proved possible to set up a large-scale machine for relief which probably saved a vast number of lives (though perhaps the existence of a railway network which greatly speeded up distribution of grain played a larger part than the author would grant). As a result of this famine the China International Famine Relief Commission was established, and from 1921 until the outbreak of war in the Pacific this did a great deal of invaluable work, in the face of difficult political circumstances. The Commission undertook the financing of various construction projects, roads, irrigation schemes, and flood control works. But probably their most valuable achievement was the institution of rural co-operatives in Hopei in the late 1920's and early 1930's, which helped not only to offset the incidence of floods and crop failures, but also to alleviate the results of the progressive depression of Chinese agriculture in this period. Perhaps too, the author should have drawn attention to the very small scale of the rural co-operatives, whose average membership in the late 1920's was around 25. The movement was none the less a great success, and was eventually taken over by the government's own agency, the Hua-peï nung-yeh ho-tao shih-yeh wei-t'ian-hui 華北農業合作事業委員會, while the International Commission turned its attention to the distressed areas of the Yangtze valley. Unfortunately, the Japanese attack on China began a few months later.

While the concrete results of the Commission's activities were merely a drop in the bucket in the chaotic conditions of China between the wars, they did provide workable models for government relief schemes, and it is a pleasant change to read an account of co-operation between Chinese and foreigners in which both parties can take some justifiable pride.

D. C. T.

KURT STEINER: *Local government in Japan*. xi, 564 pp. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1965. (Distributed in G.B. by Oxford University Press. 80s.)

This very solid and valuable book begins with a survey of the history of local government in Japan from the Tokugawa period

down to the years of military occupation. This takes up about a quarter of the total space. The rest is devoted to a detailed study of the working of local government since 1952, largely with a view to deciding whether local autonomy in the full sense can be said now to exist. The author's answer, in sum, is that it does not. He also concludes that until it does Japanese political institutions as a whole will not work democratically. In arriving at these conclusions he considers a wide range of material and subject-matter, examining not only local administration in the narrow sense, but also politics, elections, and local society in general. The result is to make his work more interesting and more widely useful than the title might at first sight imply; and as it is thorough both in its coverage and its documentation, it is an important contribution to the literature in this field.

W. G. BEASLEY

H. J. DE GRAAF: *De regering van Sunan Mangku-Rat I Tegal-Wangri, Vorst van Mataram, 1646-1677. II. Opstand en ondergang.* (Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Deel 39.) viii, 214 pp. 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1962. Guilders 22.50.

The present volume deals with the history of the Javanese kingdom of Mataram, including its relations with the Netherlands East India Company, during the latter part of the reign of Sunan Mangkurat I Tegal-wangi (c. 1660 to 1677). At the beginning of this period Mataram gave the impression of a powerful, well-ordered state, but in less than 20 years it declined and disintegrated. When it was re-established by Dutch military intervention it had lost part of its independence. The ensuing settlement appears, in retrospect, as the first stage of Dutch expansion in Java. The events leading to this momentous change are well documented but also very complicated. They include countless court intrigues (even a violent quarrel between the Sunan and the crown prince), as well as invasions of Madurese and Macassarese troops or marauders and a struggle between staunch Muslims and the syncretizing circles of the Mataram court. By a judicious comparison between Dutch records and Javanese traditions the author succeeds in reconstructing the course of events with great detail. His narrative inspires confidence also wherever gaps in the evidence had to be filled or a choice between conflicting accounts had to be made. Although the wealth of reliably reconstructed

detail is an asset it also involves the danger that wider issues may be lost sight of. I hope that the author will find the time to compress the main results of his numerous contributions to our knowledge of Muslim Mataram into one volume from which all historically less relevant detail is ruthlessly weeded out. In such a work some attention ought to be given to style and presentation. The present volume is written in a somewhat loose style interspersed with old-fashioned terms and colloquialisms.

J. G. DE CASPARIS

WINSTON L. KING: *A thousand lives away: Buddhism in contemporary Burma.* 238 pp. Oxford: Bruno Cassirer, [1965]. (Distributors: Faber and Faber. 28s.)

Professor Winston King, an American theologian and professor of comparative religion, author of *Buddhism and Christianity* and *In the hope of nibbana*, has now written a book about Burmese Buddhism based on his own experiences as a teacher at the Institute of Advanced Buddhist Studies, Rangoon, in 1958 and 1959.

The middle chapters of the book include a number of illuminating analyses of basic Buddhist concepts both from the point of view of the Burmese themselves and from that of a detached but sympathetic non-Buddhist observer. The author points out, for instance, that the Burmese, though eager to manipulate 'scientific criticism' of Christianity and other Western religions, are very loath to apply similar standards to the study of Buddhism. He goes at length into the differences between Western and Burmese concepts of experimentation, pointing out that, in the last analysis, the former in their scientific modes imply an amoral outlook upon the world, whereas the latter include a moral component inherent in the concept of karmic destiny.

Professor King also tries his hand at a redefinition of Burmese religion: 'High, low and medium'. Here, as in his material on Burmese cosmology and on certain unorthodox manifestations of Buddhism, he is far less original and convincing. His final account of his experience in U Ba Khin's meditation centre makes interesting reading though it is short on the comparative material which would have set it in the context of the Meditation Movement in Burma during U Nu's 'Buddhist Revival'.

This is an informative and useful work but it should not be taken as a complete account of Burmese Theravāda Buddhism.

E. MICHAEL MENDELSON

ROSEMARY FIRTH: *Housekeeping among Malay peasants. Second edition.* (London School of Economics. Monographs on Social Anthropology, No. 7.) xvi, 242 pp., front., 8 plates. London: University of London, Athlone Press; New York: Humanities Press Inc., 1966. 42s.

It is a great pleasure to be able to report that this unique study of domestic life is now available again. Mrs. Firth's detailed examination of the economics of household organization in north-eastern Malaya was originally carried out in 1939-40 in a fishing community on the coast of Kelantan. Twenty-three years later she returned to the same scene. This book, as the outcome of the second visit, is not simply the former work reissued, but a revised version supplemented by new material. Two additional chapters discuss the changes that have taken place since 1940, and a new introduction describes the writer's approach to the subject of social change and the conditions of field-work in 1963. A number of 'then and now' photographs add to the interest of the text.

Mrs. Firth's discussion of social change is particularly interesting in that she looks at it, as she says 'through the eyes of the Malay village household' (p. 204). In other words, she is analysing the milieu in which children develop and are brought up, in which they first learn to play many of their later roles, and in which they first acquire their images of both their own roles and those of other persons. Changes which affect the domestic household are therefore likely to have a particularly significant effect upon the adults of the future because they are the most likely to affect the children of the present. Mrs. Firth argues that in the economic sphere at least, and up to a point also in the attitude to women, to different forms of treating illness and misfortune, and in leisure activities, the Malay fishing community has 'always' been characterized by 'an elastic interpretation of role playing' (p. 207). By implication, one can see in this relative 'elasticity' part at least of the explanation for the relative ease with which this community appears to be adapting itself to modern changes, which in any case have not been revolutionary but instead 'although hastened by war, are the natural and gradual development of forces already operating in Malaya' (p. 204). She concludes by emphasizing that in any complete study of social change the study of education, in its informal as well as its formal aspects, should be given at least the same importance as the study of political, economic, and technological matters. Other social scientists, please note!

B. E. W.

SIDNEY GEORGE WILLIAMSON: *Akan religion and the Christian faith: a comparative study of the impact of two religions.* Edited by Kwesi A. Dickson. 186 pp. Accra: Ghana Universities Press, 1965. (Distributed by Oxford University Press. 30s.)

It is still fairly unusual to find missionary writers who show genuine interest in pre-Christian beliefs and practices in sub-Saharan Africa, still less attempt to relate them to Christian theology and Church practice. Dr. S. G. Williamson, whose service to the Methodist Church of the Gold Coast and Ghana stretched from 1933 to his death in 1959, was a notable exception. His very interesting book, edited for posthumous publication by Dr. Kwesi A. Dickson, is based upon a doctoral thesis, the purpose of which was, in his own words: 'to examine the nature and the result of the impact of the Christian faith and indigenous religion as this has occurred within a limited field, among the Akan people of the Gold Coast' (p. x).

The book is divided into three sections. The first is a critical account of the way in which the Christian faith was brought to the Akan. (From this one is surprised to learn that although the Basel missionaries had reduced the Akuapim dialect of Twi to writing by about 1835, and a Twi Bible was ready by 1871, only English Bibles were available in Methodist chapels in 1882.) While Dr. Williamson recognizes clearly that among the 16 per cent of the Akan people who are associated with the Christian Church there are some deeply convinced and devout Christians, and claims that the Church as a whole is well established among the Akan, he nevertheless ends this section of his book by quoting Busia's view that the Church is not deeply rooted in Akan soil. In attempting to explain why this criticism can be made, he turns, in part II, to an examination of Akan religion, first in what appears to have been its traditional form and then as it has been influenced by 'Westernism'. Economic change, British administrative practice, Western types of education, and the presence of Christianity itself as a social force are mentioned in turn as major sources of the disruption of traditional institutions, values, and beliefs, and attention is drawn to the significance of modern attempts to interpret Akan traditional beliefs in a manner which makes them acceptable to Western thought.

Part III ('Discussion') begins with an interesting analysis of the basic differences between Christianity as set forth in the missionary enterprise and the traditional religion of the Akan, considers Akan criticisms of missions, and ends with a chapter rather

cautiously entitled 'Towards a conclusion', of which the main theme is that Christianity has so far failed in the task of relating its message to the Akan spiritual outlook.

B. E. W.

The transatlantic slave trade from West Africa. Cover-title, iii, 92 pp. [Edinburgh]: Centre of African Studies, University of Edinburgh, [1966].

This interesting collection of papers, the duplicated report of a seminar held at the Centre of African Studies on 4-5 June 1965, includes a comprehensive 'historiographical' survey of the literature of the slave-trade by Dr. C. Fyfe, and the same author's brief but very stimulating discussion of 'The impact of the slave trade on West Africa'. He is concerned to ask questions rather than to offer a considered interpretation, but he argues convincingly that 'the basic structures of most West African traditional societies survived unimpaired by the slave trade'.

Three of the other papers discussed were devoted to a critical analysis of Dr. Eric Williams's celebrated work *Capitalism and slavery*, from which it emerges, on the whole, very creditably. Of more direct interest to Africanists is Dr. Luttrell's paper on 'Slavery and slaving in the Portuguese Atlantic, to about 1500', which shows that the essential steps in the evolution of the machinery of the overseas slave-trade had already been taken by that date.

D. H. JONES

MARIE LE ROY LADURIE: *Pâques africaines: de la communauté clanique à la communauté chrétienne.* (École Pratique des Hautes Études—Sorbonne. Sixième Section: Sciences Économiques et Sociales. Le Monde d'Outre-Mer, Passé et Présent. Troisième Série: Essais, VII.) 231 pp., 8 plates. Paris, La Haye: Mouton & Co., 1965.

The first half of this book surveys traditional Mossi society and religion, in Upper Volta, concentrating on the role of women. The second discusses Mossi Christianity, especially the Congregation des Soeurs africaines de l'Immaculée-Conception de Ouagadougou, initiated by the White Sisters but autonomous since 1955. The main theme is the pilgrimage of the Mossi girl from clan to convent. The book is based on five years' study, presumably in France, and two months in Upper Volta.

Understandably, much of the general description is derivative rather than original. Few non-French sources appear.

The description of the Congregation itself is more vivid. The early story, from the informal postulate begun in 1922 until the first professions in 1930 (not 1939, as on p. 102), is dramatic and moving, even heroic (which of the first two Mossi aspirants was it that persevered?). The analysis when Sr. Marie visited, 1959-60, including many comments from the Mossi sisters themselves, is full of interest. Here is a realm little studied by Catholic students of Africa, almost unimagined by Protestants and others. (How strange it seems that to-day, a third of a century after the first perpetual vows of Mossi nuns, there is still no Mossi translation of the Bible.) For Sr. Marie's introduction, all concerned with religion in Africa will be grateful.

Yet, might more have been said? Can history, even in a sociological work, be so much neglected—nothing outside Upper Volta save a brief description of the first *religieuses* in Senegal (1819-63), only a few lines for the Ouagadougou Congregation from 1930 to 1960—if the only alternative source is an unpublished thesis in Rome? Within sociology, many questions implore more detailed treatment: relations between professed nuns and their relatives, the transfer of effective power from French hands to Mossi Superiors, the place of the Congregation in independent Upper Volta, even the numbers of the Congregation.

This is a book of unusual interest, but incomplete.

HUMPHREY J. FISHER

B. W. THOMPSON: *The climate of Africa.* [ix], 15 pp., 132 maps. Nairobi and London: Oxford University Press, 1965. £9 8s.

This is essentially a meteorological atlas (size 20 in. × 18 in.) comprising 132 maps in black outline. The scale is not stated; but is about 1:24,000,000 for nos. 1-76, showing only Africa, and 1:30,000,000 for 78-132, which show Africa with the Mediterranean basin, India, and the western Indian Ocean.

Its purpose is to 'assist in the training of the new generation of African meteorological personnel'. Hence, almost half the maps depict pressure and wind, temperature and dew point in January, April, July, and October at the surface and at the standard heights of 850, 700, and 500 mbs.; (for pressure and wind also at 300 and 200 mbs.). The remaining maps depict the principal climatic elements, i.e. sunshine, rainfall, temperature, and relative humidity, at the surface.

In the short introduction the author first discusses the nature of the observations upon which the charts have been based. Then he gives a succinct account of weather processes in the tropics and the modern techniques of forecasting from synoptic charts. Though brief, this exposition is valuable because the latest theory of atmospheric motion in the tropics and its effects upon weather is clearly and simply explained.

J. H. G. L.

Asian and African Studies: annual of the Israel Oriental Society. Vol. 1. [vii], 176 pp. Jerusalem: Israel Oriental Society, 1965. \$3.50.

It is pleasant to welcome the initiative of the Israel Oriental Society in publishing this annual. The primary purpose of the series which it inaugurates is to make available in English selected articles from the Society's quarterly, *Hamizrah Hehadash*, but translations from other Hebrew periodicals, as well as contributions specially written, will also be included. The present volume, edited by Professor Gabriel Baer, covers a wide range of topics, mainly of modern and contemporary significance. Dr. Shimon Shamir analyses Arab nationalist ideology in 'The question of a "national philosophy" in contemporary Arab thought'. In his article on 'Muslim religious jurisdiction in Israel', Aharon Layish traces the history of Shari'a jurisdiction from late Ottoman times, through the Mandatory period in Palestine, to present-day Israel, and discusses particularly the effect of Israeli legislation on the material law administered by the Muslim courts. Ehud Houminer outlines the history, and describes the organization and functions, of the *Halkevleri* in 'The People's Houses in Turkey'. Dr. Harry J. Benda examines the role of Islam in Indonesian history in 'Continuity and change in Indonesian Islam'. This article was originally given as a lecture, and is followed by a summary of the ensuing discussion. Finally, Dr. Pessah Shinar compares the careers of two Maghribi resistance leaders

in his article, 'Abd al-Qādir and 'Abd al-Krīm—religious influences on their thought and action'. His analysis of the religious aspects of 'Abd al-Qādir's political and military organization will interest students of other movements of Islamic revolt in the nineteenth century.

P. M. H.

Orientalia Gandensia: Jaarboek van het Hoger Instituut voor Oosterse, Oost-europese en Afrikaanse Taalkunde en Geschiedenis bij de Rijksuniversiteit te Gent. I-II. v, 269 pp., 8 plates; v, 350 pp., 16 plates, map. Leuven: Oosterse Drukkerij, 1964.—Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965. Bel. fr. 500 each.

This recently inaugurated yearbook of the Oosters-Afrikaans Instituut in the University of Ghent has at once become one of the indispensable learned periodicals in the field of oriental philology and cultural history. The African component in the two volumes published has been restricted to valuable contributions to Bantu linguistic study, and the East European section has been concerned with recent Russian literature, with Ghent's own fourteenth-century *Bdinski zbornik*, and, somewhat surprisingly, with Mycenaean Greek.

The 'oriental' field begins, as is its way, somewhat west of East Europe with Dr. Urbain Vermeulen's paper concerning Muslim Spain, and traversing the ancient and recent Near and Middle East penetrates Central and South Asia, well represented with contributions by Professor Walter Couvreur, Professor Ludo Rocher, Professor A. Scharpé, and Dr. Josef Deleu. These and the African studies are in Dutch, often with adequate summary in English, etc., but certain articles on East Europe seek wider appeal by adopting a Slavic medium. The Belgian authorities and the publishers have provided a worthy organ of communication for the teaching staff and graduates of the University of Ghent. They deserve a larger audience than can be reached, alas, in Dutch.

J. O. W.

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OBITUARY

VLADIMIR FEDOROVICH MINORSKY

The passing on 25 March 1966 of Professor Emeritus Vladimir Fedorovich Minorsky, at the age of 89, takes from our midst a scholar of international eminence who combined immense learning with a rare capacity to befriend and encourage younger workers of all nationalities, and to inspire personal affection and loyalty among all those who knew him.

Vladimir Minorsky was born on 6 February 1877 at the small town of Korcheva on the Upper Volga, now submerged beneath the waters of the Moscow Sea. His parents were Fedor M. Minorsky and his wife Olga, née Golubitsky. He went to school in Moscow, and was a gold medallist of the Fourth Grammar School in the graduation of 1896. Minorsky then read law at Moscow University. With a view to embarking on a diplomatic career in the East, he entered in 1900 the Lazarev Institute of Oriental Languages, which occupied that same picturesque old building in the Armyansky Pereulok in central Moscow which now houses the Institute of Peoples of Asia of the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

During his stay at the Institute, from 1900 to 1903, Minorsky studied Persian under Professor F. E. Korsh, *Mirzā Ja‘far Maḥallātī*, *Mirzā ‘Abdullāh Ghaffarov*, and Baron R. Stackelberg; Arabic under Professor A. E. Krymsky and Mr. *Mikhā’il ‘Aṭāyā*; Turkish under Dr. Stavros Sakov and Mr. S. Dzerunian; and Near Eastern history under Professor Vsevolod F. Miller. He also acquired a competent knowledge of English, later to stand him in such good stead. As a second year student, Minorsky paid his first visit to Iran in the summer of 1902. During this trip, partly under the stimulus of the writings of Professor E. G. Browne, he began to collect material on the esoteric sect of the *Ahl-i Ḥaqq*, or People of Truth, sometimes known as *‘Alī-Ilāhī*. This sect was the subject of his first substantial scholarly monograph, published in 1911 as fasc. 33 of the Works of the Lazarev Institute, and awarded the gold medal of the Ethnography Section of the Moscow Imperial Society of Natural Sciences.

Meanwhile, in 1903, Vladimir Minorsky had entered the Imperial Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Between 1904 and 1908, he served at the Russian Consulate-General in Tabriz and the Legation in Tehran, travelling extensively in Kurdistan and other regions of north-western Iran. It was in Tabriz that he later met his lifelong friend, the Persian statesman and scholar S. H. Taqizadeh, with whom he collaborated in publishing a short novel of Leo Tolstoy in Persian translation. This was a critical period in the history of modern Iran, embracing the Constitutional movement of 1905–6, and the subsequent partition of the country under the terms of the Anglo-Russian agreement of 1907. Russia's attempts to suppress the Persian Constitutional movement and turn much of the country into a province of the Tsarist empire were uncongenial to Minorsky, who did all that he properly could to dissociate himself from them. It is interesting to note that E. G. Browne, in a protest published in the British press,



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mentioned several Russian diplomats by name, including Minorsky ; but when Browne learnt Minorsky's real attitude to the Persian question, he publicly exonerated him, and Minorsky even stayed with Browne at his house in Cambridge. The Persians' particular regard for Minorsky, and also his association with the University of Cambridge, dated from that time.

In due course Minorsky was transferred, and recalled to the Foreign Ministry in St. Petersburg, where he made friends with several leading representatives of the Oriental section of the Academy of Sciences, notably V. V. Barthold, whose disciple he was always proud to consider himself. A year in Russian Turkistan as diplomatic attaché to the Governor-General, General Samsonov, gave him the chance to study at first hand the homeland of Tamerlane and Ulugh-Beg.

An important phase in Minorsky's public career began in 1911, when he was again dispatched to Iran, this time to collaborate with the British consul in Tabriz, Mr. Shipley, in surveying the terrain of Azerbaijan and Kurdistan prior to the setting up of a mixed boundary commission to settle the long-disputed frontier between Iran and the Ottoman Empire. There had never been a properly settled frontier between these two states, each one encroaching upon the other according to which happened to be stronger at any given time. There were also several autonomous sheikhdoms straddling the boundary area, the rulers of which habitually changed their allegiance to accord with the dictates of expediency. Consequently, there was a wide strip of disputed territory, extending virtually from Mount Ararat to the Persian Gulf. During the nineteenth century, Britain and Russia had several times urged the parties concerned to join with them in setting up a mixed commission to settle the matter ; the last important one had functioned from 1848 to 1852, but was prevented from completing its task by the Crimean War. Minorsky's expert knowledge of the territory and the peoples and tribes involved fitted him ideally to represent Russia in this new attempt to fix the boundary. Following the exploration of north-western Iran by Minorsky and Shipley, the Commission's work was transferred to Istanbul, Minorsky proceeding there in 1912 with the rank of Second Secretary of the Russian Embassy to participate in four-power discussions and the preparation of the necessary maps and surveys.

A turning-point in Minorsky's life occurred in 1913, for it was then that he married Tatiana, née Shchebunin, his constant companion and inspiration for 52 years, and the charming and patient hostess so well beloved by scholars and celebrities who in later years came from all over the world to pay their respect to the veteran teacher in his modest Cambridge home. The Minorskys' early married life was spent in the picturesque but rugged surroundings of the Turco-Persian border zone, to which Minorsky was detailed for the final stages of the boundary delimitation. Assembling at Muhammerah (Khurramshahr) in the Persian Gulf, the four-power commission set off northwards in February 1914. Each commission had its own doctor, several survey officers, and an armed escort (the Minorskys had ten cossacks), with a caravan of up to 120 mules. The party travelled on horseback. Work was brought to a successful

end in October 1914, just as Turkey was entering World War I. The 'Minorsky frontier', which now separates Persia from both Iraq and Turkey, has stood the test of time for over 50 years.

In the course of this work, Minorsky acquired further knowledge of the dialects and ethnography of the region. The results of his topographical researches appeared in the second volume of the 'Materials for the study of the East', published in 1915 by the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and also featured in the Proceedings of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society for 1916. Thirty years later, in 1944, Minorsky was able to draw still further on his observations for an article on Roman and Byzantine campaigns in Atropatene, the modern Azerbaijan.

Following this arduous mission, Vladimir Fedorovich returned to the Russian Legation in Tehran, this time as First Secretary (1916), and later as Chargé d'Affaires (1917). From this period dates his important epigraphical and archaeological study of the steles of Kelashin and Topuzava, and other ancient remains in the vicinity of Lake Urmia, published in 1917 in vol. 24 of the Bulletin of the Oriental Section of the Imperial Archaeological Society of Petrograd.

The Russian Revolution of 1917 placed Mr. and Mrs. Minorsky in an acute dilemma. To return to Soviet Russia at that time was impossible. In 1919, they proceeded to the Russian Embassy in Paris, where Minorsky hoped, in vain as it happened, to make himself useful by his expert knowledge to the Russian representatives at the drawing up of the Versailles Treaty. As a specialist on the modern Near East and Transcaucasia, Minorsky's pen was in demand among editors of journals devoted to politics and current affairs. He contributed to these a number of perceptive articles on contemporary Russia, Turkey, Azerbaijan, and Georgia, and also on Mosul, the international oil question, and modern Afghanistan. He was sceptical of the nationalist pretensions of the independent republics of Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia, which in any case were soon swallowed up by the new might of Soviet Russia. He also wrote a valuable study of the death of another distinguished Russian diplomat, the dramatist Alexander Griboedov, murdered by a Tehran mob in 1829.

In 1923, Vladimir Fedorovich had begun to teach Persian literature at the *École Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes* in the Rue de Lille, and later lectured on Turkish and Islamic history at that same institution. From 1925 onwards he was a regular contributor to the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, for which he wrote 110 articles, several of these being important monographs. His close connexion with England began in 1930, when he was appointed Oriental Secretary to the Persian Art Exhibition held at Burlington House in London, under the auspices of Rīzā Shāh Pahlavi. He took an active part in preparing the catalogue of the exhibition, as well as delivering lectures on Persian illuminated manuscripts, Luristan bronzes, and the mosque of Veramin, which were subsequently published in the magazine *Apollo*.

Minorsky's work had already attracted the attention of that shrewd judge of men, the late Sir Denison Ross, Director of our School of Oriental Studies here

in London. Sir Denison succeeded in luring Mr. and Mrs. Minorsky from Paris to the University of London, to which Minorsky devoted the remainder of his teaching career, first as Lecturer in Persian (1932), then as Reader in Persian Literature and History (1933), and finally, after Sir Denison's retirement in 1937, as Professor of Persian. When the School was evacuated to Cambridge in 1939, Professor and Mrs. Minorsky took up residence, first in Green Street, and then in Bateman Street, where Vladimir Fedorovich remained for the rest of his life. On reaching the age of 67 in 1944, Professor Minorsky retired, being appointed an Honorary Fellow of the School.

It was during his long and happy residence in England that Professor Minorsky attained the plenitude of his remarkable powers. From 1932 onwards, he was a regular reviewer and contributor to the *Bulletin* of the School, as well as to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. Many of these articles were later collected and reprinted in Tehran in 1964—*Iranica: twenty articles* (Publications of the University of Tehran, Vol. 775); this volume also contains the most complete list of Professor Minorsky's books, articles, and reviews, amounting to 206 separate items or groups of writings, and also a *curriculum vitae*.

Professor Minorsky's *magnum opus* appeared in the Gibb Memorial Series in 1937—a critical translation of the anonymous Persian geography entitled *Hudūd al-‘ālam*, or 'The regions of the world', written in 372/982; the translation contained 12 maps, together with an English translation of V. V. Barthold's original Russian preface. This indispensable work attracted attention throughout Europe, America, and the Soviet Union, and was followed up in 1942 by an edition and translation of Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir Marvazī, *On China, the Turks and India*, published by the James G. Forlong Fund of the Royal Asiatic Society. Here and there, Minorsky's Arabic could occasionally be faulted by the pundits, but in view of his vast output, this was perhaps unavoidable. As Dr. J. A. Boyle remarks, 'the field of his historical and geographical investigations embraced the whole of Eurasia from the Balkans to China with special emphasis on the Caucasus area and, above all, Central Asia. His translations of and commentaries on two geographical texts of the tenth and eleventh centuries respectively are works of extraordinary erudition, and throw much new light on the early history of the various Turkish peoples before their conversion to Islam'. Another standard work of this period was a facsimile edition and translation and commentary on the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, a manual of Ṣafavid administration and finance composed around 1725, during the Afghan occupation of Persia.

Seldom can a scholar have had so long and busy a retirement as Professor Minorsky. Between 1944 and his death, with Mrs. Minorsky's skilled and devoted collaboration, he produced no less than 11 volumes, several of them substantial, of original researches and translations, and about 100 articles and reviews, including many contributions to the second edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. His range of interest remained as wide as ever, covering the history, geography, literature, and fine arts of Persia, the early history of Caucasia,

including Daghestan, Shirvan, Georgia, and Armenia, archaeology and numismatics, as well as Turkish and Central Asian studies. During World War II, the heroic struggle of the Russian people against the Nazis reawakened in Professor and Mrs. Minorsky their warm affection for their homeland, and helped them to re-establish contact with scientific circles in the Soviet Union, where they were welcomed with enthusiasm and deep respect when they visited Moscow, Baku, Erevan, and Tbilisi as guests of honour of the Soviet Academy of Sciences in connexion with the twentieth International Congress of Orientalists in 1960. During the academic year 1948-9, Vladimir Fedorovich was Visiting Professor at the Fuad University in Cairo, which in 1955 sponsored his publication, with English translation and commentary, of the tenth-century Arabic poet and traveller Abū Dulaf's journeys in Iran.

Many honours fell to Professor Minorsky's lot in the course of his career. He was elected Corresponding Fellow of the British Academy in 1943, and was an honorary member of the Société Asiatique, the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft and the Peruvian Institute for Islamic Studies. His seventy-fifth birthday was marked by the presentation of a volume of essays specially written by his friends and pupils, and published by the School of Oriental and African Studies as an issue of the *Bulletin*. In 1962 he was awarded the Royal Asiatic Society's triennial Gold Medal, on which occasion he made a characteristically modest and touching speech of thanks which will long be remembered by those present. He was elected in 1963 an Associate Member of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. The University of Brussels conferred an honorary doctorate on him in 1948, to be followed 15 years later by the University of Cambridge.

Few eminent scholars have combined such immense erudition with such simplicity, sincerity, and absence of conceit. One of his contemporaries, Professor A. S. Tritton, recently remarked to me: 'The great thing about Minorsky was that he had no "side"'. Not for him the off-hand air, the proconsular manner with which some bolster up their academic weight. He enjoyed parties and academic gatherings, and was much in demand socially. To the end of his days, he was eager to appreciate and encourage the potential talents and apprentice efforts of the humblest beginners. However busy, however tired, he was always genuinely pleased to see visitors young or old, and to give freely of his wisdom and knowledge. He was completely free from professional jealousy and egoism. I well remember how, when myself a tiro in the study of Caucasian numismatics, I used to receive from Professor Minorsky cuttings from the Soviet press, in which were announced important finds of ancient coins—data unobtainable elsewhere. Again, we may instance his sponsorship of Boyle's magistral translation of Juwaini's *History of the world-conqueror*, which Professor Minorsky helped to get accepted into the UNESCO series of representative works, and published in a splendid edition by the Manchester University Press.

In his speech of thanks at the Royal Asiatic Society in 1962, Professor Minorsky said: 'I remember my joy when at every stage of my research I had

the support and advice of a pleiad of excellent authorities in different fields of Oriental studies'. If Nöldeke, Barthold, Qazvini, Pelliot, and the others whom Vladimir Fedorovich named as his teachers were alive to-day, they would be proud to see the number and quality of the disciples whom Minorsky brought up in the great tradition which they had handed down. Death, the one fact which all scholars must accept, has taken away our teacher and friend in the fullness of years, but not before he had achieved and dispensed great learning, and set an inspiring example. We shall not see his like again.

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By S. N. Chinwuba Obi, B.Sc., Econ.(Hons.), LL.M., Ph.D.(London)

of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law, Solicitor and Advocate of the Supreme Court of Nigeria, formerly Research Officer in African Laws at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

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